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José Ignacio Hualde (Ed.) et al.

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PART 1

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A Grammar of Basque



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A Grammar of Basque

edited by

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Preface

This is a grammar of Basque, the only surviving pre-Indo-European language of western Europe. In spite of its prolonged contact with Latin and its descendants, Basque has managed to preserve a number of features that immediately set it apart from the other languages of the area. The inflectional morphology of Basque is strikingly different from that of the neighboring languages. Most famously, Basque displays a strict ergative pattern in noun-phrase inflection (which is entirely suffixal) and verbal agreement. In the phonology, some western Basque dialects possess an accentual system with a robust distinction between lexically accented and unaccented words that is strongly reminiscent of Japanese. The sibilant system is also unusual, as it displays a contrast between three affricates and three fricatives, all of them voiceless. Syntactically, Basque also possesses a number of remarkable properties, including an interesting process of focalization. At the same time, the influence of Romance on Basque is obvious in the lexicon and, in a more subtle manner, also in syntactic and semantic aspects. In this grammar, the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language are studied in detail.

We are grateful to Bernard Comrie, who proposed the project to one of the coeditors. (This coeditor concluded that by turning this grammar into a group effort, including a second editor and several other collaborators, the quality of the product would improve considerably, given the current state of research in Basque linguistics).

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Notes on glosses

Basque is a highly agglutinative language. In order not to make glosses cumbersome, we have included detailed morpheme-to-morpheme information only of morphological material directly relevant to each section. Where the shape or order of the morpheme is important, it has been isolated using hyphens both on the Basque sentence and on the glosses. Otherwise, the morphemes involved have been identified only on the glosses, separating them with dots. Dots are also used for cases where several morphemes in English correspond to the Basque morpheme/word. As usual, lexical items have been written in normal font, while grammatical morphemes have been written on small capital characters. Grammatical morphemes difficult to gloss (such as *ba*, *ote*, etc.) are simply given as such in the glosses in italics; they are included as entries in the index tables at the end of the Grammar.

Full sentences are indicated by capital initials and sentence final period marks (some quotations are adjusted to this usage if they make up full sentences). Phrases and incomplete or subordinate clauses begin with lower case characters and are not followed by a period. Example sources are indicated in square brackets. A separate section in the References identifies the abbreviations used for them.

Nominal inflection

Case endings are glossed with the name of the case, without trying to analyze them further into determiner, number and case ending proper. This information is easily retrievable from the inflection charts offered in chapter 3.2. For reading ease, the gloss for a case is often not the morphological case label, but its meaning ('with' for COM(itative), etc.). Among grammatical cases, dative is glossed in exactly the same way (DAT or 'to'), and ergative always with the case label (ERG). The zero case, absolutive, is treated somewhat differently. We have taken it as the default case, so that, unless otherwise stated, the absence of any case indication on a nominal means it is in the absolutive case.

Determiners and plural markers are not easily isolatable for most case endings and we have not tried to identify them in the glosses. Thus, *gizonekin* comitative plural is glossed as 'men.with', or 'men.COM', while the comitative singular *gizonarekin* is glossed as 'man.with' or 'man.COM'. The determiner (-a) and the plural marker (-k) are most easily identifiable in the absolutive case, but here too, we have only identified them where di-

rectly relevant. Thus, a noun like *etxeak* ‘(the) houses’ has been glossed in full (house.DET.PL) only where the information is important. Otherwise it is glossed as ‘houses’. Similarly, singular *etxea* is usually glossed as ‘house’ and only where needed as ‘house.DET’. Nonetheless, both determiner and plural are identified when they are attached to anything other than a noun (to adjectives, headless relatives, etc.): *etxe handia* is always glossed as ‘house big.DET’, *etxeakoak* ‘house.REL.DET.PL’, etc. The Basque texts in section 5 have been glossed with more details. There all case endings have been separated from the stem and identified, and the latter has always been glossed in the singular. The case endings thus identified can be easily checked in the tables provided in section 3.2. As usual, determiners and plural markers have only been identified for the zero case, the absolutive.

Verb glosses

Verbal inflection in finite verbal forms is also glossed in detail only where directly relevant. Since the only relevant information, outside the chapter on verbal morphology itself, is person agreement (including person, case and number morphemes) only that information is specified. Unless PL ‘plural’ is explicitly marked, ‘singular’ is the default value. We have tried to represent person agreement information in the order in which it appears on the verb. Thus, subjects will be variously marked to the right or to the left, depending on whether they are cross-referenced by the ergative or the absolutive marker. Person morphemes are separated by slashes from each other in pluripersonal agreement forms. Mood is only marked when the potential or hypothetical marker *-ke* is present or when the subjunctive auxiliary is selected, if directly relevant. Where none of this is relevant, only ‘AUX’ has been indicated. Full information is given in 3.5.2.

As for aspect information, following Basque grammatical tradition, we gloss perfective participles as infinitives. This is so because they work as the unmarked, citation form of the verb. Thus, a form like *hartu* is glossed as ‘take’. Similarly, the future morpheme *-ko* is added to this citation, participial form, and we gloss *hartuko* as take.FUT, disregarding again the ‘perfective’ aspect marker *-tu-*. The auxiliary *izan* ‘be’ reinforcing perfective tenses (3.5.4.2.1) or inserted to provide a verbal host for aspectual markers in verbal locutions (3.5.4.2.2) is always glossed as ‘be’ regardless of its grammatical function.

The perfective present form *ikusi dut* can be translated as a present perfect of simple past in English. Both translations are given for this tense throughout the grammar. The different tense values are described in 3.5.4. Finally, some verbal expressions can be analyzed as regular verb+auxiliary

combinations or as noun/adjective + ‘be, have’ periphrases: *bizi naiz* ‘I live, be alive’, *nahi dut* ‘I want, have desire’. We have maintained the different authors’ preferences in this area.

Gloss abbreviations

A	absolutive in auxiliary glosses	IMPF	imperfective
ABL	ablative	INSTR	instrumental
ABS	absolutive on nominals	INTR	intransitive
ADV	adverbial (-ka)	INTS	intensive, emphatic (-xe)
ALL	allative	JUS	jussive
ANIM	animate	LOC	locative
AUX	auxiliary	NOM	nominalizer
BEN	benefactive	PL	plural
CAUSE	causative	POL	polite
COM	comitative	POT	potential, hypothetical
COMP	complementizer	PRF	perfective
D	dative in auxiliary glosses	PROX	proximate plural
DAT	dative on nominals	PRS	present
DEST	destinative	PRO	prolative
DET	determiner (article)	PRTT	partitive
DIR	directional	PST	past
DIM	diminutive	PTCL	particle
DIST	distributive	PTCP	adverbial participle (-ta; -rik)
DITR	ditransitive	Q	question particle (al, ote)
E	ergative in auxiliary glosses	REL	relational
ERG	ergative on nominals	SUBJ	subjunctive
FUT	future	SUP	superlative
GEN	genitive	TERM	terminative
IMP	imperative	TR	transitive

Languages and Basque dialects

B	Bizkaian
Bq	Basque
Fr	French
G	Gipuzkoan
HN	High Navarrese
L	Lapurdian
Lat	Latin
LN	Low Navarrese
R	Roncalese
Sp	Spanish
Z	Zuberoan

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Chapter 1

Introduction

J. I. Hualde

1.1. The Basque language and its name

The word ‘Basque’ derives, through French, from the name of the Vascones, a nation or tribe that in Roman times occupied an area of the Iberian Peninsula including most of present-day Navarre and neighboring parts of Aragon. Whereas, on the one hand, possibly not all Vascones were Basque-speaking (both non-Indo-European Iberian and Indo-European Celtiberian appear to have been used in parts of their territory) and, on the other hand, Pre-Basque and related languages seem to have been also spoken by some other neighboring nations (at least the Aquitanians in Gaul, see Gorrochategui 1995), in medieval times the name *Vascones* became identified with the speakers of the direct ancestor of the language we know as Basque. The traditional name for the Basque language in Spanish is *vascuence*, derived from Latin *uasconice* ‘(to speak) in the Vasconic way’, which is parallel to and was opposed to *romance* < *romanice* ‘in the Roman way’. In post-Renaissance Spain, the name *vizcaíno*, strictly speaking only the westernmost dialect of Basque, became for several centuries a frequent designation for the Basque language and its speakers.

The Basques call their language *euskara* (and dialectal variants: *euskera*, *eskuara*, *üskara*, *auskera*, etc.). *Euskara* is opposed to *erdara* (or *erdera*) ‘foreign language’, used to refer to Spanish on the southern side of the political border and to French on the other side. Both words have an ending which very likely derives from the word *era* ‘manner’, used as a suffix in many words, such as *ibilera* ‘way of walking’ (from *ibil-i* ‘to walk’), etc. In *erdara* the first element appears to be *erdi* ‘half’. Etymologically *erdara* would thus be ‘a half way of speaking’, ‘something that is not fully a language’; a not unusual way to characterize a foreign language. On the other hand, the original meaning of the root *eusk-* in *euskara* is less clear. Among the proposed etymologies we find the name of the Ausci, a Pyrenean tribe in Roman times, and the reconstructed verb **enau(t)s-i* ‘to speak’ (Irigoyen 1977, 1990).

2 Introduction

Basque speakers refer to the land where their language is spoken as *Euskal Herria* (*euskal* = compositional form of *euskara* + *herri* 'country' + *-a* 'singular determiner') 'country of the Basque language' and to themselves as *euskaldunak* 'those who have the Basque language' (*euskal-* + *-dun* 'possessing' + *-ak* 'plural determiner').

In the first decades of the 20th century, the eminent Basque politician and not-so-eminent philologist Sabino Arana Goiri (1865-1903) and his followers changed the spelling to *euzkera* in the (mistaken) belief that this word must be related to *eguzki* (dialectal *euzki*) 'sun', on the Classical Greek model that sought a connection between *Hellen* and *helios*. Related coinages of that vintage are the words *Euzkadi* 'Basque Country', later reformed as *Euskadi*, the adjective *euzko* (later *eusko*) 'Basque, in an ethnic or political sense' and *euzkotar* (later *euskotar*) 'Basque citizen; ethnic Basque'. The truly great and very influential Basque linguist Luis Michelena (in Basque Koldo Mitxelena) promoted the use of some of these neologisms to preserve the traditional link between *euskal* and the Basque language. His wish was to avoid the misuse of words like *euskaldun*, which traditionally can only mean 'Basque speaker', as 'Basque citizen'. He successfully campaigned for terms like *Eusko jaurilaritza* 'Basque government' instead of *Euskal jaurilaritza*, which in the *Sprachgefühl* of traditional Basque speakers could only mean something like 'Government of the Basque language' (see Michelena 1984).

1.2. The Basque language today: number of speakers, geographical distribution, official status, sociolinguistic aspects

Basque is currently an official language (together with Spanish) in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, which comprises the historical provinces of Bizkaia (in Spanish orthography, Vizcaya), Gipuzkoa (in Spanish orthography, Guipúzcoa) and Araba (in Basque) or Alava (in Spanish). It also enjoys a more limited official status in the region of Navarre (Basque Nafarroa, Spanish Navarra). In both of these areas Basque was the majority language three or four centuries ago, but it has been steadily receding since then and until the last two decades, and it is currently the native language of only about 20 percent of the total population. Most of the territorial loss has taken place in the southernmost provinces of Araba and Navarre. In these two provinces, the territory where Basque has remained in continuous use has been reduced to the northern corner of Araba and the northwestern part of Navarre. Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa remain more strongly

Basque-speaking. Nevertheless, the recent officialization of the language and its use in education has brought about an increase in the number of speakers among the younger generations in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and in Navarre, both in areas where the language had been preserved by some percentage of the population and outside of them.

Basque is also spoken across the French border in the historical regions of Lapurdi (French Labourd), Low Navarre (Basse Navarre) and Zuberoa (French Pays de Soule), which together comprise the western half of the Département des Pyrénées-Atlantiques. In France, the Basque language, like other 'regional languages', does not have any official status. In this area the geographical extension of the language has remained more or less stable for the last few centuries, unlike in the south, and most of the area of the three historical Basque regions of France was until very recently strongly Basque-speaking, but the lack of official recognition appears to be leading to the rapid loss of the language in the whole area in just a few generations (see Oyharçabal 1997).

All in all, there are about 700,000 speakers of Basque. With very rare exceptions, all Basque speakers are completely bilingual in Spanish or French, whereas their proficiency in Basque including factors such as richness of vocabulary and control over different registers varies substantially among speakers. It is difficult to know what percentage of Basque speakers are equally or more proficient in Basque than in Spanish or French, but surely it is not very high. But things may be changing among the youngest speakers in the Spanish Basque Country, who are being educated with Basque as the main medium of instruction.

1.2.1. Standard Basque and Basque dialects

As can be expected for a language that is spoken in a mountainous area and that until very recently has lacked both official status and a standard form, in the Basque-speaking area noticeable differences in phonology, morphology and lexicon are found literally from village to village ("almost from house to house", in the words of the 16th century writer Joannes Leizarraga). From one end of the territory to the other the differences are substantial. Two speakers from the two extreme areas, Bizkaia and Zuberoa, who knew only their local variety, would find it very difficult to communicate with each other at first encounter. Indeed some difficulties in communication can arise even between speakers of varieties spoken over relatively short distances. Authors who have tended to emphasize the differences among Basque dia-

lects have claimed that these are greater than that between two such closely related languages as Spanish and Portuguese, whereas those who tend to minimize interdialectal differences in Basque have stated that these differences are not greater than what we find among widely divergent vernacular English dialects. These positions are, in fact, not so distant from each other. After some period of accommodation, whose length may depend on the abilities and experience of the speakers, communication is possible among speakers of distant Basque dialects, just as it is in the other two situations mentioned (for example, a Spanish speaker from Mexico City and a Portuguese speaker from Rio de Janeiro or speakers of divergent English vernacular dialects).

The present dialectal differentiation in Basque is not ancient. Michelena (1981) concludes that Basque dialects were much more like each other a few centuries ago than they are now and that the present dialects are developments from a more-or-less unified form of speech or koiné formed at some point in the early Middle Ages. This position seems correct. Clear innovations such as the grammaticalization of demonstratives as articles are common to all Basque dialects.

Several related proposals have been made for the classification of Basque dialects, essentially starting with the work of L. L. Bonaparte (1869, 1863). Perhaps the most widely accepted classification distinguishes the following dialects, from west to east: Bizkaian, Gipuzkoan, Lapurdian (Labourdin), High Navarrese, Low Navarrese, Zuberoan (Souletin) and the extinct Roncalese. Recently, Zuazo (1998a) has proposed instead the following classification: Western (= Bizkaian of other classifications, which includes not only the varieties spoken in Bizkaia but also those of Araba/Alava and western Gipuzkoa), Central (= Gipuzkoan), Lapurdian-Navarrese, High Navarrese, Zuberoan and Eastern Navarrese (including the obsolete or obsolescent dialects spoken in the two northeasternmost Navarrese valleys: Zaraitzu [Salazar] and Erronkari [Roncal]). Many important isoglosses coincide at present roughly with the Spanish/French border. Dialects spoken in France are sometimes referred to as 'northern', as opposed to 'southern' ones spoken in Spain. It is, however, geographically more appropriate to refer to these two poles as 'eastern' and 'western', respectively, and this is the axis we have followed for the most part in this grammar to refer to linguistic features.

In addition to local town and village dialects, we find written varieties that were developed at different historical points for wider communicative purposes, but always restricted to a certain geographical area. These are known as the four 'literary dialects' of Basque: Literary Bizkaian, Literary

Gipuzkoan, Classical Lapurdian (of the 16th century) and its more recent offshoot Literary Navarro-Lapurdian, and Literary Zuberoan.

Traditionally all Basque dialects have not enjoyed equal prestige. In the provinces south of the Pyrenees, coastal Gipuzkoan has been considered particularly prestigious. For instance, if a Bizkaian and a Gipuzkoan speaker met, the expectation was that the Bizkaian speaker would modify his or her speech in the direction of Gipuzkoan, rather than the other way around. Similarly, in certain areas of Bizkaian speech, preachers would traditionally use coastal Gipuzkoan in their sermons, rather than the local Bizkaian dialect. In the continental or French part of the territory, this prestigious status was accorded to Lapurdian (see Zuazo 1992).

Taking these sociolinguistic facts into account, as well as the literary tradition and the central position of these two dialects, when the Basque Academy, under the leadership of Luis Michelena, undertook the job of developing a unified written standard for the whole Basque Country, it did so by a marriage of sorts between the Gipuzkoan and the Lapurdian literary traditions. The resulting standard language, *euskara batua* or unified Basque, has been rather successful. Through its use in education, in the media (television, several radio stations, a daily newspaper and a number of magazines) and in the vast majority of all written production in Basque, *euskara batua* has become a well-established variety with a large number of fluent speakers, including both native speakers of Basque and people for whom Basque is their second language.

The current sociolinguistic situation regarding standard Basque and the local dialects is a complex one. Simplifying greatly, several situations can be distinguished. In areas where Basque is extensively used in the social life of the town and where the local dialect is considerably different from the standard language (for instance, in coastal Bizkaian towns such as Lekeitio, Ondarroa and Bermeo), young speakers, most of whom have been educated in standard Basque, tend to be fluent in the local dialect and also, to varying degrees, in standard Basque, essentially keeping the two varieties as separate codes.

In areas where social use of Basque is reduced and/or the local variety is closer to the standard, young speakers tend to mix the local dialect and the standard, individual speakers being more or less able to shift towards the standard or towards the local dialect end of the continuum as the context requires.

Finally, especially in predominantly or exclusively Spanish-speaking areas of the Basque Country (for instance, in all four southern provincial capitals), there is now a sizable number of non-native speakers who have

learned the language through the educational system and, consequently, have standard Basque as the only Basque variety they know to any extent. Some of these non-native speakers are now raising their children in Basque, as a result of which standard Basque is beginning to have native speakers.

As for the older generations of Basque speakers, it is probably the case that most people in this group have now acquired a good passive command of standard Basque through exposure to the media and other public use, at least in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country.

Regarding the older 'literary dialects', these have not all been completely supplanted by the new supraregional standard. Literary Bizkaian has still some use, especially in the school system. Some educators are of the opinion that children beginning their schooling with an oral command of a Bizkaian variety should learn first literary Bizkaian and then standard Basque. This goal is probably unrealistic for most children. In any case, the difference between modern literary Bizkaian and standard Basque is not great, being mostly limited to a few morphological points.

In the other peripheral area, Zuberoa, Literary Zuberoan has also substantial support, but the catastrophic decline in recent years in the percentage of Basque speakers in this area among the younger generations leaves little room for hope for the future of this variety.

Given this situation, it is obvious to me and to all other contributors to this book that the Basque variety that should be chosen for description in a book like the present one must be standard Basque. It should be pointed out, however, that standardization in Basque has affected mostly the orthography and the morphology. It is possible to produce standard Basque with a distinctive Bizkaian or, especially, eastern ('northern') 'flavor' by choice of lexical items and constructions.

In this Grammar, constructed examples are given in standard Basque morphology, and the morphological description pays particular attention to the forms used in standard Basque. But examples are also taken from writers employing a range of dialects and from oral usage of different areas. When a particular structure is geographically restricted, this information is provided. In the Phonology chapter, many geographically restricted phenomena are covered. The description in the Syntax chapter also takes dialect variation into account to a considerable extent.

1.3. Brief overview of the external history of the Basque language

In this section we offer a brief summary of what is known regarding the geographical extension and social status of the Basque language at different historical points. For more detailed accounts, see Gorrochategui (1995), Zuazo (1995), Trask (1995, 1997: 35-49).

1.3.1. *The Basque language in antiquity and in the Middle Ages*

In historical times, the Basque language is found occupying an area of variable extension on both sides of the Pyrenees and along the Bay of Biscay. It is conceivable, and even likely, that, prior to the first Indo-European invasions, Basque and its relatives were spread over a larger area of western Europe. The non-Indo-European Iberian language may also have replaced Basque in some areas.

In Navarre, the land of the Vascones of Roman times, the ancient presence of the language in most of its territory is confirmed by the toponyms. Epigraphic evidence includes an inscription from the Roman period containing the name *VMME SAHAR*, interpretable as modern Basque *ume zahar* 'old child'. In the medieval Kingdom of Navarre, the most important political entity Basques have ever constituted for themselves, Basque was the language of the majority of the population, but it was never given the status of official or written language. Instead, this status was reserved first for Latin and then for the Navarrese Romance variety, which developed in the southeast of the Kingdom, and the Occitan of speakers of this language who were brought by the kings to settle in the towns.

Inscriptions from Roman times containing proper names which are unmistakably Basque are abundant west of the Garonne river in France, in the territory of the Aquitanians (the Garonne has its source in the Aran Valley, cf. Basque *[h]aran* 'valley'). To give a couple of examples, these inscriptions include the elements *CISSON* (= Basque *gizon* 'man') and *ANDERE* (= Basque *andere* 'woman') in names of persons of the appropriate gender (see Gorrochategui 1984, 1995). The Aquitanians, of whom classical authors like Caesar and Strabo tell us that they were different from the other inhabitants of Gaul and more closely resembled the Iberians in appearance, language and customs (see Gorrochategui 1995), thus spoke Pre-Basque or a very close relative. Most of Aquitania, however, was quickly romanized and Basque was replaced by Gascon (< Vascon), a Romance language with a strong Basque substratum. From very early on, the area of the Basque lan-

guage north of the Pyrenees was reduced to more or less the present-day French Basque Country, close to the Pyrenees.

To the east of Navarre and south of the Pyrenees, toponymic evidence shows that Basque was once spoken in the Pyrenean valleys of northern Aragon and northern Catalonia. We have in addition the evidence provided by a 14th century city ordinance of Huesca, in Aragon, expressly prohibiting the use of Basque (and Arabic and Hebrew) in the market of this town. This proves that Basque was still spoken not far from this town at this late medieval time.

Roman sources tell us that to the west of the Vascones, in the present provinces of Gipuzkoa, Bizkaia and Araba/Alava, lived the Vardulians and the Caristians. Whereas the toponymy of these three provinces is overwhelmingly Basque (except for small western and southern areas), and Basque appears as the majority language of the region since medieval times, doubts remain as to whether Vardulians and Caristians spoke a language related to Basque. This is for two reasons. First of all, the epigraphic record of these provinces contains only Indo-European names. Secondly, some old toponyms and hydronyms of this area are not Basque, and appear to be Indo-European. To give only one example, the river Deba (in Spanish Deva), in the heart of the region, bears a clearly Indo-European name (< **dewa* 'the goddess') repeated elsewhere outside of the Basque region in names of rivers. It is fair to conclude that at present we do not know with certainty whether, in the area of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, Basque was the language spoken by most of the population before and during the Roman period or, instead, its expansion in this region took place after the fall of the Roman Empire. The area of Gipuzkoa, Bizkaia and Araba/Alava, which for a time was associated to the Kingdom of Navarre, finally fell in the orbit of the Kingdom of Castile. Here too, although Basque was the language of the vast majority of the people at the time, Castilian Spanish was the high status language and the ruling class became bilingual in this language.

In the Middle Ages, Basque was also spoken in areas of Castile, north of Burgos and in parts of La Rioja. The earliest sentences written in Basque—the Aquitanian inscriptions only contain proper names—are precisely from La Rioja, from a 10th century document found in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla and written by a monk who was bilingual in Basque and Romance. This document is also of great importance for the history of the Spanish language since it also contains the earliest sentences in Spanish (the Emilian Glosses or *glosas emilianenses*). The Basque evidence consists of two sentences, only partially interpretable, added as glosses to a text in

Latin. One of them is *guez ajutuezdugu* 'we have not V-ed it' (or 'we do not have it V-ed'), where *guez* = 'we, ergative', *ajutu* is a perfective participle (ending *-tu*) of an unknown verb, most likely a borrowing, *ez* = 'no' and *dugu* = 'we have it'. It is fairly certain that the presence of the Basque language in Castilian territory was a consequence of medieval repopulation by Basque speakers.

1.3.2. The Basque language after the Middle Ages

In spite of the attachment to their language that Basque speakers have often shown through history, Basque has never been a socially dominant language in historical times. As we mentioned, in the Middle Ages, Basque was not given any official status in the Kingdom of Navarre or in any other Basque-speaking territory. The highest point in the social consideration of Basque seems to have been reached in the provinces north of the Pyrenees in the 16th and 17th centuries. At this time and in this area, where several political powers (including England) vied for influence, there is a steady production of books in Basque, which implies the existence of a Basque bourgeoisie which could afford to buy books and had grown accustomed to reading in this language. Perhaps the fact that in this area Basque was in contact with Gascon, and not with Spanish or French, contributed to its somewhat higher prestige. Two authors from this period who must be mentioned, because of their influence in the development of Basque prose, are Joannes Leizarraga (Leizarrague), Calvinist translator of the New Testament into Basque (1571), and Pedro de Axular, author of *Gero* ('Later', 1643), an ascetic treatise which is considered the masterpiece of the Classical Lapurdian school and still serves as a model of Basque literary prose. The first author to publish in Basque was the Low Navarrese priest Bernard Etxepare (Dechepare), whose poetry book *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* saw the light in 1545. Obviously any hopes to turn Basque into a language of high culture in the provinces under French political control would be thwarted with the French Revolution and subsequent marginalization of languages other than French.

In the southern provinces, Basque never became a vehicle of administration or of literature when these territories were autonomous or semiautonomous and its overall situation only deteriorated with the increasing centralization of power in Spain. From the 16th to the 18th centuries, the Basque language was lost in most of the province of Araba/Alava. In Navarre, a strong territorial recession in the east and south started in the 18th century and has continued to the present day. Massive immigration of Spanish-

speakers to the industrialized areas of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa during the 19th and 20th centuries brought about a further and significant weakening in the geographical and social implantation of the Basque language.

Its persistent historical situation of linguistic subordination obviously did not help in the development of Basque as a written language. There are, nevertheless, some individual efforts after the end of the Classical Lapurdian era of the 16th-17th centuries that are worth mentioning. A major figure of the 18th century is the jesuit Manuel de Larramendi, Professor of Theology at the University of Salamanca, Confessor of the Queen of Spain and author of the first Basque grammar, *El imposible vencido: arte de la lengua bascongada*, published in 1729, of a very influential dictionary first published in 1745, and of other writings in defense of the Basque language. Although most of his production was in Spanish, Larramendi had an elegant style in his Basque writings and initiated a school that established the literary Gipuzkoan tradition. A distinguished follower of Larramendi's is Agustín Cardaveraz, author of *Eusqueraren berri onac* 'The good news of Basque' (1761). Literary Bizkaian developed later, with Juan Antonio Moguel and his book *Peru Abarca*, published in 1880, but written at the beginning of the 19th century.

The French aristocrat and self-trained linguist Louis-Lucien Bonaparte set the foundations of the field of Basque dialectology in the 1860's with a number of maps and other dialectological works. By means of his collaborators, he produced a great collection of texts in literary and local dialects, mostly translations of religious texts (recently collected in Bonaparte 1991).

A revival of interest in Basque is observable at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. From this time dates the foundation of the Basque Academy (Euskaltzaindia), sponsored by the four southern provincial governments. Its first president, Resurrección María de Azkue is the author of a monumental dictionary (1905-6), which is still used, and many other important contributions to Basque linguistics. He proposed the development of a unified form of written Basque based on literary Gipuzkoan, complemented with elements from other dialects. Basque literature also had a modest renaissance in these years, with the work of authors such as the novelist Txomin Agirre, who wrote books both in Bizkaian (*Kresala* 'Sea water' 1906) and in Gipuzkoan (*Garoa* 'Fern' 1906). (For information on the history of Basque literature, see Villasante 1979, Michelena 1988.)

All this activity in favor of the Basque language would come to an abrupt end with the Dictatorship that followed the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, which, in its initial period, repressed all Basque cultural activities. A relaxation in the repressive measures, allowed the creation of semi-legal Basque-

language schools (*ikastolak*) in the 1960's and some literary production, with authors such as the poet Gabriel Aresti, who in his writings anticipated the creation of standard Basque. After a hiatus, the Basque Academy was also allowed to continue its activities. Under Luis Michelena, *euskara batua* or unified Basque was finally established, its outlines being approved by the Academy in 1968.

After General Franco's death in 1975, the Basque language was made an official language of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and was also given some official recognition in Navarre. Basque was introduced as a vehicle of instruction at all levels, including the university, and of administration. Its use in the media also increased dramatically. This has put an end to the secular decline of the language in these provinces. As was mentioned at the outset, the number of Basque speakers is currently increasing in this area. Publications in Basque have proliferated substantially in recent years and Basque literature also appears to have reached new heights, with Bernardo Atxaga as its leading figure.

Recent census data showing an increase in the percentage of citizens of both the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and Navarre who self-report a good command of the Basque language have been received with general optimism about the future of the language in these two territories. On the other hand, however, the virtually complete disappearance of monolingual Basque speakers and even relative scarcity of Basque-dominant bilinguals together with the perceived need for monolingual-like competence in Spanish for full participation in society are factors that can only lead to an acceleration in the progressive convergence of Basque linguistic structures with Spanish.

As for the northern provinces, on the French side, there is very little reason to be optimistic about the survival of Basque in this territory as a fully functional language or at all, if present trends are not reversed very soon, which is unlikely to happen.

Any speculation about the future of the language necessarily requires reference to current political ideologies and events, always a risky business. Although at the individual level it is not difficult to find Basque speakers who are committed to the preservation of their language but do not necessarily support Basque nationalism, at the societal level the existence of a link between the strength of Basque nationalism and support for the Basque language is clear. Thus, in the French Basque Country, where Basque nationalism is a marginal phenomenon, the language appears to be in a situation of general decline, whereas the language remains strongest in those areas where nationalist parties have the widest support. (For more information on

language policy and sociolinguistics, the official webpage of the Basque Government may be consulted: <http://www.euskadi.net/euskara>.)

1.4. Purported relatives

A long tradition has seen in Basque the modern descendant of Iberian, a language which at the time of the Roman conquest is known to have been spoken over much of southern and eastern Spain and even north of the Pyrenees along the Mediterranean coast. This is known as the Basque-Iberian hypothesis.

In support of this position there is some ancient onomastic evidence, most especially—but not only—in the bronze of Ascoli. This is a tablet containing a name-list of equites, recruited in Hispania near modern Saragossa, who had been rewarded with Roman citizenship for their service in the Roman army. The list includes a group of equites from towns in the territory of the Vascones along with others from towns where we know Iberian was spoken. From the structure of their names, Vascones and Iberians are indistinguishable.

Iberian and Basque also share important structural features regarding both phonology and morphology (see Michelena 1979).

On the negative side, Basque has been of very little help in interpreting the Iberian inscriptions that have arrived to us, in spite of serious efforts by competent scholars. The inescapable conclusion is that Basque and Iberian do not appear to be closely related languages (although, of course, they could be more distantly related). But they were languages in contact, Iberian having made inroads into the southernmost areas of the Vasconic territory. The conspicuous similarities between the two languages in phonemic inventory and syllable and morpheme structure can be explained as areal features, as a result of language contact. There is also a handful of shared lexical elements, which would have the same origin. In particular, the identification of the element *ili*, *ilu* in a great number of Iberian toponyms with Basque (*(h)iri*, *(h)uri* ‘town’ (< **ili*)) appears to be correct and this could very well be an Iberian loanword in Basque. The ethnonymic suffix *-(t)ar*, as in *Bilbotar* ‘Bilbaoan’, *Bizkaitar* ‘Bizkaian’ also appears to be identifiable in Iberian coin inscriptions such as *Saitabietar* (in Latin *Saetabenses*) in coins from the Valencian town whose modern name is Xàtiva, *Arseetar* in coins from *Arse* (modern Sagunt, also in Valencia), etc.

Besides Iberian, genetic relationships have been proposed between Basque and numerous other languages and language families from Europe,

Africa and elsewhere. In general, this comparative work has lacked rigor. An exception is the serious work on Basque-Caucasian connections carried out by several authors, which, nevertheless has also failed to convince most experts. It is probably the case that, even if Basque were indeed genetically related to some of the languages of the Caucasus, the separation has been so long that there is no real possibility of proving this relationship by usual standards (see Michelena 1968, Trask 1995, 1997). We must conclude that Basque remains a language isolate without known relatives.

1.5. This grammar and other grammars

Without a doubt the most comprehensive Basque grammar currently available is that of the Basque Academy or Euskaltzaindia of which five volumes have been published so far (starting with Euskaltzaindia 1985). This grammar is written in Basque and is intended for Basque speakers. More concise practical grammars of standard Basque, also written in Basque, are Txillardegui (1978) and Zubiri & Zubiri (1995). Another excellent grammar, if now somewhat dated, is Lafitte (1944), in French, which describes Literary Navarro-Labourdin, a written variety used in the French part of the Basque Country in the first part of the 20th century, before the creation of standard Basque. Allières (1979) has a broader dialectal coverage but is considerably less detailed. Altube (1929, 1934), Azkue (1923-25) and Villasante (1979, 1980) are important descriptive works of more limited scope, concentrating on aspects of Basque morphology or syntax. Saltarelli (1988) is a grammar for typologically oriented linguists which follows the same questionnaire as all other grammars in the Descriptive Grammars Series, originally published by Croom Helm and later by Routledge. It describes standard Basque and it is mostly based on the speech of one of Saltarelli's collaborators. There is a short web-based Basque grammar in English by Laka (1995). King (1994) is a good pedagogical grammar of Basque in English. A good Basque-English dictionary is Aulestia (1989).

The above list is far from being exhaustive. In our opinion, however, the existence of these other works does not make the present grammar unnecessary or redundant. Both in its coverage and in its methodology the present book differs substantially from all other available grammars of the Basque language. This book is the product of the collaboration of a group of linguists specializing in different aspects of Basque linguistics. It gathers the results of our collective research, as well as that of some other linguists, over the last ten to fifteen years. Much information is also made available

here for the first time. Many aspects of syntax and of segmental and suprasegmental phonology are treated in considerable more detail here than anywhere else.

Most of the contributors of this book have been trained in the generative tradition of grammatical analysis. Given this background, we have been guided by a concern with analytical rigor and attention to fine points of grammar. However, we have also avoided all unnecessary formalism. This book should be perfectly accessible to any linguist regardless of theoretical orientation.

As for the empirical basis of the analyses, accuracy and reliability have been constant concerns of ours. We have striven to support our analyses with examples taken from a wide variety of sources, both contemporary and older. When constructed sentences are employed, these have been checked with a number of native speakers, and, when found, dialectal and idiolectal variation is reported.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1. Segmental phonology

J.I. Hualde

2.1.1. Phoneme inventory and orthography

Basque dialects vary somewhat in their sound inventory. A common phonemic inventory, found in most Gipuzkoan and High Navarrese areas and used by, perhaps, most speakers of Standard Basque, is described in table 1.

Table 1. Phonemic inventory (Gipuzkoan and High Navarrese and standard Basque)

Consonants	labial	apical	laminal	predorsal	postdorsal
stop	p b	t d		c ɟ	k g
fricative	f	ʃ	ʂ	ʃ	x
affricate		tʃ	tʂ	tʃ	
nasal	m	n		ɲ	
lateral		l		ʎ	
tap		ɾ			
trill		r			
Vowels					
i	u				
e	o				
a					

Among the labial consonants, /p/, /b/, /m/ are bilabial and /f/ is generally labiodental (although bilabial realizations have been reported). The apical class is more narrowly defined as apico-dental for the stops /t/, /d/, and as apico-alveolar for /s/, /tʃ/, /n/, /l/, /ɾ/, /r/. The predorsal class contains prepalatal or palato-alveolar /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and palatal /c/, /ɟ/, /ɲ/, /ʎ/. Prepalatal and palatal consonants behave as a class with respect to several palatalization processes in the language. The postdorsal consonants include the consonants /k/, /g/, /x/, which are articulated in the general velar area and may have more fronted or more retracted articulations depending on the vocalic context (in particular, /x/ and the continuant allophones of /g/ can have a very retracted point of articulation, in the uvular region).

From a cross-linguistic perspective, the only unusual feature in this consonantal system is the distinction among apico-alveolar /s/, lamino-alveolar /ʃ/ and prepalatal (palato-alveolar) /ʃ/ and also among the corresponding affricate segments. Two features which most Basque dialects share with Spanish are the lack of voiced fricatives and the existence of a tap/trill contrast.

Basque orthography is largely phonemic. Orthographic correspondences with their usual pronunciation in Standard Basque (*euskara batua*) are described in table 2.

Table 2. Orthography and Standard Basque pronunciation

s	=	voiceless apico-alveolar fricative [s]: <i>soka</i> [ʃoka] 'rope'; voiced before a voiced consonant: <i>esne</i> [eʒne] 'milk'.
z	=	voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative [ʃ]: <i>zopa</i> [ʃopa] 'soup'; voiced before a voiced consonant: <i>hazgura</i> [aʒɣura] 'itch'.
x	=	voiceless prepalatal fricative [ç]: <i>xagu</i> [ʃayu] 'little mouse'.
ts	=	voiceless apico-alveolar affricate [tʃ]: <i>atso</i> [atʃo] 'old woman'.
tz	=	voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate [tʃ]: <i>atzo</i> [atʃo] 'yesterday'.
tx	=	voiceless prepalatal affricate [tʃ]: <i>etxe</i> [etʃe] 'house'.
j	=	two main distinct dialectal pronunciations: voiced palatal approximant, fricative or stop [j], [j]: <i>jan</i> [jan], [jan] 'eat'. voiceless (post-)velar fricative [x]: <i>jan</i> [xan] 'eat' (alternative pronunciation in western dialects). Other pronunciations also occur dialectally (see below).
ll	=	voiced palatal lateral [ʎ]: <i>llagun</i> [ʎayun] 'friend, DIM'
l	=	voiced alveolar lateral; but after i often palatal lateral (cf. 2.1.4.2): <i>mutila</i> [mutila] ~ [mutiʎa] 'the boy'.
ñ	=	voiced palatal nasal [ɲ]: <i>andereño</i> [aɲdereɲo] 'female primary school teacher'.
dd	=	voiced palatal fricative or stop [j]: <i>onddo</i> [oɲɲo] 'mushroom'.
dx	=	voiced prepalatal fricative [ʒ], in the dialectal orthography of Bizkaian varieties with this sound: <i>mendidxe</i> [mendizɛ] 'the mountain'.
tt	=	voiceless palatal stop [c]: <i>ttipi</i> [cipi] 'small'.
r	=	voiced alveolar tap [r] in intervocalic position: <i>ere</i> [ere] 'also'; elsewhere, alveolar trill: <i>arte</i> [arte] 'until'.
rr	=	voiced alveolar trill [r]: <i>erre</i> [ere] 'to burn'.
h	=	silent letter for most speakers: <i>aho</i> [ao] 'mouth', <i>hori</i> [ori] 'that'. For speakers from the northeastern area, voiceless laryngeal fricative [h]: <i>hori</i> [hori].
n	=	voiced alveolar nasal, but after i, frequently palatal nasal: <i>mina</i> [mina] ~ [mijna] 'the pain' (cf. 2.1.4.2). Before a consonant realized as a homorganic nasal: <i>kanpo</i> [kampo] 'outside' (cf. 2.1.4.1).
b	=	voiced bilabial stop [b] or approximant [β]: <i>enbor</i> [embor] 'log', <i>labe</i> [laβe] 'oven' (cf. 2.1.4.6).
d	=	voiced apico-dental stop [d] or approximant [ð]: <i>idi</i> [iði] 'ox'.
g	=	voiced velar stop [g] or approximant [ɣ]: <i>lege</i> [leɣe] 'law'.

Other letters have their expected phonetic value. Most of the atypical letter/sound correspondences in the Basque orthographic system are based on the tradition of the neighboring Romance languages. This includes: the use of orthographic gemination to represent palatalization in *ll*, analogically extended in Basque to *tt*, *dd*, as well as the symbol *ñ*; the use of *z* for a voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative (in Castilian Spanish *z* represents a voiceless interdental fricative); the letter *x* to represent a prepalatal fricative (modern Castilian Spanish no longer has this sound, but this letter is employed with this value in all other Ibero-Romance languages and was used in this way in Spanish until the 17th century), etc. In spite of all of this, written Basque looks distinctively un-Romance. This is mostly because of the consistent use of *k* and *g* to represent velar stops and the lack of *v* and *c* from the Basque alphabet. Cf., e.g. Sp *coche*, Bq *kotxe* 'car' (Cat *cotxe*); Sp *vicio*, Bq *bizio* 'vice', Sp *bicicleta*, Bq *bizikleta*; Sp *guitarra*, Bq *gitarra*, etc.

The reasons for the two rather different phonetic values assigned to the grapheme *j* in Standard Basque (and other values in some dialects) have to do with sound correspondences among dialects which are somewhat complicated in this respect (see section 2.1.2.6).

The inventory given above corresponds to the prestige Standard Basque "accent" in the Southern or Peninsular part of the Basque Country. But the contrast between lamino-alveolar and apico-alveolar articulations for fricatives and affricates is not made in the dialects spoken in Bizkaia and parts of Gipuzkoa. Some speakers from these areas where the contrast has been lost attempt to produce it in formal styles when speaking Standard Basque, others do not.

As for the dialects on the French side, Coastal Lapurdian has essentially the inventory in table 1, except that it lacks the phoneme /x/. The most deviant phoneme system with respect to the one given above is that found in Zuberoan. This dialect possesses a series of aspirated voiceless stops in phonemic contrast with the unaspirated ones, oral and nasalized laryngeal fricatives, a series of voiced fricatives, a front rounded vowel *ü* /y/ and nasal vowels. On the other hand, Zuberoan has lost the trill/tap contrast found in all other Basque dialects (by historical generalized loss of the tap in intervocalic position):

Table 3. Phonemic inventory of the Zuberoan dialect

Conso- nants	labial	apical	laminal	predorsal	post- dorsal	laryngeal
stop	p ph b	t th d		c j	k kh g	
fricative	f	ʃ ʒ	ʃ ʒ	ʃ ʒ		h/ħ
affricate		tʃ tʃ	tʃ tʃ	tʃ tʃ		
nasal	m	n		ɲ		
lateral		l		ʎ		
trill		r				
Vowels						
i y	u (also nasalized)					
e	o					
	a					

Further details are given in the following subsections.

2.1.2. *Description of phonemes and allophones*

2.1.2.1. Stops

All Basque dialects have a contrast between voiceless stops *p*, *t*, (*tt* /*c*/), *k* and voiced stops *b*, *d*, (*dd* /*ʒ*/), *g*. In addition, northeastern dialects possess a series of voiceless aspirated stops.

2.1.2.1.1. Palatal stops

The palatal stops have a special status. For the most part they synchronically or diachronically derive from the dental stops by one of two processes. The first of these processes is affective palatalization (see section 2.1.4.3). Thus, *ttantta* ‘little drop’ is a diminutive of *tanta*, R *ddunddu* ‘bluish’ is the diminutive of *dundu* ‘blue’, *kuttun* ‘dear, beloved’ is an affective form of *kutun*, and so on. Similarly, *Antton* and *Maddalen* are hypocoristic forms of *Anton* and *Madalen*, respectively. But there can be affective/diminutive terms without a corresponding positive form. This is the case, for instance, with Baztan *ttar* ‘small’. In the word *onddo* [oɲɔ] ‘mushroom’ (ultimately from Lat *fungus*, Sp *hongo*) *dd* derives historically from a velar.

Secondly, in some western dialects [c] and [j] are allophones of /t/ and /d/, respectively, in conditioned palatalization triggered by a preceding palatal segment (see section 2.1.4.2).

Between vowels, *dd* may be realized either as a voiced palatal stop or as a voiced palatal fricative or approximant, depending on the dialect and even within the same dialect: *Maddalen* [majalen] ~ [majalen]. In this position *dd* merges with sounds from other sources, in particular with the epenthetic consonant inserted between /i/ and a following vowel in some Gipuzkoan and High Navarrese varieties in certain morphological contexts, e.g. *mendia* [mendija] ~ [mendiʝa] ‘the mountain’.

2.1.2.1.2. Voiced and voiceless stops

The phonological contrast between voiceless and voiced stops is not maintained in all positions:

(a) Intervocally the contrast is robust, and minimal and near-minimal pairs can be found; e.g. *zapal* ‘oppress’, *zabal* ‘wide’; *eten* ‘cut’, *edan* ‘drink’; *aker* ‘billy-goat’, *ager* ‘appear’. In this position the voiced “stops” are not realized as stops but as weak fricatives or approximants; e.g. *zabal* [ʃaβal], *edan* [eðan], *egun* [eyun].

The contrast is also maintained between vowel and liquid, but stop + liquid clusters are relatively rare (see sections 2.2.3.1, 2.1.8.2).

(b) Word-initially, the contrast is also firm and there are minimal pairs such as *puru* ‘pure; cigar’, *buru* ‘head’; *tu* ‘saliva’, *du* ‘s/he has it’; *kai* ‘wharf’, *gai* ‘matter’, etc. Nevertheless, in the native part of the lexicon voiceless stops are exceedingly rare in word-initial position (although a few examples are found; e.g. *ke* ‘smoke’, *kirats* ‘stench’). In addition, for a relatively large group of words dialectal variants with initial voiced and voiceless stops are found; e.g. *bake* ~ *pake* ‘peace’, *parka* ~ *barka* ‘forgive’, *tailu* ~ *dailu* ‘scythe’, *katu* ~ *gatu* ‘cat’. Words presenting such alternants are for the most part borrowings. These facts seem to indicate that at an earlier time the contrast tended to be neutralized in initial position in favor of the voiced series.

(c) Word-finally, the contrast between voiced and voiceless stops is neutralized. Only *-k* and *-t* occur word-finally (cf. section 2.1.3.3), but in at least some varieties (e.g. Baztan, cf. Salaburu 1984), neutralized word-final stops may be realized as voiced approximants; e.g. *nik* [nik] ~ [niy] ‘I, ERG’.

There are some morphophonological alternations of the type illustrated by *dut* 'I have it', *dud-ala* 'that I have it' vs. *bat* 'one', *bati* 'to one, DAT'. In the extinct Roncalese variety, *-d* (alternating with a tap *-r*) was found as a first person singular suffix, as in *dud* ~ *dur* 'I have it'.

(d) After an obstruent. Following a (voiceless) fricative only voiceless stops occur within a morpheme. For instance, there is *ospe* 'reputation', *asto* 'donkey', *asko* 'much, many'; but **osbe*, **asdo*, **asgo* would contain untested morpheme-internal sequences.

Sequences of two stops or of an affricate followed by a stop do not occur morpheme-internally, except for very recent borrowings such as *doktore* 'doctor' (but cf. the older borrowing *dotore* 'elegant' from the same source) or *errektore* 'rector (of a University)' (but, cf., again, older *erretore* 'parish priest', from the same source).

Across morpheme boundaries there is optional devoicing of stops after (voiceless) fricatives, affricates and stops in many morpho-syntactic contexts (cf. section 2.3.4). Nevertheless, devoicing fails to apply and voiced obstruents occur in this context in some compounds and words with prefixes such as *des-gogo* [dezɣoyo] 'lack of interest', where the preceding fricative may voice instead.

(e) After a sonorant consonant. After nasals and laterals the voicing contrast tends to be neutralized in favor of the voiced segments. This is reflected in the adaptation that old borrowings have undergone; e.g. *aldare* 'altar', Lat *tempora* > *denbora* 'time'. There are, nevertheless, exceptions to this generalization, mostly in the borrowed lexicon, e.g. *kanpo* 'outside', *kantu* 'song', *anka* 'leg', *kolpe* 'blow', *bedeinkatu* 'bless', but also a few in the native vocabulary, e.g. *anker* 'cruel', *malko* 'tear', *txilko* 'navel' (some of which most likely were morphologically complex words originally). Inflectional and some derivational suffixes beginning with a voiceless stop undergo voicing in this context (cf. section 2.1.4.5). The easternmost dialects, Zuberoan and Roncalese, do not have this voicing rule at all and present sequences with voiceless stops after a nasal or lateral in many items where the other dialects have voiced stops; e.g. common *alde* 'side', R *alte*; common *igande*, R *igante* 'Sunday'; common *ongi*, R *onki* 'well' (from *on* 'good' + *-ki* 'ADV').

After a rhotic the contrast is not neutralized; e.g. *arto* 'corn, maize', *ardo* 'wine'.

The distribution of voiceless and voiced stops is summarized in table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of voiceless and voiced stops (monomorphemic examples)

#__	<i>pinu</i> 'pine', <i>talo</i> 'corncake', <i>kale</i> 'street', <i>behi</i> 'cow', <i>dorre</i> 'tower', <i>gorri</i> 'red'
V__V	<i>epe</i> 'period', <i>ote</i> 'furze', <i>leku</i> 'place', <i>hobe</i> 'better', <i>idi</i> 'ox', <i>sagu</i> 'mouse'
N__	<i>kanpo</i> 'out', <i>kantu</i> 'song', <i>hanka</i> 'leg', <i>enbor</i> 'log', <i>denda</i> 'shop', <i>langa</i> 'fence'
L__	<i>kolpe</i> 'blow', <i>kalte</i> 'harm', <i>malko</i> 'tear', <i>albo</i> 'side', <i>alde</i> 'side', <i>malgu</i> 'flexible'
R__	<i>orpa</i> 'heel', <i>arto</i> 'corn', <i>erka</i> 'compare', <i>erbi</i> 'hare', <i>ardi</i> 'sheep', <i>argi</i> 'light'
S__	<i>ospe</i> 'fame', <i>este</i> 'intestine', <i>eska</i> 'ask for', * <i>sb</i> , * <i>sd</i> , * <i>sg</i>
__#	*- <i>p</i> (<i>eup</i> 'interjection'), <i>bat</i> 'one', - <i>tik</i> 'from', *- <i>b</i> , *- <i>d</i> , *- <i>g</i>

2.1.2.1.3. Aspirated stops

As mentioned, some northern dialects have voiceless aspirated stops /p^h, t^h, k^h/ as a third contrasting series. The distinction has been lost in recent times in the area near the Lapurdian coast. It appears to be especially well preserved in Zuberoan.

In his study of the Zuberoan variety of Larrau (Bq Larraiñe), for instance, Lafon (1958) finds that words such as *íphar* 'north', *úrthe* 'year', *ekhárri* 'bring' are always pronounced with an aspirated stop and, instead, other words such as *ttípi* 'small', *árte* 'interval', *jákin* 'know', always have an unaspirated voiceless stop. In the northeastern Zuberoan variety described by Larrasquet (1939) there are a few minimal pairs such as *merkhatü* 'market' vs. *merkatiü* 'to become cheap'.

Aspirated stops can occur in onset position contrasting with unaspirated ones initially, intervocalically and after a sonorant consonant (and before a vowel). After a sibilant, on the other hand, only voiceless unaspirated stops occur in Zuberoan (as in, for instance, English). Before a liquid, voiceless unaspirated and voiced stops occur, but aspirated stops do not. The examples in table 5 are from northeastern Zuberoan as described by Larrasquet (1939).

Table 5. Distribution of voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated and voiced stops in Zuberoan

#__	bilabial: <i>phála</i> 'shovel', <i>péla</i> 'to peel', <i>bása</i> 'wild'
	dental: <i>tánto</i> 'point', <i>thúna</i> 'stain', <i>dántza</i> 'dance'
	velar: <i>kánpo</i> 'outside', <i>khánta</i> 'sing', <i>gán</i> 'summit'
V__V	<i>báke</i> 'peace', <i>bákhun</i> 'single', <i>bágo</i> 'beech tree'
L__	<i>ártho</i> 'corn', <i>árte</i> 'interval', <i>árdi</i> 'sheep'
N__	<i>mánthar</i> 'shirt', <i>mánta</i> 'bed cover', <i>mándo</i> 'mule'
S__	* <i>sph</i> , * <i>sth</i> , * <i>skh</i> , <i>ásto</i> 'donkey', <i>áski</i> 'enough', <i>ósto</i> 'leaf', * <i>sb</i> , * <i>sd</i> , * <i>sg</i>

The existence of these three contrasting series in eastern Basque is typologically interesting because it appears to be the only such case among the modern western and central European languages, although Ancient Greek did have this three-way contrast directly inherited from Indo-European (and, of course, it is also found in many other languages spoken in other parts of the world). (VOT [voice onset time] data illustrating the contrast are offered in Gaminde, Hualde & Salaberria [to appear]).

2.1.2.2. Voiceless sibilant fricatives and affricates

Most Basque dialects possess three voiceless sibilant fricatives, apico-alveolar *s* /s/ (which in eastern dialects has a somewhat more retracted—apico-postalveolar—point of articulation), lamino-alveolar *z* /ʃ/, and pre-palatal *x* /ç/. At the same three points of articulation there are corresponding voiceless affricates: *ts* /tʃ/, *tz* /tʂ/, *tx* /tʃ/. The distinction between fricatives and affricates is neutralized in certain positions. The distribution of fricative and affricate sibilants is the following:

(a) Word-initially, *z* and *s* are frequent; e.g. *zakur* ‘dog’, *sagu* ‘mouse’. The affricates *ts* and *tz*, instead, are very rare. They only occur in a few expressive augmentative/despective forms such as *tzar* ‘evil’, *tzakur* ‘big dog’ in a few dialects. In most dialects they do not occur at all in this position. The distribution of *x* and *tx* in word-initial position is different and is subject to important dialectal variation. In Gipuzkoan, *tx-* is common (e.g. *txori* ‘bird’, *txerri* ‘pig’) and *x-* only occurs in expressive/diminutive words (e.g. *xagu* ‘little mouse’, DIM of *sagu* ‘mouse’; *xuxen* ‘correct, straight’, DIM of *zuzen*) and in names such as *Xabier*, *Xenpelar*. In at least some Bizkaian areas, initial *x-* does not occur at all so that even a name like *Xabier* is pronounced with [ʃ-]. In Lapurdian, on the other hand, there is no initial *tx-*, and *x-* occurs instead (e.g. *xori* ‘bird’). In Zuberoan, both *tx-* and *x-* occur contrastively (e.g. *tximino* ‘monkey’, *xáhal* ‘calf’).

Table 6. Dialectal distribution of initial *x-* and *tx-*

	<i>x-</i>	<i>tx-</i>	
Bizkaian	no	yes	
Gipuzkoan	(no)	yes	(<i>x-</i> in diminutives and names)
Lapurdian	yes	no	
Zuberoan	yes	yes	

(b) Intervocalically the fricative/affricate contrast is robust for *z/tz* and *s/ts*; e.g. *azal* 'skin', *izan* 'to be', *atzo* 'yesterday', *etzi* 'day after tomorrow', *etzan* 'to lay', *esan* 'to say', *osaba* 'uncle', *atso* 'old woman', *etsi* 'to give up', *otso* 'wolf'. The contrast is also firm for *x/tx* although these segments are less frequent, both being found mostly in borrowings and in contexts where a palatalization rule applies (that is, after /i/ or in expressive/diminutive forms, see sections 2.1.4.2-3); e.g. *axuri* 'lamb', *axeri* 'fox' (also *azeri*), *baxu* 'short' (< OSp *baxo*), *etxe* 'house' (also *etse*), *itxaso* 'sea' (also *itsaso*). In some Bizkaian varieties (Lekeitio, for instance) where /s/ is systematically palatalized after [i] or [j], *x* has become an allophone of /s/ in all instances and a preceding glide has developed in items where it did not belong historically.

(c) After an obstruent. The only morpheme-internal instances are borrowings such as *seksu* 'sex' and *absolutu* 'absolute'. In eastern dialects the stop + sibilant sequence becomes an affricate in these words, like in Gascon; e.g. *etsenplu* 'example', *atsolutu* 'absolute'. In some dialects the same thing happens across morpheme boundaries in a few specific cases; e.g. *onek zuen* → *onetzuen* 'this one had it' (Baztan). In sequences of two fricatives produced when the negative word *ez* 'no' precedes a conjugated verb starting with *z*- an affricate results in most dialects; e.g. *ez zen* → *etzen* 'it was not' (cf. section 2.5.2). Forms such as *etzen* 'it was not' are sometimes found written this way in older texts, but the Basque Academy has favored the spelling *ez zen*.

(d) After a sonorant consonant. In the native vocabulary and assimilated borrowings only the affricates occur after a nasal or liquid; e.g. *antz* 'resemblance', *pentsa* 'to think', *beltz* 'black', *eltze* 'cooking pot', *ertz* 'border', *hartz* 'bear'. Dialects differ in the extent to which recent borrowings obey this restriction. The fricatives occur in this post-sonorant-consonant context across morpheme boundaries in compounds; e.g. *mutil-zahar* 'bachelor' (lit. 'old boy'). Fricatives and not affricates occur in this position when another consonant follows; e.g. *mendirantz* 'towards the mountain' but *mendiranzko* 'of towards the mountain'; *beltz* 'black' but *belztu* 'become black, PRF'.

(e) Preconsonantly only fricatives are found; e.g. *esne* 'milk', *ahizpa* 'sister of a woman', *gaixto* 'bad, evil', *ixtorio* 'story, tale' (**etzne*, etc). In morpheme- and word-concatenation affricates become fricatives before a stop; e.g. *hotz* 'cold', *hoztu* 'become cold, PRF', *hitz* 'word' + *tegi* 'place' → *hiztegi* 'dictionary', *itx-i* 'to close', *ixten* 'to close, IMPF' (cf. section 2.3.8).

Fricatives are realized as voiced before a voiced consonant; e.g. *esne* [eʒne] 'milk'.

(f) Word-finally both fricatives and affricates are found, although affricates are rather more frequent; e.g. *mahats* 'grape', *latz* 'rough', *maiz* 'often', *arnas* 'breath'.

The distribution of apico- and lamino-alveolar fricatives and affricates is summarized in table 7.

Table 7. Contextual distribution of *s*, *z*, *ts*, *tz*

	#__	V__V	C__V	C__C	V__C	__#
<i>s</i> , <i>z</i>	yes	yes	(no)	yes	yes	yes
<i>ts</i> , <i>tz</i>	(no)	yes	yes	no	no	yes

The contrast between apico-alveolar and lamino-alveolar articulations for fricatives and affricates had been lost in the area around Bilbao by the 17th century. By the end of the 19th century this phonological contrast had disappeared from most of Bizkaia, except for the easternmost areas bordering Gipuzkoa (Markina). Nowadays this distinction is not made anywhere in Bizkaia and has also been lost in many parts of Gipuzkoa (in western areas, in urban areas, and along the coast). Generally speaking, in dialects that have lost the contrast, the realizations are apico-alveolar [ʃ] (the type of *s* most common in northern Castilian Spanish) but lamino-alveolar [tʃ]. However, in the Gipuzkoan town of Azkoitia, the pronunciation of the fricative is also lamino-alveolar (some Azkoitia speakers have lamino-alveolar [ʃ] in Basque but apico-alveolar [ʃ] in Spanish). For some other Gipuzkoan varieties there are some indications that apico-alveolar [ʃ] and lamino-alveolar [tʃ] may now be allophones in near-complementary distribution, but the facts have not been adequately studied. In Standard Basque the phonemic distinction between the two articulations is favored.

2.1.2.3. Aspiration

In northeastern areas one or even two phonemic laryngeal fricatives are found:

/h/. The laryngeal fricative is found in northern dialects, except for the coastal area of Lapurdi where it has been lost in recent times. The aspiration

can be voiceless or 'voiced' (murmured). The standard orthography represents *h* only word initially and intervocalically: *hemen* 'here', *aho* 'mouth', *zahar* 'old'. This corresponds to the distribution of this segment in some Lapurdian areas nowadays. In other more conservative eastern areas (Low Navarrese and Zuberoan), however, the distribution of /h/ is less restricted. In these dialects, /h/ can also occur after a non-word-initial sonorant consonant: *alhaba* 'daughter', *unhatu* 'to become tired', *uñhu* [ũphũ] 'onion', *üñhürri* 'ant', *erho* 'to kill', *urrhe* 'gold'. The aspiration never occurs after /m/ or after a word-initial sonorant *alhargun* 'widow(er)' but **lhagun*, cf. *lagun* 'companion'. There can be only one aspiration or aspirated stop per word. Another restriction is that, with very few exceptions, the aspiration (including aspirated stops) never occurs beyond the second syllable of the word. These restrictions are observable in the alternations shown by the perfective suffix *-t(h)ü*: *sar-thü* 'get or put in', *sor-thü* 'be born' vs. *heltü* 'arrive', *pharkatü* 'forgive', *kobesatü* 'confess'.

/ħ/. Zuberoan has a nasalized laryngeal aspiration restricted to the intervocalic position. It has resulted from the historical deletion of intervocalic /n/ (a phenomenon common to all Basque dialects). Nasalized /ħ/ and oral /h/ are found in phonemic contrast in Zuberoan: *éñe* 'no', *éhe* 'washing water', *añáte* 'duck', *áhal* 'to be able', *miñi* 'tongue', *biñi* 'grain', *añizpa* 'sister of woman', *zóhi* 'ripe'. /ħ/ is always flanked by nasalized vowels (other nasal consonants also trigger bidirectional nasalization of flanking vowels in Zuberoan).

2.1.2.4. Other voiceless fricatives

In addition to sibilant and laryngeal segments, we find the following fricatives:

/f/. The labiodental voiceless fricative is nowadays a phoneme in all Basque dialects. Nevertheless in Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian areas [f] often alternates with [p] both in borrowings (e.g. *fanfarroi* ~ *panparroi* 'braggart', *festa* ~ *pesta* 'holiday') and in the few native words where it occurs (e.g. *afari* ~ *apari* 'dinner', *alfer* ~ *alper* 'lazy'). In these areas the pronunciation of /f/ as [p] is a dying phenomenon found in the speech of older speakers. /f/ does not occur in the coda of the syllable.

/x/. All or nearly all dialects spoken in Spanish territory have a voiceless velar (or postvelar) fricative phoneme /x/ and none of the dialects spoken in France does. But, among the dialects where it occurs, the incidence of this phoneme is very different. Depending on the dialect, it ranges from a fairly common sound to a sound restricted to recent borrowings (see 2.1.2.6).

2.1.2.5. Voiced fricatives

Voiced fricatives only occur in some dialects:

/j/. Some Bizkaian, Low Navarrese and High Navarrese dialects have a palatal fricative (which in some areas has noncontinuant realizations) in words such as *jan* 'to eat'. Some speakers also pronounce intervocalic *i* as a palatal fricative in words such as *leiho* [lejo] 'window', *mahaia* [maja] 'the table'.

/ʒ/, /z/, /3/. Zuberoan has three voiced fricatives, apico-postalveolar /ʒ/, laminal /z/ and prepalatal /3/, which are the voiced counterpart of /ʃ, s, ʃ/. The phonemes /z/ and /3/ occur almost exclusively in the borrowed vocabulary (examples from Lafon 1958): [ʒ]úrra 'beat up', [ʒ]apárta 'blow', ai[z]ína 'leisure', bede[z]í 'physician', ló[z]a 'slate', ái[z]a 'easy'. Word-finally the voiced/voiceless distinction is neutralized, but the voiced fricatives surface when vowel-initial suffixes are added: so[s] 'money', so[z]a 'the money'. Like in Gascon and other Romance languages, word-final and prefix-final sibilants are voiced in intervocalic position in Zuberoan; e.g. e[z] axol 'nonchalant'.

In Zuberoan /3/ is also the result of *j- (see section 2.1.2.6). The prepalatal segments of Zuberoan are described as having a more palatal character than the corresponding French segments.

The voiced prepalatal fricative /3/ also occurs in some Bizkaian varieties, where it has an affricate allophone utterance-initially and after a noncontinuant consonant, e.g. [dʒ]an 'to eat', *dana* [3]an dau 'has eaten everything', *mendi*[3]a 'the mountain' (examples from Lekeitio).

/dz/. In some Bizkaian varieties there is a voiced lamino-alveolar affricate /dz/ which occurs only in a handful of words, mostly of an expressive nature; e.g. *dzartako* 'blow', *dzingo* 'hole', *dzangada* 'dive'.

2.1.2.6. Dialectal developments of *j-

To begin with, in Gipuzkoa and neighboring High Navarrese and Bizkaian areas, an original word-initial glide *j- has had the same development as in Spanish: [j] > [ɟ] > [ʃ] > [x]. The process was completed in all of Gipuzkoa, where, for instance, original [jan] 'eat' (< *e-an) is now universally pronounced [xan]; but in other areas the development stopped somewhere along the way. In some northern Bizkaian areas (e.g. Lekeitio, Bermeo) we find a prepalatal [ɟ] (which also has affricate realizations after pause or a noncontinuant consonant) and in some Navarrese areas (Roncal, Salazar) there was devoicing of this sound but no velarization and we find [ʃ] (this sound is usually written with *x*, like other instances of the same sound: *xan* [ʃan] 'to eat'). There are also areas in both Navarre (e.g. Baztan) and Bizkaia (Arratia, Uribekosta) where a palatal consonant is found in the corresponding cognates. This palatal consonant may have the same range of realizations as Castilian Spanish *y* (from glide or very weak fricative to affricate or stop). The facts suggest that in the Bizkaian area [j] is the result of a round-trip evolution [j] > [ɟ] > [j] (cf. Hualde et al. 1994:8-9).

Until recently [x] was the prestige variant and this pronunciation has progressively expanded its territory, given the general high prestige accorded to the Gipuzkoan dialect in most of the southern Basque territory. Outside of Gipuzkoa the expansion of the velar fricative has often taken place by lexical diffusion. Initial [x-] in words like *jaun* 'sir', *joan* 'go' is found in areas where one regularly finds [j-] or [ʃ-]. For instance, in southwestern Bizkaia [j]oan 'go' competes with the "Gipuzkoan" form [x]oan.

With the development of standard Basque the relative prestige of these different sounds is changing. Pronunciations such as [jan] 'eat', [joan], 'go' with a palatal approximant or fricative are now considered more "standard".

Sporadically, a glide has evolved to [x] also in intervocalic position; e.g. *oihu* [oju] ~ *G* [oxu] 'shout'. Interestingly the pronunciation [anaxe] 'brother of man' (cf. common *anaia* [anaja]) is found in areas of western Bizkaia (Arratia, Uribekosta), where word-initially we find [jan], etc.

The sound [x] has also been introduced in borrowings from Spanish such as *jenero* 'merchandise', *jenio* 'temper', *biaje* 'trip' and many others. In some Bizkaian areas lacking the phoneme /x/, this sound was until recently replaced by [k], but nowadays it is left unchanged. We can affirm that nowadays /x/ occurs as a phoneme in all peninsular dialects, at least in the borrowed vocabulary.

North of the French-Spanish border, [x] does not occur at all and we find neither [x] nor [ʃ] as a development of *j-. In Lapurdi we find [jan] and in Zuberoan [ʒan].

2.1.2.7. Nasals

There are three (voiced) nasal phonemes: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/ and palatal /ɲ/. The palatal nasal has a restricted distribution and in many dialects its phonemic status is questionable. It appears in diminutives and affective forms, where it is written as ñ; e.g. *ñimiño* 'small'; *andereño* 'young lady, esp. primary school teacher' (from *andere* 'lady'); *ñabar* 'many-colored' (DIM of *nabar*, same meaning), *Beñat* 'Bernard, DIM'. This expressive use of the palatal nasal is for the most part restricted to eastern dialects.

Speakers of western dialects (Bizkaian, Gipuzkoan and some High Navarrese) palatalize /n/ after /i/, syllabic or nonsyllabic (cf. section 2.3.2). The palatal glide is often lost in this context; e.g. *mina* [mija] 'the pain', *zaina* [ʃajna] 'the vein'. On the other hand, in Lapurdian and Low Navarrese the opposite is found. Not only is there no palatalization in this environment, but depalatalization took place historically, as shown in the treatment of old borrowings; e.g.: *main(h)u* 'bath'. In these dialects the palatal nasal only occurs in diminutives. Standard Basque orthography is consistent with these dialects: *andereño* 'young lady; female teacher', *Beñat* 'Bernard', but *baina* 'but', *mainu* 'bath' (cf. Sp *baño*), *baina* 'but', *kainabera* 'reed' which speakers from the western area (i.e. most Basque speakers) pronounce as [baja], [mapu], [kapaβera]. In many western dialects /n/ palatalizes only when followed by a vowel so that there is an alternation in stem-final position; e.g. *min* [min] 'pain', *mina* [mija] 'the pain'; *zain* [ʃajn], *zaina* [ʃajna] 'the vein'. This probably represents the most common pronunciation in standard Basque. Other western varieties also palatalize word-finally: *min* [mij̃] 'pain', *zain* [ʃaj̃n] 'vein'.

As for /m/ and /n/, they contrast word-initially and intervocalically; e.g. *makila* 'stick', *neska* 'girl', *amu* 'hook', *anaia* 'brother'.

Word-finally before a vowel or pause, only /n/ is found: *esan* 'to say', *-m. In some western dialects, if the preceding segment is /i/ (or [j]), a final nasal is realized as [ɲ] and otherwise as [n]: *egi*[ɲ] 'to do, make', *ize*[n] 'name', *gizo*[n] 'man', *esa*[n] 'to say', *lagu*[n] 'friend, companion'.

Nasals assimilate in place to a following consonant: *kanpo* [kam̥po] 'out', *andere* [aɲdere] 'lady', *hanka* [(h)aɲka] 'leg' (cf. section 2.1.4.1). However, in Zuberoan the contrast between /n/ and /ɲ/ is maintained before

the aspiration; e.g. *unhétsi* 'to appreciate' vs. *uñhú* 'onion', *íñhar* 'a little'. Zuberoan also contrasts /n/ and /ɲ/ word-finally.

2.1.2.8. Laterals

There is a voiced alveolar lateral /l/ with no discernible velarization; e.g. *lan* 'work', *gela* 'room', *azal* 'skin'.

In addition there is a voiced palatal /ʎ/ with the same distribution as the palatal nasal /ɲ/. In eastern dialects it occurs in diminutives, where it is written as *ll*; e.g. *lagun* 'companion, friend', *llagun* 'same meaning, DIM', *labe* 'oven', *llabe* 'little oven', *Pello* 'Peter, DIM'.

In western dialects, [ʎ] occurs in borrowings, e.g. *ailegatu* [aʎeyatu] 'to arrive' < Old Sp *allegar*, and as an allophone of /l/ after a high front vowel or glide, e.g. *mutil* [mutil] or [mutiʎ] 'boy', *mutila* [mutiʎa] 'the boy'; *maila* [majʎa] 'level'. As with the nasals, the orthography is based on the Lapurdian-Low Navarrese depalatalizing varieties: *botila* 'bottle' < Sp *botella*.

Many younger speakers, especially from urban areas, have lost the palatal lateral and instead produce a palatal fricative or approximant; e.g. *mutila* [mutija] 'the boy'. For these speakers, *mahaia* 'the table' and *maila* '(the) level' are homophonous, both [maja]. Although this delateralized pronunciation elicits strong condemnation from teachers and other conservative speakers, it appears to be spreading among the younger generations.

Laterals assimilate in place to following consonants articulated with the front part of the tongue; e.g. *kalte* [kaʎte] 'harm'.

2.1.2.9. Rhotics

For most speakers of Basque, the distribution of rhotic segments is as follows:

Intervocally, there is a contrast between a voiced alveolar rhotic tap *-r-* /r/ and a voiced alveolar rhotic trill *-rr-* /r/. Minimal and near-minimal pairs are numerous; e.g. *ere* 'too', *erre* 'to burn'; *bare* 'slug; calm', *barre* 'laughter'; *gora* 'upwards', *gorra* 'the deaf one'. The two rhotics also occur stem-finally, but the contrast only surfaces when a suffix-initial vowel follows; e.g. *ura* 'the water', *urra* 'the hazelnut', but *ur* 'water; hazelnut'. As shown by the examples, the existence of surface neutralization is repre-

sented in the spelling. Only a handful of items present a stem-final tap in inflected forms; e.g. *plater*, *platera* 'plate, the plate'. The very common *ur*, *ura* 'water, the water' belongs to this group. The vast majority of rhotic-final stems present a trill in inflected forms; e.g. *zakur*, *zakurra* 'dog, the dog', *sagar*, *sagarra* 'apple, the apple', *eder*, *ederra* 'beautiful, the beautiful one'.

In all other positions, the opposition is neutralized and rhotics are realized as a trill (although generally not as strong as the intervocalic one, i.e. with fewer vibrations). This includes the preconsonantal position (e.g. *arto* 'corn', *ardo* 'wine', *ertz* 'border', *erne* 'ready', *irla* 'island'), the postconsonantal position (e.g. *pobre* 'poor', *andre* 'lady', *droga* 'fight; drug', *prakak* 'pants'), and the final position (e.g. *eder* 'beautiful', *ur* 'water; hazelnut').

Word-initially neither rhotic occurs and adapted borrowings show a prothetic vowel. The inserted vowel is usually *e*-; e.g. *errege* 'king', *Erroma* 'Rome', *errepublika* 'republic', *errealitate* 'reality', *erronomia* 'religious parade' (< Sp *romería*), *erregela* 'rule' (< Sp *regla*). But sometimes the prothetic vowel is *a*-, or *i*-; e.g. *arratoi* 'rat', *arropa* 'clothes' (< Sp *ropa*), *arraza* 'race', *arrazoi* 'reason', *irradi* 'radio'. Present-day speakers of Basque have no problem articulating a word-initial trill since practically all of them are bilingual in Spanish (or French), but this prothesis is still generally favored in the adaptation of new borrowings, at least in writing (e.g. *errefrakzio* 'refraction'), except for very technical ones such as *radar*.

Some dialects differ from the general situation described in the above paragraphs in the following ways:

The extinct Roncalese dialect might have had a tap/trill contrast in absolute word-final position.

For most Lapurdian and Low Navarrese speakers the trill has acquired a uvular articulation (as in French). A minority of Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan speakers also has a uvular trill, but in these areas it is still an idiolectal phenomenon. Although the uvular trill is generally viewed as a "speech defect" in the southern Basque Country, the percentage of Basque speakers with this "speech defect" appears to be much greater than among monolingual Spanish speakers.

A more recent phenomenon is the uvularization of the tap in Labourdin and Low Navarrese, which is leading to the neutralization of the two rhotics among younger speakers in this area.

In Zuberoan, there is no tap/trill contrast because the tap has been lost by deletion in the course of the last two centuries (in intervocalic position and between a vowel and /h/); so that, for instance, *axeri* 'fox' is pronounced [aʃéj] but *arreba* 'sister of man' is [aréβa]. The deletion of the intervocalic

tap has given rise to a great number of diphthongs and long vowels in this dialect; e.g. *aragi* > *aági* 'meat', *bürü* > *büü* 'head', *axuri* > *ax[új]* 'lamb', *ageri* > *ag[éj]* 'visible'. The only remaining intervocalic rhotic of Zuberoan is generally pronounced as an alveolar trill, but often with fewer vibrations than in dialects where the tap/trill contrast is firm.

It appears that prior to the general deletion of the tap, Zuberoan also had a tap/trill contrast before the aspiration since the rhotic has been lost in words such as *erhi* [éhi] 'finger', but not in other words such as *ürre* [ýrhe] 'gold' (common *urre*).

2.1.2.10. Vowels and glides

Most Basque dialects have a five vowel system /i, e, a, o, u/. The exception is Zuberoan, which has an additional vowel *ü* /y/ (high front rounded vowel).

Zuberoan also has nasalized vowels. These vowels occur in three contexts:

- (1) preceding or following a nasal stop, e.g. *abentü* [aßěnty] 'December', *arrano* [arāñō] 'eagle', *ama* [āmā] 'mother';
- (2) preceding or following the nasalized laryngeal fricative /ħ/, e.g. *ahate* [āhāte] 'duck', *ohore* [ūhūě] 'honor', *ahizpa* [āhīşpa] 'sister of woman';
- (3) in word-final stressed position; e.g. *salū* 'living room', *ardū* 'wine', *bedezī* 'physician' (< Fr *medecin*).

Whereas in the first two cases nasalization of vowels can be considered an allophonic feature due to assimilation, the third instance of nasalization is clearly phonemic, since these words ending in nasal vowels not in contact with a nasal consonant contrast both with other oxytonic words ending in final oral vowels, e.g. *alphó* 'mustiness', *Larrajá* 'name of a town' and with oxytonic words ending in a nasal consonant, e.g. *hun* [hūn] 'good', *gahün* [gāhŷn] 'foam'. Historically, nasal vowels are also attested in Roncalese and in 16th century Bizkaian, but seemingly with a more restricted distribution than in modern Zuberoan (in fact, it seems reasonable to assume that at some stage in the deletion of intervocalic /n/ all Basque dialects must have had nasalized vowels).

As for the phonetic properties of vowels, a number of spectrographic studies have found the high vowels to be more open than in Castilian Spanish and the low vowel to be somewhat more palatal than in Spanish (cf. Salaburu 1984 for the High Navarrese variety of Baztan, J.M. Etxebarria

1991 for the Bizkaian variety of Zeberio, P. Etxeberria 1991 for the Gipuzkoan variety of Zaldibia). In Zuberoan the three high vowels /i,u,y/ have been described as lower than the corresponding French vowels, so that Zuberoan /y/ approaches French /ø/ (Larrasquet 1932).

In a sequence of vocoids, syllabicity is generally predictable and noncontrastive. In sequences of falling sonority high vocoids are normally realized as glides.

Table 8. Falling diphthongs

ai	<i>aita</i> [ajta] 'father'	au	<i>jaun</i> [jawn] ~ [xawn] 'sir'
ei	<i>behi</i> [bej] 'cow'	eu	<i>euskara</i> [ewʃkara] 'Basque language'
oi	<i>ohitura</i> [ojtura] 'custom'	ou	_____
ui	<i>suin</i> [ʃujn] 'son-in-law'	iu	_____

In connected speech word-initial high vowels become glides in the same postvocalic environments; e.g. *neska umila* [aw] 'humble girl', *nire izena* [ej] 'my name'.

A recent fact of spelling-driven pronunciation in standard Basque is that although most speakers do not pronounce orthographic *h*, its presence favors the realization in hiatus of sequences that otherwise would be realized as diphthongs; e.g. *ehun* [e.ún], *ahizpa* [a.íʃ.pa] 'sister of woman'.

As for sequences of rising sonority, in the most usual situation (represented by Gipuzkoan, Bizkaian and some neighboring High Navarrese varieties), these sequences are heterosyllabic.

Table 9. Sequences of rising sonority

ia	<i>men.di.a</i> 'the mountain'	ua	<i>bu.ru.a</i> 'the head'
ie	<i>men.di.en</i> 'of the mountains'	ue	<i>bu.ru.en</i> 'of the heads'
io	<i>na.zi.o</i> 'nation'	uo	<i>zu.ok</i> 'you-PL PROX.'
iu	<i>bi.(h)ur</i> 'turn, twist', <i>zi.ur</i> 'sure'		

In borrowings, rising diphthongs are usually adapted as hiatus in this dialectal area, and hiatus-breaking consonants are often inserted; e.g. Sp *r[we]da* > *errubeda* 'wheel', Sp *s[je]sta* > *si.es.ta*, Sp *s[we]rte* > *su.er.te*, *suberte* 'luck'. Nevertheless, diphthongs in borrowings are normally kept as such when [w] occurs after a velar or labial consonant; e.g. *f[we]rte* 'strong', *k[wa]drila* 'group of friends', *b[we]ltatu* '(re)turn, PRF'.

In some High Navarrese (Roncal, Salazar, Baztan) and Low Navarrese areas, on the other hand, sequences of rising sonority are normally tautosyllabic (diphthongs): *mend[ja]* 'the mountain', *bur[wa]* 'the head', etc. In smaller areas of both Navarre (Ultzama) and Lapurdi (Sara), we find the

somewhat surprising situation that stem-final mid vowels become glides before vowel-initial suffixes but high-vowels in the same context maintain their syllabicity; e.g. *mendi*, *mend*[i.a] ‘mountain, the mountain’, *esku*, *esk*[u.a] ‘hand, the hand’, but *suge*, *sug*[ja] ‘snake, the snake’; *otso*, *ots*[wa] ‘wolf, the wolf’. This creates minimal pairs in these dialects such as *sar*[i.a] ‘the prize’ (from *sari*) vs. *sar*[ja] ‘the net’ (from *sare*) (cf. section 2.1.5.9).

2.1.3. Syllable structure and phonotactic restrictions

2.1.3.1. Onsets

The only onset groups allowed in Basque are those of the muta-cum-liquida type (including *fl*-, *fr*- and excluding *dl*-, *tl*-). Even these groups were not permitted in older stages of the language and borrowings from Latin and early Romance show either deletion of the stop or vowel epenthesis between stop and liquid (see section 2.1.8.2). Words with these sequences in the modern language are more recent borrowings (*pobre* ‘poor’, *prakak* ‘pants’, *plater* ‘plate’, *fresko* ‘cool’, *triste* ‘sad’, *krabelin* ‘carnation’, *gris* ‘gray’), in addition to a few cases of syncope in the native vocabulary (e.g. *andere* > *andre* ‘woman’).

2.1.3.2. Nuclei

Basque does not have syllabic consonants. Only vowels and diphthongs can occupy the nucleus of the syllable (see section 2.1.2.10).

2.1.3.3. Codas

We must distinguish word-internal from word-final codas, since word-finally more possibilities are allowed.

In a word-internal coda we may find one of the following consonants:

- (a) A nasal with the same place of articulation as the following consonant; e.g. *ka*[m]*po* ‘outside’, *a*[ŋ]*dre* ‘woman’, *a*[ŋ]*ka* ‘leg’.
- (b) A liquid /l/ or /r/; e.g. *alde* ‘side’, *arto* ‘corn’.
- (c) A sibilant fricative; e.g. *esne* ‘milk’, *ezti* ‘honey’, *ixtorio* ‘story’. In addition, at morpheme-boundaries we may have certain coda groups:

- (d) Nasal + sibilant fricative; e.g. *mendiranzko* 'bound for the mountain' (from *mendirantz* 'towards the mountain' + *ko*).
- (e) Liquid + sibilant fricative; e.g. *belztu* 'make or become black, PRF' (from *beltz* 'black' + *tu*).

Stops or affricates are not allowed in word-internal codas. In morphologically complex words preconsonantal stops are deleted and affricates are reduced to fricatives (see section 2.1.4.4). These adaptations are also observable in integrated borrowings; e.g. *doctore* > *dotore* 'elegant'. Nevertheless, word-internal coda stops are kept in very recent loanwords; e.g. *doktore* 'doctor, PhD', *obsesio* 'obsession'.

Word-finally we find a greater number of possible codas:

- (a) A nasal /n/. Word-final nasals are always alveolar (unless assimilated to a following consonant); e.g. *gizon* 'man', *eman* 'to give', *ehun* 'a hundred', *egin* 'to do, make'. In some dialects final nasals are realized as palatal when preceded by a high front vowel or glide; e.g. *egi[n]* 'to do, make', *hai[n]* 'so'.
- (b) A liquid /l/, /r/; e.g. *azal* 'skin', *mutil* 'boy', *adar* 'branch'. As with the nasals, in some dialects final laterals are realized as palatal when preceded by a high front vowel or glide; e.g. *muti[ɫ]* 'boy'. As was mentioned in 2.1.2.9, it appears that Roncalese may have had a tap/trill contrast word-finally. The general situation, however, is for the contrast to be neutralized in favor of the trill.
- (c) A fricative /s/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/; e.g. *arnas* 'breath', *maiz* 'often', *exkax* 'of little value'.
- (d) An affricate /tʃ/, /tʂ/, /tʃ/; e.g. *hots* 'noise', *hotz* 'cold', *amets* 'dream', *ametz* 'gall-oak', *apatx* 'hoof'.
- (e) A stop /t/, /k/; e.g. *zenbat* 'how much, how many', *neskak* 'the girls'.

In addition, the following consonantal groups are found:

- (f) Nasal + affricate; e.g. *antz* 'resemblance', *mendirantz* 'towards the mountain'.
- (g) Liquid + affricate; e.g. *beltz* 'black', *beltx* 'blackish', *umezurtz* 'orphan', *herts* 'to close', L, LN, HN *bortz* 'five' (*bost* elsewhere).
- (h) Sibilant fricative + t; e.g. *bost* 'five'.

Northern dialects allow, in addition, final groups where a liquid or nasal is followed by a stop; e.g. *galant* 'gallant', *hunk* 'to touch', *idort* 'to dry out'.

2.1.3.4. Syllable contact

From the coda restrictions discussed above, certain prohibitions regarding heterosyllabic sequences of consonants follow. But there are some additional restrictions that disallow specific sequences within morphemes or within words.

(a) Stop/affricate + consonant. Consistent with the coda-structure constraints discussed in the preceding subsection, there are no word-internal heterosyllabic sequences where a stop or an affricate is followed by another consonant, leaving aside a few unassimilated borrowings, as show in table 10.

Table 10. Stop/affricate + consonant sequences

stop + stop: *kt	affricate + stop: *tsk
stop + affricate: *ktz	affricate + affricate: *tstz
stop + fricative: *ks	affricate + fricative: *tsz
stop + nasal: *kn	affricate + nasal: *tsn
stop + liquid: onset kr, kl	affricate + liquid: *tsl, *tsr

Sequences of stop + liquid do occur, but as tautosyllabic onset groups, as in *po.bre* 'poor', *kresal* 'sea water'.

When the prohibited sequences arise through morpheme concatenation they are simplified by deletion of the preconsonantal stop or fricativization of the affricate; e.g. *aberats* + *tu* = *aberastu* 'become rich' (see section 2.1.4.4).

(b) Fricative + consonant: A fricative can be followed by a voiceless stop, as in *asto* 'donkey' but not by a voiced stop, **sd*. In morpheme concatenation devoicing of the stop takes place (see section 2.1.4.5).

Fricative + affricate sequences do not occur morpheme internally, but they are allowed with certain suffixes; e.g. *apaiztzat* 'as a priest'. In other morphological instances, the affricate becomes a stop in such sequences; e.g. *ikus* + *tzen* = *ikusten* 'see, IMPF' (cf. *igurtzen* 'rub, IMPF'), *moz* + *tzaile* = *moztaile* 'cutter' (cf. *antolatzaile* 'organizer').

Sequences of two fricatives are only found in unassimilated borrowings such as *eszena* 'scene', *piszina* 'swimming pool'.

A sibilant fricative can be followed by a nasal, as in *esne* 'milk', *asma* 'figure out'. In this context the sibilant is voiced, *e[z̥]ne* 'milk'. A sibilant is followed by a lateral in some integrated borrowings such as *islada* 'reflection', *esleitu* 'to choose', also with voicing of the sibilant. Other borrowings such as *irla* 'island' show rhotacism of the original sibilant, but since this type of rhotacism is common in Occitan, the change may have taken place in the lender language. Nevertheless, some authors have proposed a connection between *erle* 'bee' and *ezti* 'sweet', which would involve rhotacism of the sibilant before the lateral. Sibilants do not occur before rhotics, **sr*.

The glottal fricative /h/ is subject to stricter restrictions, which are discussed in section 2.1.2.3.

(c)Nasal + consonant. A nasal can be followed by all stops and affricates, assimilating in place to them, see section 2.1.4.1: *kanpo* [kampo] 'outside', *enbor* 'log', *kantu* 'song', *landa* 'field', *arrantza* 'braying', *pentsatu* 'to think', *oraintxe* 'right now', *ttantta* 'little drop', *onddo* 'fungus', *hanka* [(h)an̥ka] 'leg', *hango* 'of there'.

Sibilant fricatives become affricates after nasals and liquids (see 2.1.4.7) within the word domain. In Standard Basque this assimilation is obligatory and reflected in the orthography: *zientzia* 'science', *trantsitibo* 'transitive', although in local dialects recent borrowings may not undergo affrication. Postnasal sibilants are not affricated when immediately followed by another consonant, as in *mendiranzko* 'bound for the mountain'.

There are no sequences of two nasals: **nm*, **mn*, **mm*. Sequences of nasal + liquid are not found either in the word-internal context: **nl*, **nr*. In the few borrowings with the group *nr* a transitional consonant is optionally/dialectally inserted; e.g. Sp *honra* > *ondra* 'honor'.

(d)Liquid + consonant. A liquid may be followed by a stop or affricate; e.g. *kalte* 'harm', *arte* 'between; live oak', *elkar* 'each other', *erkatu* 'compare, PRF', *boltsa* 'bag', *ertza* 'the edge'. Sibilant fricatives become affricates after a liquid in assimilated borrowings, as in Sp *bolsa* > *boltsa* 'bag', Sp *salsa* > *saltsa* 'sauce', Sp *cárcel* > *kartzel* 'prison'. As with post-nasal fricatives, this affrication is also obligatory in Standard Basque but not in all local dialects.

A rhotic can be followed by a nasal, as in *erne* 'ready', but there are no examples of lateral + nasal sequences, **ln*.

As for sequences of two liquids, *rl* is allowed, as in *erle* 'bee', but **lr* is not, cf. *aldrebes* 'in the opposite way', *aldrebeskeria* 'confusion' < Sp *al revés*.

2.1.3.5. Word-initial restrictions

Rhotics do not occur word-initially, except for very recent technical borrowings such as *radarra* ‘the radar’, which are pronounced with an initial trill.

The affricates *ts* and *tz* are very rare word-initially. The lamino-alveolar *tz* only occurs in eastern dialects in originally augmentative or despective forms such as *tzakur* ‘big dog’, *tzar* ‘bad, evil’ and the apico-alveolar *ts* does not occur initially in any words at all, except perhaps for the technical borrowing *tse-tse euli* ‘tse-tse fly’.

The palatals *ll-*, *ñ-*, *tt -*, only occur word-initially in diminutives such as *llagun* ‘dear friend’, *ñotto* ‘small’, *ttipi* ‘small’ in eastern dialects. The lateral palatal also occurs in other areas in a few borrowings from Spanish such as *llabero* ‘key chain’. The prepalatal fricative *x-* is disallowed in word-initial position in many Bizkaian varieties and occurs only in diminutives and proper names in Gipuzkoan. Other dialects do not have this restriction against word-initial *x-*.

2.1.4. Main phonological alternations affecting consonants

2.1.4.1. Nasal assimilation

Within a word, nasals are always homorganic with a following consonant; e.g. *e[m]bor* ‘log’, *fa[m]farroi* ‘braggart’, *ka[ŋ]tu* ‘song’, *ha[ŋ]go* ‘of there’. In dialects where /n/ is palatalized after /i/, palatalization is blocked when there is a consonant after the nasal; that is, nasal assimilation prevails over palatalization; e.g. *ai[ŋ]geru* ‘angel’; *hai[n]* ‘so’ but *hai[m]bat* ‘so much’.

Nasal assimilation applies across word boundaries within phrases; e.g. *lagu[m] berri bat* ‘a new friend’, *gizo[ŋ] gorra* ‘the deaf man’.

2.1.4.2. Conditioned palatalization

Basque has two distinct processes of palatalization: conditioned palatalization (after /i/) and affective palatalization. Only affective palatalization is reflected in the orthography of standard Basque.

Conditioned palatalization is very variable across dialects. The dialects spoken in Lapurdi and Low Navarre do not have this process at all; e.g. *baina* [bajna]. In many central dialects, on the other hand, /l/ and /n/ are palatalized after /i/, especially if intervocalic, as in the following examples: *langile* [laŋgiʎe] ‘worker’, *mutila* [mutiʎa] ‘the boy’, *maila* [maʎa] ‘(the)

level', *mina* [mɨna] 'the pain', *baina* [bana] 'but'. Recent borrowings are often exceptions to the palatalization rule; e.g. *kasino* [kaʃino] 'casino', *kilometro* [kilometro] 'km'. Some speakers distinguish, for instance, between [piloto] 'pilot of an airplane', a recent borrowing, and [piʎoto] 'pilot of a boat', an older, integrated, borrowing. Palatalization is generally blocked in the context /ili/, e.g. *familia* [famɨlia] 'family', *ixilik* [iʃilik] 'silent', and often also in the context /ini/, e.g. [ipini] ~ [ipɨni] 'to put'.

Palatalization of /t/ (in addition to palatalization of /l/ and /n/) is found in some Bizkaian, Gipuzkoan and western High Navarrese varieties; e.g. *mendi*[c]ik 'from the mountain' (cf. *baso*[t]ik 'from the forest', *etxe*[t]ik 'from the house'), *amaitu* [amajcu] 'finish, PRF' (cf. *pentsa*[t]u 'think, PRF'), *ditut* [dicut] 'I have them', *egiten* [eyicen] 'do, make, IMPF' (cf. *esa*[t]en 'say, IMPF'), *polita* [polica] 'pretty'. In some areas of Bizkaia, the palatal stop [c] has been replaced by the prepalatal affricate [tʃ]; e.g. *mendi*[tʃ]ik 'from the mountain'. This merger is spreading in Bizkaia and neighboring areas.

The most extensive incidence of palatalization is found in the northern Bizkaian area. In this region palatalization also affects /d/ in the groups /ild/, /ind/ as well as /t/ in the same environment; e.g. *hil da* [iʎja] 'has died', *egin dau* [ejɨjaw] 'has done it', *zein da* [ʃejɨja] 'which is'. There is no palatalization of /d/ directly after /i/ because this consonant is realized as [ð] or [r] in this postvocalic environment; e.g. *idi* [iði] ~ [iri] 'ox'. Some Bizkaian varieties also palatalize /s/; e.g. [giʃon] 'man', [teniʃ] 'tennis'.

The palatalization of the initial consonant of suffixes and clitics gives rise to morphophonological alternations, as was shown in some of the examples above; e.g. *baso*[t]ik 'from the forest' vs. *mendi*[c]ik 'from the mountain'; *ilun*[t]asun 'darkness' vs. *argi*[c]asun 'clarity'; *Peru*[ð]a '(it) is Peru' vs. *Marti*[ɲ] [j]a '(it) is Martin'. In some varieties only intervocalic consonants are palatalized, giving rise to alternations in the case of stem-final consonants; e.g. *muti*[l]/*muti*[ʎ]a 'boy/the boy'.

Leaving aside phonological clitics (which include the copula *da* 'is'), word-initial consonants are never palatalized; e.g. *zazpi* [l]agun 'seven friends', *zaldi* [n]ekatu 'tired horse', *Martin* [d]ator 'Martin is coming'. That is, palatalization is restricted to the word domain, including clitics (unlike nasal assimilation, which applies across words).

2.1.4.3. Affective palatalization

In Basque, palatalization is used to create diminutives and affective words. Most frequently, the sibilants *s*, *z* are replaced by the prepalatal *x* in diminutives. In each of the following pairs the first word is the basic one and the second is the corresponding diminutive: *sagu/xagu* 'mouse', *zuzen/xuxen* 'straight, correct', *zezen/xexen* 'bull', *zahar/xahar* 'old', *zozo/xoxo* 'black-bird', *errez/errex* 'easy'.

Word-initially, *tx* can be used instead of *x*, if the word does not contain another sibilant: *zuri/xuri* ~ *txuri* 'white', *zakur/xakur* ~ *txakur* 'dog', *zoratu/txoratu* 'become crazy, PRF'. In a few cases, the palatalized form has (dialectally) become the neutral term, in which case the variant with *s* or *z* has acquired an augmentative or despective connotation. That is the case, for many speakers, with *txakur* 'dog' and *zakur* 'large dog' (diminutive, *txakurtxo* 'little dog') or *txerri* 'pig' and *zerri* 'pig' (used as an insult). Very likely the word *txori* 'bird' is originally a diminutive of *zori*, nowadays 'luck'. The dental stops are also palatalized in diminutives: *tanta/ttanta* 'drop', *kutun/kuttun* 'dear, darling', *adio/addio* 'goodbye', *eder/edder* 'beautiful'. Less commonly (mostly in eastern dialects), the alveolar sonorants are also palatalized: *lagun/llagun* 'mate, friend', *polita/pollita* 'pretty', *labur/llabur* 'short', *bero/bello* 'hot'. In western varieties initial *tx*- is sometimes found in diminutives corresponding to any consonant at all (not only a dental or alveolar one) or to zero: *iñurri/txiñurri* 'ant', *pispildu/txispildu* 'become happy after drinking, PRF'.

The process of affective palatalization is particularly productive in eastern dialects, where there is no conditioned palatalization after /i/. In general, the more conditioned palatalization a variety has, the more restricted the affective palatalization process has become. Notice that, for instance, *gixona* is the normal pronunciation of *gizona* 'the man' in dialects with conditioned palatalization of /s/ after /i/ (many Bizkaian varieties), but a diminutive (i.e. 'little man') in other dialects.

In some eastern varieties all palatalizable consonants are palatalized in speech directed to children, as in the following Baztan examples:

Plain	<i>zazi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>errai</i>	<i>ozu</i>	<i>tortze</i>	<i>ko</i>
Affective	<i>xaxi</i>	<i>tta</i>	<i>errai</i>	<i>oxu</i>	<i>ttortxe</i>	<i>ko</i>
	go	and	tell	him	to	come
	'go and tell him/her to come'					

Plain	<i>otz</i>	<i>iten</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>tortzen</i>	<i>bazara</i>
Affective	<i>otx</i>	<i>itteñ</i>	<i>ddu</i>	<i>ttortxen</i>	<i>baxara</i>
	cold	make	IMPF AUX	come	IMPF if.AUX
	'it is cold'			'if you come'	
	(Salaburu 1984:118)				

2.1.4.4. Reduction and deletion in heterosyllabic consonantal sequences

In morphological formations where a stop is followed by a heterosyllabic consonant, the preconsonantal stop is normally lost and, if a voiced stop follows, this second stop is devoiced: *bat* 'one' vs. *bana* (< **bat+na*) 'one for each', *bat-batean* ~ *bapatean* 'all of a sudden', *behinik-behin* ~ *behinipein* 'at least', *errepide* (< *erret+bide*) 'road' (lit. 'king's road', cf. Sp *camino real*), *bait gara* ~ *baikara* 'since we are', *bait naiz* ~ *bainaiz* 'since I am', *bait da* ~ *baita* 'since he/she/it is', *bost* 'five' vs. *bosgarren* ~ *boskarren* 'fifth'.

Word-internal preconsonantal stops only occur in recent borrowings, such as *helikoptero* or *diktadura*. In older borrowings, the syllable-final stop is always deleted, e.g. *doctore* > *dotore* 'elegant', *Egipto* > G *ijito* [ixito] 'gypsy'.

The same simplification takes place in syntactic concatenation, especially in closely-bound groups; e.g. *gizonak dira* ~ *gizona[t]ira* 'the men are', *menditik dator* ~ *menditi[t]ator* 's/he is coming from the mountain', *ez dakit ba* ~ *ez [t]aki[p]a* 'well, I don't know', *horregatik ba* ~ *horregati[p]a* 'well, for that reason'.

In syntactic concatenation, a preconsonantal stop may also be reduced in its magnitude without being completely deleted and it may also assimilate in voice to a following voiced consonant instead of inducing the latter's devoicing: *nik bai* [nipaj] ~ [nikpaj] ~ [nikbaj], [niyβaj] 'I.ERG yes' (see 2.1.4.5).

In most varieties, stop deletion/reduction across word boundaries is pervasive but the devoicing of post-stop stops often takes place only in limited syntactic contexts, mostly in clitics and conjugated verbal forms. Instead, word-initial /b, d, g/ are often realized as voiced stops (and not as continuants) after another stop, even if this is deleted. The following examples illustrate the most common solutions in many western varieties:

Table 11. Word-initial /b, d, g/ following another stop

<i>gizona dator</i>	[giʃonaðator]	'the man is coming'
<i>gizonak datoz</i>	[giʃonatatoʃ]	'the men are coming'
<i>gizonak damutu (dira)</i>	[giʃona ^k damutu]	'the men are sorry'

In the first example, the initial /d/ of the conjugated verb is realized as continuant in the intervocalic context. In the second example, the sequence /kd/ is realized as /t/. This same realization is not normal in the third example, where the /d-/ belongs to a participle and not to a conjugated verb or a clitic. Instead, in this case the word-final /-k/ may be reduced or deleted and the word-initial /d-/ will be usually realized as a voiced stop. Some dialects, however, do appear to have more general devoicing. Indeed, devoicing word-initial stops after another stop appears to be rather general in the speech of elderly rural speakers of at least certain areas (cf., for instance, Etxebarria Ayesta 1991, 1995). See 2.1.4.5 below.

There are some dialectal differences in sequences where a stop is followed by a sibilant. The general solution is for /t/ and a following sibilant to form an affricate; e.g. *bait zara* ~ *baitzara* 'since you are', *bat zegoen* ~ *batzegoen* 'there was one'. As mentioned in section 2.1.2.2, in eastern dialects affricate formation also takes place in other sequences: /ks/ → /ts/. However, the most common solution is for /k/ + sibilant sequences to be left unmodified; e.g. *lagunak ziren* [kʃ] 'they were friends'. In Bizkaian varieties, however, pre-sibilant stops are often deleted across word boundaries, just like in other preconsonantal contexts; e.g.: *lagunak zarie* [layunaʃarie] 'you are friends'.

Affricates become fricatives before noncontinuant consonants within word domains; e.g. *aberats* 'rich', *aberastu* 'become rich, PRF'; *hotz* 'cold', *hoztu* 'become cold, PRF'; *hitz* 'word', *hiztegi* 'dictionary', *hizlari* 'speaker, lecturer', *hiztun* (*hitz* + *dun*) 'speaker (of a language)'; *mendirantz* 'towards the mountain', *mendiranzko bidea* 'lit. the path of towards the mountain'; *mahats* 'grape', *mahaspasa* 'raisin' (cf. Sp *uva pasa*). In fast speech word-final affricates may also be reduced to fricatives before noncontinuant consonants.

2.1.4.5. Assimilation in voice

In sequences of consonants involving obstruents of different voicing, devoicing processes may take place, both of a progressive and of a regressive type, depending on the specific sequence.

(a)sibilant + consonant. Sibilant fricatives may become voiced before a (voiced) sonorant consonant; e.g. *esne* [eʒne] ‘milk’, *ikasle* [ikazle] ‘student’. Fricatives which derive from affricates also voice; e.g. *hitz* [its̺] ‘word’, *hizlari* [iz̺lari] ‘speaker’; *irakats-i* ‘teach, PRF’, *iraka*[z̺]le ‘teacher’.

In sibilant + voiced stop sequences both voicing of the sibilant and devoicing of the stop take place, depending on the morpho-syntactic context.

As mentioned in section 2.1.2.1.2, sequences where a voiced stop follows a sibilant are not found morpheme-internally. In suffixation, there is devoicing of the stop in such sequences; e.g. *pago* ‘beech tree’, *paga-di* ‘beech grove’ but *ametz* ‘gall-oak’, *amez-ti* ‘gall-oak grove’; B *uger* ‘rust’, *ugerdo* ‘rusty’, but *koipez* ‘with grease’, *koipezto* ‘greasy’. This change is respected in neologisms; e.g. *ahots* ‘voice’ + *-dun* ‘having’ = *ahostun* ‘voiced’; *-gabe* ‘without’, *ahoskabe* ‘voiceless’.

After the proclitic *ez* ‘not’, stop-initial conjugated verbal forms also undergo devoicing; e.g. *doa* ‘s/he is going’, *e*[ʃt]oa ‘s/he is not going’; *gara* ‘we are’, *e*[ʃk]ara ‘we are not’; *bada* ‘if it is’, *e*[ʃp]ada ‘if it is not’. This devoicing is reflected in some literary traditions, although not in standard Basque: *eztoa*, *ezkara*, *ezpada*. Devoicing after *ez* is nowadays an optional process and pronunciations where, instead, the sibilant voices appear to be increasingly common: *e*[z̺ð]oa ‘s/he is not going’, *e*[z̺ɣ]ara ‘we are not’, *e*[z̺β]ada ‘if it is not’. In some western areas (e.g. Ondarroa and Lekeitio), there is (optional) devoicing of /d-/ and /b-/ in this context, but /g-/ never devoices.

After the borrowed prefix *des-*, there is no devoicing and the sibilant voices instead; e.g. *desgogo* [dez̺ɣoɣo] ‘lack of interest’, *desberdin* [z̺β] ‘different’. In compounds both solutions are often found: *azgura* ~ *azkura* ‘itchiness’ (*gura* ‘desire’).

Across word-boundaries in syntactic concatenation, the most common solution is not to devoice a post-sibilant word-initial stop and the sibilant can be partially or totally voiced; e.g. *eskuz garbitu* [z̺ɣ], [ʃɣ], ??[ʃk] ‘clean by hand’.

(b)stop + voiced stop. In sequences where a morpheme- or word-final voiceless stop is followed by a voiced stop, the historically oldest solution, found throughout the Basque-speaking territory, is for the first stop to delete and the second to devoice, as mentioned in 2.1.4.4 above; e.g. *art-* ‘sheep’ + *gazte* ‘young’ → *arkazte* ‘young sheep’, *menditik dator* → *menditi* [t]ator ‘s/he is coming from the mountain’, Z *gathiak bezala* → *gathia* [p]ezala ‘like cats’, *biderik bide* → *bideri* [p]ide ‘on the road’, *bat bakarrik* → *ba* [p]akarrik ‘only one’, B *zuk be* → *zu*[p]e ‘you.ERG too’. As mentioned in

section 2.1.4.4, for many speakers, devoicing is found in morphological concatenation and (at least as an option) in certain syntactic constructions, but in freer syntactic concatenation there is no devoicing.

(c)/n/, /l/ + stop. After a nasal or lateral, the initial stop of inflectional and some derivational suffixes is voiced. This voicing rule is found in all dialects except for Zuberoan and Roncalese. The set of suffixes that undergo this voicing alternation is not large and the productivity of the process depends on the specific suffix.

-tu 'perfective'. This suffix consistently appears as *-du* after a nasal or lateral; e.g. *nekatu* 'get tired, PRF', *sartu* 'enter, PRF' vs. *galdu* 'lose, PRF', *kendu* 'take away, PRF' (cf. Z *galthü*, *kenthü*). In participles derived from adjectives and nouns (a fully productive morphological process), the application of voicing is consistent: e.g. *apal* 'low, humble', *apaldu* 'lower, humble, PRF', *gordin* 'raw', *gordindu* 'become raw, PRF'; cf. *gor* 'deaf', *gortu* 'become deaf, PRF'.

-ko 'future'. This suffix, which attaches to the perfective participle, consistently appears as *-go* after a nasal; e.g. *ikusiko* 'will see' vs. *esango* 'will say', *jango* 'will eat', *joango* 'will go', *emango* 'will give'. The only common perfective participle ending in a lateral is *hil* 'die'. In this case, we find dialectal variation *hilgo* ~ *hilko* 'will die'. Furthermore, in eastern dialects, the suffix *-en* is used instead of *-ko* with participles ending in *-n* or *-l*; e.g. *erranen* 'will say', *janen* 'will eat', *hilen* 'will die'.

-ta 'adjectival participle'. This suffix, which also attaches to the perfective participle, undergoes voicing after a nasal in Standard Basque and most varieties; e.g. *ikusita* 'seen' vs. *esanda* 'said', *emanda* 'given'. However, in some local varieties this suffix fails to show voicing. Thus, in the Bizkaian variety of Getxo, for instance, we find, e.g. *emon* 'give', *émongo* 'will give', but *emóna* 'given'.

-tik 'from' and *-ko* 'of, relational'. When attached to adverbs ending in *-n* and *-l*, these suffixes consistently appear as *-dik*, and *-go*, respectively; e.g. *orain* 'now', *oraindik* 'still', *oraingo* 'of now' (vs. *gaur* 'today', *gaurtik* 'from today', *gaurko* 'of today'); *hemen* 'here', *hemendik* 'from here', *hemengo* 'of here', *han* 'over there', *handik* 'from over there', *hango* 'of over there' (vs. *hor* 'there', *hortik* 'from there', *horko* 'of there'). With common nouns the possibility of voicing is bled by the application of vowel epenthesis after all consonant-final stems: *haran-etik* 'from the valley', *haran-eko* 'of the valley', *sagarr-etik* 'from the apple', *sagarr-eko* 'of the apple'. Compare *egungo* 'of today' and *eguneko* 'of the day'. In the former example

we have an adverb and in the second a common noun (and, consequently, vowel epenthesis before the inflectional suffix).

With proper nouns there is dialectal variation in the application of voicing or epenthesis. In Standard Basque the preferred forms are, e.g., *Usurbildik* 'from Usurbil', *Usurbilgo* 'of Usurbil', *Irundik* 'from Irun', *Irungo* 'of Irun', but, dialectally, *Usurbiletik*, *Usurbileko*, *Irunetik*, *Iruneko*, etc. are also found.

-ki 'adverbial'. This suffix appears as *-gi* in *ongi* 'well' from *on* 'good', cf. *ederki* 'beautifully', from *eder* 'beautiful'. However, voicing is not productive with this suffix; e.g. *apalki* 'humbly', *ozenki* 'loudly'. The western adverbializer *-to* also appears as *-do* in *ondo* 'well' cf. *ederto* 'beautifully', but this western suffix is not productive.

The derivational suffix *-(t)ar* 'pertaining to a place' also undergoes voicing in the same context (e.g. *kanpotar* 'outsider', *eibartar* 'Eibarrese' vs. *brasildar* 'Brazilian', *baztandar* 'Baztanese', *irundar* 'Irunese').

Less consistently, the suffix *-tegi* 'place, shop' also shows voicing in words such as *arrandegi* 'fish store', *ardandegi* 'tavern' also in the neologism *izendegi* 'name list', but not in *euskaltegi* 'Basque language instructional center' or *mintegi* 'seminar'.

As mentioned in section 2.1.2.1.2, morpheme-internally stops are generally voiced after /n/ and /l/ and many borrowings have undergone voicing (and comparison with Zuberoan and Roncalese shows that original voiceless stops have been voiced in many native lexical items), but there are a number of exceptions such as *kalte* 'harm', *kantu* 'song', etc.

2.1.4.6. Spirantization, deletion of voiced obstruents and related processes

The voiced obstruents /b, d, g/ have continuant and noncontinuant allophones with essentially the same distribution as in Castilian Spanish. The stop allophones occur after pause, after a nasal and, in the case of /d/, also after a lateral. In all other contexts continuant realizations prevail; e.g. [g]orri 'read', *egu[ŋg]orri* 'red day', *zaldi [ɣ]orri* 'red horse', *azal [ɣ]orri* 'red skin'; *e[mb]or* 'log', *ala[β]a* 'daughter', *al[d]e* 'side', *ar[ð]i* 'sheep', *a[ð]ar* 'horn'.

As mentioned in 2.1.4.4, word-initial /b, d, g/ are often realized as stops after word-final /k/, /t/, even if the latter segments are reduced or (perceptually) deleted.

In the intervocalic context, /b,d,g/ have a very weak realization and /d,g/ may undergo complete (lexically-conditioned) deletion; e.g. *eduki* [eðuki] ~ [euki] ~ [ewki] 'have', *egon* [eyon] ~ [eon] 'stay'.

In some Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian varieties word-internal intervocalic /d/ is realized as a flap [ɾ], resulting in merger with the phoneme /t/; e.g. *bide* [biðe] ~ [bire] 'way'. Depending on the dialect this realization of /d/ may be general (e.g., in Ondarroa) or only optional and/or lexically conditioned.

2.1.4.7. Affrication of postsonorant sibilants

In word-internal contexts the contrast between fricatives and affricates is neutralized after *n*, *l*, *r*. In this environment only affricates are found in the standard dialect. This is apparent in the adaptation of borrowings: *trantsitibo* 'transitive', *zientzia* 'science', *bertso* 'verse', *boltsa* 'purse' < Sp *bolsa*. In many dialects this affrication process is not obligatory in recent borrowings. There is no affrication across word boundaries or across a compound boundary; e.g. *mutil-zahar* 'bachelor' (lit. 'boy' + 'old'); however in central areas there is affrication in sequences involving a main verb and an auxiliary: *hil zen* [iltʂen] 's/he died', *esan zuen* [eʂantʂuen] 's/he said it'.

2.1.4.8. Simplification in sibilant + affricate sequences

In certain morphological domains, an affricate becomes a stop [t] after a sibilant fricative or affricate. In affricate + affricate sequences the result is fricative + stop. These processes take place in verbal morphology. The imperfective suffix *-tzen* has an allomorph *-ten* which in Standard Basque occurs with stems ending in *-n* (which is deleted before this suffix), as in *eman/ematen* 'give, PRF/IMPF' and also with stems belonging to other classes which end in a sibilant; e.g. *har-tu/har-tzen* 'take PRF/IMPF', *ipin-i/ipin-tzen* 'put PRF/IMPF' vs. *ikas-i/ikas-ten* 'learn', *irakats-i/irakas-ten* 'teach', *itx-i/ix-ten* 'close', *herts-i/hers-ten* 'close'. This simplification of affricates is also observed with deverbal suffixes; e.g. *egoki-tzapen* 'conditioning' vs. *has-tapen* 'beginning'; *antola-tzaile* 'organizer' vs. *moz-taile* 'cutter'. However, the same sequences are left unsimplified in other morphological environments; e.g. *apaiz-tzat* 'as a priest'.

2.1.5. Main phonological alternations affecting vowels

2.1.5.1. Low vowel assimilation

Almost all varieties spoken in Bizkaia as well as many Gipuzkoan and High Navarrese varieties have a rule raising /a/ to /e/ after a high vowel, with or without intervening consonants. This rule of low vowel assimilation is schematized below. The application of low vowel assimilation in the intramorphemic domain results in the disappearance of sequences where /a/ is preceded by a high vowel, producing a small number of neutralizations between previously different lexical items. In addition, the rule gives rise to numerous morphophonemic alternations across morpheme boundaries. Low vowel assimilation affects inflectional suffixes, (c), and, depending on the variety, may also apply with clitic-like elements, (d). On the other hand, the rule usually does not apply across the members of a compound or with (most) derivational suffixes, (e). This and the other alternations discussed in this section are not employed in standard Basque and normally are not reflected in the orthography. (The domain of application of this rule is explored in detail for four different varieties in Hualde 1991: ch. 2 and for a fifth variety in Hualde & Bilbao 1993).

In some varieties the morphophonological conditions for the application of the rule are more complex. For instance, in Ondarroa the target /a/ must be immediately word final (e.g. *lagun-e* 'the friend' but *lagun-ak* 'the friend, ERG', cf. Hualde 1991:68-73); and in Markina only certain inflectional suffixes undergo the rule. The most general situation, however, is that illustrated in table 12.

In the rural area surrounding Azkoitia and Azpeitia, in Gipuzkoa, the result of low vowel assimilation is a very open [ɛ] which does not merge with the realizations of phonemic /e/ (cf. Yrizar 1991: I, 366). But the common situation elsewhere is for the distinction between /a/ and /e/ to be neutralized in [e] in the context of low vowel assimilation.

Table 12. Low vowel assimilation (part 1 of 2)

V	
a → e / [+high] C ₀ ____	
<i>indar</i> > <i>inder</i> 'strength'	<i>buztan</i> > <i>buzten</i> 'tail'
<i>ikatz</i> > <i>iketx</i> 'coal'	<i>urkatu</i> > <i>urketu</i> 'to hang'
<i>fabrika</i> > <i>fabrike</i> 'factory'	<i>muga</i> > <i>muge</i> 'limit'
<i>izan</i> > <i>izen</i> 'to be' (= <i>izen</i> 'name')	

Table 12. Low vowel assimilation (part 2 of 2)

uninflected	ABS SG	DAT SG	
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizona</i>	<i>gizonari</i>	'man'
<i>izen</i>	<i>izena</i>	<i>izenari</i>	'name'
<i>azal</i>	<i>azala</i>	<i>azalari</i>	'skin'
<i>lagun</i>	<i>lagune</i>	<i>laguneri</i>	'friend'
<i>mutil</i>	<i>mutile</i>	<i>mutileri</i>	'boy'

<i>gizon bat</i>	'a man'	<i>lagun bet</i>	'a friend'
<i>joan da</i>	'has gone'	<i>etorri de</i>	'has come'
<i>dute-la</i>	'that they have it'	<i>dugu-le</i>	'that we have it'
<i>buru-handi</i>	'big headed'	<i>**buru-hendi</i>	
<i>baserri-tar</i>	'farmer'	<i>**baserriter</i>	
<i>gernik-ar</i>	'Gernikan'	<i>**gerniker</i> (cf. <i>Gernike</i> 'Gernika')	
<i>bi-garren</i>	'second'	<i>**bigarren</i>	

2.1.5.2. Mid vowel raising

In perhaps the majority of Basque varieties (although not in the 'standard' pronunciation of Standard Basque), mid vowels rise to high immediately preceding another vowel, at least in inflectional contexts. Usually, in dialects with this rule, raising also takes place in tautomorphemic sequences, as can be seen in table 13 (c), but oftentimes there are surface counterexamples where a consonant has been deleted, (d). On the other hand, the rule does not apply across the members of a compound or across word boundaries, (e).

In Gernika /e/ rises but /o/ does not, so that we find *etze* 'house', *etzie* 'the house' but *baso* 'forest', *basoa* 'the forest'. This situation is also found in several Navarrese and Lapurdian varieties. The opposite situation (raising of /o/ but not of /e/) is not found anywhere.

Table 13. Mid vowel raising (part 1 of 2)

(a) V
[-low] → [+high] / __ V

(b) uninfl	ABS SG	ABS PL	GEN PL	GEN PL PROX	
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etxia</i>	<i>etxiak</i>	<i>etxien</i>	<i>etxion</i>	'house'
<i>kale</i>	<i>kalia</i>	<i>kaliak</i>	<i>kalien</i>	<i>kalion</i>	'street'
<i>baso</i>	<i>basua</i>	<i>basuak</i>	<i>basuen</i>	<i>basuon</i>	'forest'
<i>itxaso</i>	<i>itxasua</i>	<i>itxasuak</i>	<i>itxasuen</i>	<i>itxasuon</i>	'sea'

Table 13. Mid vowel raising (part 2 of 2)

- (c) *be(h)ar* > *biar* 'to need'
teatro > *tiaatro* 'theater'
legatz ~ *leatz* 'hake'
- (d) *gera* ~ *gea* 'we are' (Gipuzkoan)
seme-alabak 'sons and daughters', ***semi-alabak*
- (e) *etxe ederra* 'beautiful house', ***etxi-ederra*

2.1.5.3. Consonant epenthesis: Glide/consonant insertion after high vowels

After a high vowel, a glide or consonant is inserted in many dialects where the mid vowels rise. After /i/ we may find a palatal glide, fricative or stop [j], written *y* in dialectal texts (many Gipuzkoan varieties), a voiceless prepalatal fricative *x* [ç] (Markina, and western Gipuzkoa) or a voiced prepalatal fricative [ʒ] (central Bizkaian: Gernika, Lekeitio, Bermeo. Sometimes also written *dx* or *jj* in dialectal texts). After /u/ we may find a bilabial approximant or, in Arbizu (Navarre) a voiced bilabial stop (which contrasts in this dialect with the continuant realization of other instances of intervocalic /b/). Epenthesis after /u/ is a receding phenomenon.

In part of the Low Navarrese area there is no epenthesis after /i/, but a palatal glide *y* is inserted after /u/. This situation is already found in the 16th century in the writings of the Low Navarrese poet B. Etxepare, the first author to write in Basque; e.g. *munduya* 'the world'. The solutions that are found in different varieties are summarized in table 14.

Table 14. Glide/consonant insertion after high vowels

uninfl	ABS SG
Epenthesis after both high vowels	
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendiya</i> [mendiʝa], [mendiʝa] 'mountain'
<i>buru</i>	<i>buruba</i> [buruβa], [buruba] 'head'
Epenthesis only after /i/	
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendiya</i> , <i>mendidxa</i> , <i>mendixa</i>
<i>buru</i>	<i>burua</i>
Epenthesis only after /u/ (Low Navarrese)	
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendia</i>
<i>buru</i>	<i>buruya</i>

These epenthesis rules also apply in morpheme-internal contexts; e.g. *bi(h)ar* > *biyar*, *bidxar*, *bixar* 'tomorrow', *desio* > *desiyo*, etc. 'desire', *bi(h)otz* > *biyotz*, etc. 'heart'.

It appears that in the 19th century in the dialect of Orozko, Bizkaia, a bilabial nasal *-m-* was epenthesized with stems ending in */-o/*; e.g. *ollo* 'chicken', *olloma* 'the chicken', *arto* 'corn', *artoma* 'the corn' (Bonaparte 1862:33-34, 1869:xxxi [1991:259], cf. also Elordui 1995). Nowadays there is no trace of this phenomenon, which, apparently, was already stigmatized and receding at the time.

2.1.5.4. Deletion and raising of stem-final low vowels

In most Basque dialects, stem-final */-a/* deletes before vowel-initial suffixes. On the other hand, in Bizkaia and parts of Gipuzkoa (as well as a couple of towns in western Navarre), stem-final */-a/* rises to */e/* or */i/* in singular forms, but deletes in the plural, like in most other dialects. Examples may be found in table 15.

Table 15. Stem-final low vowel deletion and raising

	uninfl.	ABS SG	DAT SG	ABS PL	GEN PL	
General	<i>neska</i>	<i>neska</i>	<i>neskari</i>	<i>neskak</i>	<i>nesken</i>	'girl'
Western	<i>neska</i>	<i>neskea</i>	<i>neskeari</i>	<i>neskak</i>	<i>nesken</i>	

Instead of forms such as *neskea*, in different local varieties we may find *neskia* (by mid vowel raising, in Lekeitio, Eibar, etc.), *neskie* (by low vowel assimilation, cf. 2.1.5.1, in Gernika, Bermeo, Azkoitia, etc.), *neski* (by second vowel deletion, in Ondarroa) or *neske* (in Getxo).

In Oñati (Gipuzkoa), the singular is *neskia*, but in plural forms the original sequence of identical vowels is preserved, *neskaak* 'the girls'.

In Zumaia (Gipuzkoa), on the *neskea/neska* border, long vowels are found both in the singular and in the plural: *neskaa* 'the girl', *neskaak* 'the girls'.

In Zuberoa (and in the extinct Roncalese dialect), the sequence *a + a* is reduced, as in most dialects, but the resulting syllable receives stress, producing an oxytonic pattern in the absolutive singular of */-a/-*final stems, against the regular paroxytonic accentuation in the dialect; e.g. *néska* 'girl, uninflected' vs. *neská* 'the girl, ABS SG' (cf. *méndi* 'mountain', *Z mendía*, *R ménd[j]a* 'the mountain'), *neskák* 'the girls'.

In Salazar an epenthetic *-r-* is inserted in the absolutive singular of */-a/-*final words; e.g. *alába* 'daughter, uninfl', *alabára* 'the daughter, ABS SG' (cf. *méndi* 'mountain', *ménd[j]a* 'the mountain').

2.1.5.5. Second vowel deletion

In many varieties all over the Basque Country, /a/ and /e/ are deleted immediately after another vowel in a closed syllable. Depending on the variety, this may be an optional or an obligatory rule; e.g. *buru(e)k* ‘the heads’, *semi(e)k* ‘the sons’, *mendi(a)n* ‘in the mountain’.

A much less common process is deletion also in an open syllable. In the Markina area of northeastern Bizkaia this takes place as an optional process that is favored by younger speakers; e.g. *neskie* ~ *neski* ‘the girl’, *burue* ~ *buru* ‘the head’, *etxie* ~ *etxi* ‘the house’, *basue* ~ *basu* ‘the forest’. In neighboring Ondarroa the change has been completed and only forms such as *neskí* ‘the girl’ (cf. uninfl *néska*), *burú* ‘the head’ (uninfl *búru* ~ *búro*), *etxí* ‘the house’ (uninfl *étxe*), *basú* ‘the forest’ (uninfl *báso*) are ever heard (regular accent is phrase-penultimate in Ondarroa). This deletion has also taken place in Getxo and a neighboring area in northwestern Bizkaia, where mid vowel raising did not operate and absolutive singular forms are now identical to the uninflected form for stems ending in a nonlow vowel (regular accent is phrase-final in Getxo); e.g. *neské* ‘the girl’ (uninfl *neská*), *burú* (ABS SG = uninfl), *etzé* (ABS SG = uninfl), *basó* (ABS SG = uninfl).

2.1.5.6. Unrounding

In Zuberoan, stem-final -ü unrounds to [i] before an unrounded vowel in inflectional morphology; e.g. *lékhü* ‘place’, *lekhía* ‘the place, ABS SG’, *lekhiék* ‘the places, ERG PL’. (In Zuberoan /u/ does not occur stem-finally, except for items ending in nasalized stressed [ũ] such as *ardũ* ‘wine’).

In some Roncalese varieties -u was unrounded in the same environment; e.g. *ésku* ‘hand’, *ésk[j]a* ‘the hand’, *eskiék* ‘the hands, ERG PL’. In other Roncalese varieties, stem-final -u gave rise to a complex sequence [jw] in inflected forms: *esk[jw]a* ‘the hand, ABS SG’.

2.1.5.7. Gliding

In eastern High Navarrese varieties (Roncal, Salazar, Aezkoa, Esteribar, Baztan) and some Low Navarrese areas, stem-final mid and high vowels become glides before a suffixal vowel. As can be seen in table 16, in the case of the mid vowels, the resulting glides may be “true glides” or nonsyllabic

mid vocoids (some of these varieties—Esteribar, Baztan—also raise /a/ to /e/ after a high vowel, by low vowel assimilation, cf. 2.1.5.1).

Table 16. Gliding in eastern High Navarrese

uninfl	ABS SG	
<i>méndi</i>	<i>ménd[ja]</i> (R, S, A), <i>ménd[je]</i> (Est, Bazt)	'mountain'
<i>ésku</i>	<i>ésk[wa]</i> (S, A), <i>ésk[ja]</i> (R), <i>ésk[we]</i> (Est, Bazt)	'hand'
<i>étxe</i>	<i>étx[j]a</i> ~ <i>étx[ɛa]</i>	'house'
<i>béso</i>	<i>bés[w]a</i> ~ <i>bés[ɔa]</i>	'arm'

Notice that in Esteribar and Baztan the distinction between high and mid vowels is preserved, since *-i*, *-u* trigger low vowel assimilation but *-e*, *-o* do not, even when they are realized as high glides.

In the Lapurdian variety of Sara and surrounding area, mid vowels glide in this context, but high vowels do not. The same situation obtains in the High Navarrese variety of Ultzama (which also has low vowel assimilation) as seen in table 17.

Table 17. Gliding in Lapurdian and Ultzama

uninfl	ABS SG, Sara	ABS SG, Ultzama	
<i>méndi</i>	<i>mendía</i>	<i>mendíe</i>	'mountain'
<i>ésku</i>	<i>eskúa</i>	<i>eskúe</i>	'hand'
<i>séme</i>	<i>sém[ɛa]</i> ~ <i>sém[ja]</i>	<i>sém[ja]</i>	'son'
<i>ásto</i>	<i>ást[ɔa]</i> ~ <i>ást[wa]</i>	<i>ást[wa]</i>	'donkey'

Very likely the explanation for this somewhat unexpected pattern is that at the time when the gliding rule was acquired these dialects had consonant epenthesis after high vowels, which prevented the high vowels from losing their syllabicity. Subsequently, the consonant epenthesis rule has been lost, producing the syllabification contrasts we find nowadays. We know in fact that consonant epenthesis has receded in this general area in the last two centuries. Not far from Ultzama, we find forms like the following for the town of Lizarraga: *ogi*, *ogiye* 'bread, uninfl/ABS SG', *esku*, *eskube* 'hand', *seme*, *sem[j]e* 'son', *asto*, *ast[w]e* 'donkey'.

2.1.5.8. Long vowels: complete assimilation and gliding with compensatory lengthening

A number of Basque varieties have optional or obligatory processes where a vowel assimilates to another adjacent vowel in all features. For instance, in

Lekeitio /a/ and /e/ in inflectional suffixes and auxiliaries optionally assimilate to the last vowel of the stem or the main verb if not at the end of a prosodic phrase; e.g. *alabia da* ~ *alabii da* 'it is the daughter', *umien ama* ~ *umiin ama* 'the child's mother', *apurtu eban* ~ *apurtu uban* 's/he broke it' (cf. Hualde & Elordieta 1992, Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994:48-49).

The most extensive case of complete vowel assimilation is found in Arbizu and other towns of the Sakana area of western Navarre. In this region the deletion of certain intervocalic consonants has put two vowels in contact which have subsequently undergone assimilation; e.g. *egon* > [o:]n 'be, stay'. When the second vowel was high, it has frequently become a glide, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; e.g. *lagun* > l[a:w]n 'friend', *txori* > tx[o:j] 'bird' (cf. Hualde 1990). An important synchronic result is that now a number of suffixes trigger the lengthening of the final vowel of the stem; e.g., *Pellori* > Pell[o:j] 'to Pello', *Per*[u:j] 'to Peru', *Mari*[a:j] 'to Maria', *Pellorekin* > Pell[o:]kin 'with Pello', *Felip*[e:]kin 'with Felipe', *Patx*[i:]kin 'with Patxi', *astoren* > ast[o:]n 'of donkey', *sem*[e:]n 'of son', *err*[i:]n 'of village', etc. (cf. Karasatorre et al. 1991).

2.1.5.9. Patterns of vowel interaction

Perhaps the aspect of the Basque sound pattern that has attracted the greatest attention on the part of phonologists is the way in which the different rules affecting vowels interact with each other in different varieties. The processes described in the previous subsections give rise to sometimes strikingly different patterns in nominal morphology. It can be useful to examine some of the systems that are found in different local varieties (for a more comprehensive treatment see Hualde & Gaminde 1998).

To begin with, consider the uninflected and absolutive singular forms in standard Basque in table 18, which is based on the literary tradition and represents a conservative pronunciation.

The only remarkable phenomenon is that if the stem ends in *-a* there is no change in the absolutive singular. This is the solution in most dialects. In western dialects, instead, the stem final vowel raises in this case, so that we obtain forms such as *neskea* in the absolutive singular. In a couple of towns in the transitional area between these two solutions we find the expected *neskaa* (cf. 2.1.5.4).

Many central and western dialects differ from the standard in possessing the rule of low vowel assimilation (cf. 2.1.5.1). In Arratia, besides the raising of */-a/*, the only other rule in these sequences is low vowel assimilation.

The variety of Getxo and surrounding area in northwestern Bizkaia differs from Arratia only in the deletion of final postvocalic vowels, which causes neutralization between uninflected and absolutive singular forms for items ending in a nonlow vowel, as exemplified in table 19.

Table 18. Standard Basque

uninfl	ABS SG	
<i>sagar</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	'apple'
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizona</i>	'man'
<i>txakur</i>	<i>txakurra</i>	'dog'
<i>mutil</i>	<i>mutila</i>	'boy'
<i>eder</i>	<i>ederra</i>	'beautiful'
<i>buru</i>	<i>burua</i>	'head'
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendia</i>	'mountain'
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etxea</i>	'house'
<i>beso</i>	<i>besoa</i>	'arm'
<i>neska</i>	<i>neska</i>	'girl'

Table 19. Arratia (southwestern Bizkaia)

uninfl	ABS SG Arratia	ABS SG Getxo	
<i>sagar</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	'apple'
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizona</i>	<i>gizona</i>	'man'
<i>txakur</i>	<i>txakurre</i>	<i>txakurre</i>	'dog'
<i>mutil</i>	<i>mutile</i>	<i>mutille</i>	'boy'
<i>eder</i>	<i>ederra</i>	<i>ederra</i>	'beautiful'
<i>buru</i>	<i>burue</i>	<i>buru</i>	'head'
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendie</i>	<i>mendi</i>	'mountain'
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etzea</i>	<i>etxe</i>	'house'
<i>beso</i>	<i>besoa</i>	<i>beso</i>	'arm'
<i>neska</i>	<i>neskea</i>	<i>neske</i>	'girl'

Another common process in many dialects is the raising of mid vowels immediately before another vowel (mid vowel raising, cf. 2.1.5.2), which neutralizes the difference between stem-final mid and high vowels. Some of the varieties with mid vowel raising also have consonant epenthesis after high vowels. An effect of consonant insertion in dialects that also have mid vowel raising is to keep stems ending with mid and low vowels distinct in inflected forms. As was mentioned, consonant epenthesis is a receding phenomenon, especially regarding /-b-/ epenthesis. Nowadays, in most western and central dialects with consonant epenthesis, this rule applies after /-i/, but not after /-u/. See table 20 for examples.

The same differentiating effects between stem-final mid and high vowels are obtained in dialects with mid vowel raising and low vowel assimilation

where low vowel assimilation applies after ‘underlying’ high vowels but not after ‘derived’ high vowels. However, there are also dialects, like Azkoitia, where final /-a/ rises to /e/ after both underlying and derived high vowels. This is the most common situation.

Table 20. Many Gipuzkoan, High Navarrese and Lapurdian dialects

uninfl	ABS SG	
<i>sagar</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	‘apple’
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizona</i>	‘man’
<i>txakur</i>	<i>txakurra</i>	‘dog’
<i>mutil</i>	<i>mutilla</i>	‘boy’
<i>eder</i>	<i>ederra</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>buru</i>	<i>burua/buruba</i>	‘head’
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendia/mendiya</i>	‘mountain’
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etxia</i>	‘house’
<i>beso</i>	<i>besua</i>	‘arm’
<i>neska</i>	<i>neska</i>	‘girl’

Table 21. Baztan and Azkoitia

uninfl	ABS SG Baztan	ABS SG Azkoitia	
<i>sagar</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	‘apple’
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizona</i>	<i>gizona</i>	‘man’
<i>zakur</i>	<i>zakurre</i>	<i>txakurre</i>	‘dog’
<i>mutil</i>	<i>mutile</i>	<i>mutille</i>	‘boy’
<i>eder</i>	<i>ederra</i>	<i>earra</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>buru</i>	<i>bur[w]e</i>	<i>burue</i>	‘head’
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mend[j]e</i>	<i>mendidxe</i>	‘mountain’
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etx[j]a</i>	<i>etxie</i>	‘house’
<i>beso</i>	<i>bes[w]a</i>	<i>besue</i>	‘arm’
<i>neska</i>	<i>neska</i>	<i>neskie</i>	‘girl’

There are reasons for thinking that in Baztan (and neighboring Esteribar) low vowel assimilation is a historically older rule than mid vowel raising (the same is true of the extinct dialect of Laudio [Sp Llodio] where we find, for instance, *fedel/fedia* ‘faith’ but *guzti/guztie* ‘all’). In Azkoitia, instead, the historical order of acquisition must have been the opposite: *semea* > *semia* > *semie* ‘the son’.

The Gernika system differs from that shown above for Azkoitia only in that /o/ does not undergo raising (and therefore cannot trigger low vowel assimilation). That is, we find *besoa* ‘the arm’ instead of *besue*. The result is that mid and high vowels are always kept apart (although /-e/ and /-a/ stems do merge in singular forms). As was mentioned in 2.4.6, in Zuberoan, where we find a front rounded -ü /-y/ instead of /-u/, this vowel becomes [i] before

another vowel. This results in the merger of /-e/, /-i/ and /-u/ before a suffixal vowel.

Table 22. Suffixal vowels in Zuberoan

uninfl	ABS SG Zuberoa	
<i>ságar</i>	<i>sagárra</i>	'apple'
<i>gízun</i>	<i>gizúna</i>	'man'
<i>zákur</i>	<i>zakúrra</i>	'dog'
<i>míthil</i>	<i>mithíla</i>	'boy'
<i>éjer</i>	<i>ejérra</i>	'beautiful'
<i>büü</i>	<i>büüa</i>	'head'
<i>méndi</i>	<i>mendía</i>	'mountain'
<i>étxe</i>	<i>etxía</i>	'house'
<i>bésó</i>	<i>besúa</i>	'arm'
<i>néska</i>	<i>neská</i>	'girl'

Rules affecting sequences of vowels appear to be acquired and lost with extraordinary speed sometimes. For Markina, three historical stages are attested and can be seen in table 23.

Table 23. Markina (northeastern Bizkaia)

uninfl	circa 1800	circa 1920	2000	
<i>sagar</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	'apple'
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizona</i>	<i>gixona</i>	<i>gixona</i>	'man'
<i>txakur</i>	<i>txakurra</i>	<i>txakurre</i>	<i>txakurre</i>	'dog'
<i>mutil</i>	<i>mutilla</i>	<i>mutille</i>	<i>mutille</i>	'boy'
<i>eder</i>	<i>ederra</i>	<i>ederra</i>	<i>ederra</i>	'beautiful'
<i>buru</i>	<i>buruba</i>	<i>burue</i>	<i>buru</i>	'head'
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendidxa</i>	<i>mendixe</i>	<i>mendixe</i>	'mountain'
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etxia</i>	<i>etxie</i>	<i>etxi</i>	'house'
<i>beso</i>	<i>besua</i>	<i>besue</i>	<i>besu</i>	'arm'
<i>neska</i>	<i>neskia</i>	<i>neskie</i>	<i>neski</i>	'girl'

It was also mentioned that the syllabic properties of prevocalic high and mid vowels differ in some Lapurdian and High Navarrese dialects (cf. 2.4.7). In these dialects, the patterns seen in table 24 are obtained.

Ultzama differs from Sara (Fr Sare) in possessing low vowel assimilation. Notice that mid vowels do not trigger this rule even if they become high glides.

Table 24. Lapurdian and High Navarrese

uninfl	Sara	Ultzama	
<i>sagar</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	<i>sagarra</i>	'apple'
<i>gizon</i>	<i>gizona</i>	<i>gizona</i>	'man'
<i>zakur</i>	<i>zakurra</i>	<i>zakurre</i>	'dog'
<i>mutil</i>	<i>mutila</i>	<i>mutile</i>	'boy'
<i>eder</i>	<i>ederra</i>	<i>ederra</i>	'beautiful'
<i>buru</i>	<i>burua</i>	<i>burue</i>	'head'
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendia</i>	<i>mendie</i>	'mountain'
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etx[j]a</i>	<i>etx[j]a</i>	'house'
<i>beso</i>	<i>bes[w]a</i>	<i>bes[w]a</i>	'arm'
<i>neska</i>	<i>neska</i>	<i>neska</i>	'girl'

2.1.5.10. Regressive vowel assimilation across consonants

Except for the low vowel assimilation process examined in the previous subsection, processes affecting nonadjacent vowels are not frequent. A few phenomena in localized varieties can nevertheless be mentioned.

A phenomenon of regressive assimilation across consonants is found in Berneo, on the Bizkaian coast. For some speakers of this town's variety the initial *e-* of participles has become *o-* when the vowel of the following syllable was *o*: *etorri* > *otorri* 'come', *emon* > *omon* 'give', *erosi* > *orosi* 'buy', *egon* > *ogon* 'be, stay'. Occasionally, more than one vowel has undergone assimilation as in Sp *eterno* > Berneo *otorno* 'funeral' (cf. Pérez Bilbao 1991).

In the extinct Roncalese dialect, very frequently we find *i* > *u* (more rarely *e* > *u*) when the following syllable contains /u/. Similarly, in Zuberoan /i/ has often assimilated to a following /y/ (but not to a following /u/): *Iruña* > R *Uruña* 'Pamplona', *iturri* > R *uturri*, Z *üthürri* 'spring, fountain', *gatzelu* > R *gatzulu* 'castle' but Z *gatzelü*, Lat *angelu* > *aingeru* > R *ainguru*, Z *aingü(r)ü* 'angel', *iñurri* > R *uñurri*, Z *üñhürri* 'ant', *ilun* > R *ulun*, Z *ülhün* 'dark', Rom **rastrellu* (Sp *rastrillo*) > *garraztulu* 'rake' but Z *arrastelü* (cf. Michelena 1954). In a few instances /u/ has assimilated to /i/; e.g. *mutil* > R *mitil*, Z *mithil* 'boy; servant'.

2.1.5.11. Unstressed vowel reduction and deletion in High Navarrese

In Bortziriak (Sp Cinco Villas) and Malerreka, in western Navarre, post-tonic vowels are often realized very short and lax. In this posi-

tion /e/ and /a/ may be realized as a short centralized schwa-like vowel, and /o/ and /u/ often surface neutralized in a back rounded lax vowel; e.g. *gizonak* [giʒónəʔk] 'the men', *osoa* [uʒúa] 'whole'. Posttonic vowels may also be entirely deleted; e.g. *basérritik* ~ *basértik* 'from the farm'. The process appears to be particularly advanced in the village of Arantza, where many posttonic vowels have been entirely lost, giving rise to alternations like in the following examples where the final vowel of the stem is lost in the posttonic syllable and followed by a consonant (stress in this dialect normally falls on the second syllable, but some stems have initial stress, cf. section 2.2.3): *básua* 'the glass', *bástik* 'from the glass' (cf. *besótik* 'from the arm'); *eskóla* 'the school', *eskóltik* 'from the school'; *itxásua* 'the sea', *itxástik* 'from the sea'; *fabrika* 'the factory', *fabríktik* 'from the factory'; *elíza* 'church', *elíztik* 'from the church'; *basérria* 'the farm', *basértarra* 'the farmer'; *tomáte* 'tomato', *tomátkua* 'the one of the tomato'. The operation of syncope within a morpheme is also apparent in many examples; e.g. Sp *camiseta* > *kamísta* 'shirt', Sp *escopeta* > *eskópta* 'rifle', *gaztanbera* > *gaztánbra* 'cottage cheese'. This syncope process has given rise in the Arantza variety to many consonant clusters, which are generally disallowed in Basque. These include not only stops and affricates in word-internal codas (*tomátekoa* > *tomátkua* 'the one of the tomato', *emáiteko* > *má[c]ko* 'to give, for giving', *berriketan* > *berríktan* 'chatting') but, as a subclass of these, also geminate consonants (*tomá[t:]ik* 'from the tomato', *fabríkakoa* > *fabrí[k:]ua* 'the one of the factory', *atétatik* > *atét[t:]ik* 'from the doors' — contrasting with *atétik* 'from the door') and complex internal codas (*ekáartzeko* > *káartzko*, *ánketan* > *anktan* 'on the legs', *eskóptkua* 'the one of the rifle') (See Hualde 1997: 114-120 for details, including some spectrographic evidence).

Less radical syncope is also found in Salazarese and Roncalese; e.g. Lat. *caepula* > *tipula* > Sal *tipla*, R *tupla*; Lat *tempora* > R *tenpra*, Sal *denbra*. On the other hand, the loss of initial *e-* as in *eman* > *man* 'to give', *ekarri* > *karri* 'to bring', *emazte* > *mazte* '(married) woman' has a greater geographic extension in Navarre.

2.1.5.12. Final vowel epenthesis

Ettxebarria (1991) reports that in the dialect of Zeberio (southwestern Bizkaia), a support vowel is often inserted after word final *-k*. This support vowel is a copy of the preceding vowel: *zuk-u* 'you, ERG', *nik-i* 'I, ERG', *gixonak-a* 'the man, ERG'.

2.1.6. Restricted morphophonological processes

2.1.6.1. Dependent-stem formation processes

In certain types of sub-compounds and derived words the shape of the initial member (dependent stem) is altered in some manner.

To begin with, some bisyllabic roots ending in a mid vowel undergo lowering of the final vowel to *-a* in this context, as seen in table 25.

Table 25. Final vowel lowering

<i>baso</i> 'forest'	<i>basa-katu</i> 'wild cat', <i>basa-jaun</i> 'lord of the forest', <i>basa-ti</i> 'wild, savage'
<i>lore</i> 'flower'	<i>lora-tegi</i> 'garden', <i>lora-tu</i> 'to bloom'
<i>oilo</i> 'chicken'	<i>oila-tegi</i> 'chicken pen'
<i>mando</i> 'mule'	<i>manda-zain</i> 'mule driver'

With longer roots and bisyllabic roots ending in a high vowel, the final vowel is lost in a number of cases, as exemplified in table 26.

Table 26. Final vowel loss

<i>itxaso</i> 'sea'	<i>itxas-gizon</i> 'seaman', <i>itxas-kabra</i> 'a fish (Sp cabracho)'
<i>iturri</i> 'spring, well'	<i>itur-bide</i> 'road to the spring', <i>itur-buru</i> 'source'
<i>herri</i> 'country'	<i>her-kide</i> 'compatriot'

If, after deletion of the final vowel, the final consonant is *-d* or *-g*, it is replaced by *-t*, as exemplified in table 27.

This *-t* may also devoice a following consonant and delete; e.g. *errege* 'king', *errepide* 'king's road' (< *erret+bide*); *ardi* 'sheep', *arkazte* 'young sheep' (< *art+gazte*); *ogi* 'bread', *okin* 'baker' (< *ot+gin*).

Under the same conditions *-r* is replaced by *-l* in a number of examples, as in table 28.

Table 27. Final *-d* or *-g* following final vowel deletion

<i>ardi</i> 'sheep'	<i>art-ile</i> 'wool' (sheep-hair), <i>art-zain</i> 'shepherd'
<i>idi</i> 'ox'	<i>it-aurrean</i> 'leading oxen', <i>it-zain</i> 'ox-driver'
<i>begi</i> 'eye'	<i>bet-ile</i> 'eyelash', <i>bet-azal</i> 'eyelid'
<i>ogi</i> 'bread'	<i>ot-arteko</i> 'sandwich' (between bread)
<i>sagu</i> 'mouse'	<i>sat-or</i> 'mole' (lit. 'mouse-dog'), <i>sat-abia</i> 'mouse nest'

Table 28. Replacement of -r by -l

<i>gari</i> 'wheat'	<i>gal-bahe</i> 'sieve', <i>gal-gorri</i> 'type of wheat' (lit. 'red wheat')
<i>afari</i> 'supper'	<i>afal-ordu</i> 'suppertime', <i>afal-oste</i> 'after supper'
<i>abere</i> 'cattle'	<i>abel-buru</i> 'head of cattle', <i>abel-gorri</i> 'free roaming cattle' (lit. 'red cattle'), <i>abel-bide</i> 'cattle track'

This alternation represents a synchronic reversal of a diachronic process *-l- > -r-*, which is evident in many borrowings from Latin (cf. section 2.1.8.2).

An alternation which is regular from a diachronic point of view, but less so from a synchronic perspective, is shown by items where an intervocalic *-n-* was lost in the basic form, but was preserved in the dependent stem, which undergoes final vowel deletion; e.g. *ardo* (B *ardao*) 'wine', *ardan-degi* 'tavern' (< **ardano*); *gazta* (B *gaztae*) 'cheese', *gaztan-bera* 'cottage cheese' (< **gaztane*); *kate(a)* 'chain', *katen-begi* 'link' (< Lat. *catena*); *bale(a)* 'whale', *balen-untzi* 'whaling ship' (< Lat. *ballena*); *arrai(n)* 'fish', *arran-tzale* 'fisherman' (< **arrani*).

In a very few words, final *-n* is replaced by *-r* in the dependent stem; e.g. *egun* 'day', *egur-aldi* 'weather'; *jaun* 'lord, gentleman', *jaur-egi* 'palace'; *oihan* 'forest', *oihar-bide* 'road to the forest'.

The word *gizon* 'man' has a dependent stem form *giza*; e.g. *gizarte* 'society' (*giza+arte*), *giza-seme* 'man' (lit. 'man-son'), *giza-(ga)ixo* 'poor man'.

Although these alternations can be rather striking, only a relatively small set of stems undergoes them. The productivity of the alternations mentioned in this section is limited and most stems have an invariant form, which is not altered in derivation and compounding.

These alternations do not take place in co-compounds; e.g. *jaun-andreak* 'ladies and gentlemen' (lit. 'gentlemen and ladies'), not ***jaur-andreak*.

2.1.6.2. Alternations affecting the negative particle

Optionally, the negation *ez* loses its sibilant before a conjugated verbal form starting with /n/ or /l/: *ez + naiz* → *enaiz* 'I am not', *ez luke* → *eluke* 's/he would not have it', *ez litzateke* → *elitzateke* 's/he would not be'. This process is geographically widespread and was represented orthographically in pre-modern times, but appears to be receding. (For *z + z* → *tz* with negation see 2.1.2.2)

When followed by *-z*, the affricate *tz* results; e.g. *zen* 's/he was', *etzen* 's/he was not', *zegok* 's/he is, stays, ALLOC MASC', *etzegok* 's/he is, stays, ALLOC MASC'

The particle *ez* also causes the devoicing of a following voiced obstruent, but this is a more general rule (see section 2.1.4.5); e.g. *gara* 'we are', *ez-kara* 'we are not', *dugu* 'we have it', *eztugu* 'we do not have it', *dator* 's/he is coming', *eztator* 's/he is not coming', *badoa* 'if s/he is going', *ezpadoa* 'if s/he is not going'.

2.1.6.3. Epenthesis in nominal inflection

In nominal inflection a vowel *-e-* is inserted between a stem-final consonant and the following consonant of a suffix. Compare the examples in table 29, where *mendi* 'mountain' is given as an illustration of vowel-final stem and *azal* 'skin', *lur* 'land' and *haran* 'valley' represent consonant-final stems:

Table 29. Epenthetic *-e-*

stem	<i>mendi</i>	<i>azal</i>	<i>lur</i>	<i>haran</i>
ERG INDEF	<i>mendi-k</i>	<i>azal-ek</i>	<i>lurr-ek</i>	<i>haran-ek</i>
REL	<i>mendi-ko</i>	<i>azal-eko</i>	<i>lurr-eko</i>	<i>haran-eko</i>
ALL SG	<i>mendi-ra</i>	<i>azal-era</i>	<i>lurr-era</i>	<i>haran-era</i>
ABL SG	<i>mendi-tik</i>	<i>azal-etik</i>	<i>lurr-etik</i>	<i>haran-etik</i>

It should be noticed that epenthesis takes place even when the resulting consonant sequence would still be well formed without it. Epenthesis does not take place with time or place adverbs; e.g. *orain* 'now', *orain-go* 'of now', *orain-dik* 'still'; *hemen* 'here', *hemen-go* 'of here', *hemen-dik* 'from here'; *hor* 'there', *hor-ko* 'of there', *hor-tik* 'from there'. In fact, a minimal-pair contrast is offered by the noun *egun* 'day' and the adverb *egun* 'today': *egun-eko* 'of the day' vs. *egun-go* 'of today'. With proper names there is fluctuation between the two solutions; e.g. *Madril* 'Madrid', *Madril-etik* or *Madril-dik* 'from Madrid'.

A special alternation takes place in the locative singular. This suffix appears as *-an* after a vowel and as *-ean* after a consonant: *mendi-an* 'in the mountain', *buru-an* 'in/on the head', *etxe-an* 'in the house', *hondartza-n* 'at the beach', but *azal-e-an* 'on the skin, on the surface', *lurr-e-an* 'in/on the land', *haran-e-an* 'in the valley'. At an earlier time this suffix must have been consonant initial **-Can*.

2.1.6.4. Other processes applying only in very restricted morphological contexts

In different dialects we find patterns of morphophonological alternation that are restricted to very specific contexts. These are particularly common in verbal morphology. For instance, in Baztan and other neighboring High Navarrese varieties, there is an *u/i* alternation in participles, *-i* appearing before the future suffix *-ko*; e.g. *paratu* 'to put', *paratiko* 'will put'.

In future participles that take the suffix *-en*, deletion of a preceding nasal is found in some High Navarrese and Gipuzkoan areas; e.g. *esan* 'to say', *esanen* ~ *esain* (Arbizu *esaan*) 'will say'.

In the writings of the 17th century author Pedro de Axular we consistently find deletion of *d-* and metathesis in examples where a participle in *-n* is followed by the auxiliary *ditu-*; e.g. *galtzen ditu-* → *galtzeintut* 'I lose them'. This same process is still found in some modern varieties such as the Gipuzkoan variety spoken in Oiartzun (see Zuazo 1997).

Many other examples of specific processes of this type are found in different dialects.

2.1.7. Reduplicative processes

In Basque repetition is often used for emphasis, as in *zuri-zuria* 'very white'. In addition, there is a reduplicative process where the second repetition of the word takes the prefix *m(a)-*, with replacement of any initial consonant. This is found in examples such as those in table 30.

Table 30. Reduplication

<i>ikusi</i>	'to see'	<i>ikusi makusi</i>	'a game' ('I spy')
<i>haundi</i>	'big'	<i>haundi-maundi</i>	'big guy'
<i>zehatz</i>	'exact'	<i>zehatz-mehatz</i>	'very exact'

Compound formation is examined in 3.8.

2.1.8. Processes in the adaptation of borrowings

2.1.8.1. Productive adaptations

Nowadays almost all Basque speakers are bilingual in French or Spanish. A consequence of this is frequent borrowing of lexical items. In the adaptation

of new borrowings certain changes are implemented. Some of these are used by all speakers in all styles, whereas others are conscious adaptations. It should perhaps be pointed out that given the high degree of proficiency in Spanish and/or French on the part of most Basque speakers these adaptations do not represent the avoidance of genuine phonetic difficulties, even if this was originally the reason for them. We will concentrate on the adaptation from Spanish.

Several Spanish suffixes are systematically replaced by Basque endings. In the adaptation of verbs, the ending *-do* of the Spanish participle is replaced by *-tu*: *coordinado* → *koordinatu* 'coordinate', *justificado* → *justifikatu* 'justify', *despedido* → *despeditu* 'fire'. Similarly, the suffixes *-ción*, *-sión* are replaced by *-zio*, *-sio* (*-ziño*, *-siño* in Bizkaian), respectively: *coordinación* → *koordinazio* 'coordination', *represión* → *errepresio* 'represion'. Except for this case, the Spanish ending *-ón* is systematically replaced by *-oi*: *melón* → *melo* 'melon', *electrón* → *elektroi* 'electron' (cf. Hualde 1993). Final *-d* does not occur in Basque and the frequent borrowings with the suffix *-tad*, *-dad* are adapted with *-tade*, *-dade* or, in a higher style, with *-tate* (which is the original form of the suffix and appears in borrowings from Latin): *facultad* → *fakultate* 'faculty', *universidad* → *unibertsitate* 'university'; more colloquially, *fakultade*, *unibersidade*.

Until relatively recent times initial /r-/ was impossible in Basque, and a prothetic vowel was automatically added: *república* → *errepublik*a 'republic', *rueda* → *errubeda* 'wheel', *respuesta* → *errespuesta* 'answer'. Very recently, with the spread of complete bilingualism, this adaptation has ceased to obligatorily apply in local dialects: *rubio* → (er)rubixo 'blond', *radio* → radixo 'radio'. However, in the standard language there is a strong tendency to restore full vitality to this adaptation, even though present-day speakers have no phonetic difficulty in pronouncing initial /r-/: *represivo* → *errepresibo* 'repressive', *regular* → *erregular*. When the sequence *errel-* would result after prothesis, the second vowel is deleted: *relativo* → *erlatibo* 'relative' (cf. the older borrowings *erloju* 'watch' < Sp *reloj*; *erlijio* 'religion'). Something similar occurs with the affrication of sibilants after nasals and liquids, which is regularly effected in the written standard language: *ciencia* → *zientzia* 'science', *universidad* → *unibertsitate*, *transitivo* → *trantsitibo*, *insumisión* → *intsumisio* 'insubmission'. In these adaptations one can see a conscious attempt to preserve aspects of the traditional phonology of the Basque language.

Final *-o* is replaced by *-u* in certain types of borrowings: *elemento* → *elementu*, *artículo* → *artikulu* 'article'. In other words final *-o* is left unmodified: *artístico* → *artistiko*. The application of this rule of adaptation

appears to follow very specific analogical patterns and there is a certain amount of variation among speakers (and writers).

In Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian areas, /f/ is rare and frequently alternates with /p/. For some time there was a tendency to replace /f/ by /p/ in borrowings, especially in literary Gipuzkoan; but this adaptation rule has not triumphed in the modern standard language and is a receding phenomenon. Nevertheless, Fraile & Fraile (1995) report this adaptation in very recent borrowings, such as *putiñ* < *footing* 'jogging' in the variety of Oiartzun.

As for accentuation, the specific adaptations undergone by borrowings in different Basque dialects obviously depend on the nature of the accentual system of the dialect in question. In varieties with accentual systems that radically differ from the Spanish one, these adaptations can be complex (cf. Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994). In standard Basque where the most widespread pattern is stress on the second syllable, borrowings are also stressed in this manner: *universidad* → *uníbertsitateà*.

2.1.8.2. Main changes in old borrowings from Latin and early Romance

In addition to some adaptations which are still productively applied (see section 2.1.8.1), older borrowings from Latin and Romance show a number of interesting features of adaptation.

A notable phenomenon in loanwords from Latin and Romance is a certain fluctuation in the voicing of initial plosives: *pace* > *bake* ~ *pake* 'peace', *parcere* > *parkatu* ~ *barkatu* 'to forgive', *peccatu* > *bekatu* ~ *pekatu* 'sin', *torre* > *dorre* ~ *torre* 'tower', *guidar* > *gidatu* ~ *kidatu* 'to guide'. The predominant pattern in old borrowings from Latin and Romance is the voicing of initial voiceless stops: *causa* > *gauza* 'thing', *castanea* > *gaztaina* 'chestnut', *camera* > *ganbara* 'storage room', *castellu* > *gatzelu* 'castle', *cruce* > *gurutze* 'cross', *corpus* > *gorputz* 'body', *pulsatu* > *bultzatu* 'pull', *tenda* > *denda* 'shop', *tempora* > *denbora* 'time'.

Traditionally, Basque did not allow muta-cum-liquida clusters. In the adaptation of old borrowings from Latin and Romance these groups are often broken up by vowel epenthesis or simplified by deletion of the obstruent. The obstruent is deleted when the following segment is a lateral and especially if the group is word initial: *planu* > *lau* 'flat', *gloria* > *loria* 'glory', *flore* > *lore* 'flower', *plantare* > *landare* 'plant'. In medial position we find deletion in *ecclesia* > *eliza* 'church'. Word-initial obstruent deletion does not take place when the second member of the cluster is a rhotic, since word-initial rhotics are disallowed in Basque. In this case, we find vowel

epenthesis to break up the cluster: *cruce* > *gurutze* 'cross'. Epenthesis is also commonly found in word-initial and word-medial clusters with both liquids: *libru* > *liburu* 'book', *regla* > *erregela* 'rule', *cleta* > *keleta*, *gereta* 'fence gate'. In more recent borrowings muta-cum-liquida clusters are left unaltered: *pobre* 'poor', *gris* 'gray', *krisi* 'crisis'.

Another notorious feature of old borrowings in Basque, when compared with the neighboring Romance languages, is a non-adaptation. Unlike in Spanish and French, Latin intervocalic voiceless stops are not voiced: *virtute* > *bertute* 'virtue', cf. Sp *virtud*; *mataxa* > *mataxa* 'skein', cf. Sp *madeja*; *iocu* > *joko* 'game', cf. Sp *juego*; *sapores* > *zapores* 'flavor', cf. Sp *sabor*; *suc(c)u* > *zuku* 'juice', cf. Sp *jugo*; *neca(re)* > *neka(tu)* 'to get tired', cf. Sp *anegado*; *anate* > *ahate* 'duck', cf. Sp *ánade*; *spatha* > *ezpata* 'sword', cf. Sp *espada*; *cognatu* > *koinatu* 'brother-in-law', cf. Sp *cuñado*; *catena* > *katea* 'chain', cf. Sp *cadena*.

The oldest borrowings from Latin show preservation of velar stops before front vowels, which later were systematically palatalized in the Vulgar Latin of most areas: *rege* > *errege* 'king', *regina* > *erregina* 'queen', *lege* > *lege* 'law', *angelu* > *aingeru* 'angel', *sartagine* > *zartagina* 'skillet', *placet* > *laket* 'pleasure', *ceresia* > *gerezi* 'cherry', *bacilla* > *makila* 'stick', *cella* > *gela* 'room', *certu* > *gertu* 'ready', *pice* > *bike* 'pitch, tar'.

Like in the neighboring Romance languages (Spanish, Gascon, Aragonese), in Basque Latin *v* becomes /b/; e.g. *voluntate* > *borondate* 'will', cf. Sp *voluntad*; *cavea* > *habia* ~ *kabia* 'nest'.

As mentioned in 2.1.8.1, /f/ is replaced by /p/ in some central and western areas (a receding phenomenon). In borrowings from Latin we often find instead replacement by /b/, /h/ or zero (/f/ may also remain unaltered); e.g. *fagu* > *bago* ~ *pago* ~ *fago* 'beech tree' (cf. Sp *haya*); *fiku* > *piku* ~ *biku* ~ *iko* 'fig' (cf. Sp *higo*); *forma* > *horma*, *borma* 'wall; ice'; *fortis* > *bortitz* 'strong'; *festa* > *besta* ~ *pesta* ~ *festa* 'party, holiday'.

In old borrowings stops are voiced after nasals and laterals; e.g. *voluntate* > *borondate* 'will'; **altare* > *aldare* 'altar'; *pensamentu* > *pent-samendu* 'thought', *adventu* > *abendu* 'December'. As mentioned in 2.1.4.5, this process is also observable in a number of morphophonological alternations.

In intervocalic position, Latin/Romance /l/ became /r/, but /ll/ was simplified to /l/; e.g. Rom. *tselu* > *zeru* 'sky, heaven', *angelu* > *aingeru* 'angel', *gula* > *gura* 'desire', *asceola* > *aizkora* 'ax', *maledictu* > *madarikatu* 'damned'; *castillu* > *gatzelu* 'castle', *cella* > *gela* 'room', *ballena* > *balea* 'whale', *caepulla* > *kipula* 'onion', *catillu* > *katilu* 'bowl'. This change has

also given rise to a morphophonological alternation (with reversal of the rule), cf. 2.1.6.1.

As in Gascon, /n/ drops between vowels; e.g. *honore* > *ohore* 'honor', *anate* > *ahate* 'duck', *denariu* > *diru* 'money', *corona* > *koroa* 'crown', *catena* > *katea* 'chain', *ballena* > *balea* 'whale'. In Zuberoan a nasalized aspiration is preserved in some of these cases.

In most early borrowings Latin/Romance *s* gives *z*: *sopa* > *zopa* 'soup', *sucu* > *zuku* 'juice', *servitiu* > *zerbitzu* 'service', *serra* > *zerra* 'saw' (cf. Sp *sierra*), *sella* > *zela* 'saddle' (cf. Sp *silla*), *seguru* > *ziur* 'sure', *seta* > *zeta* 'silk' (cf. Sp *seda*), *saccu* > *zaku* 'sack, bag', *signu* > *zeinu* 'sign', *ecclesia* > *eliza* 'church', *messu* > *mezu* 'message', *missa* > *meza* 'mass', *causa* > *gauza* 'thing'. There are a few exceptions among the oldest layer of borrowings, such as *soca* > *soka* 'rope' (cf. Sp *soga*).

2.2. Accentuation

J.I. Hualde

In Standard Basque, stress or accent is not phonologically contrastive. Usually the stress falls on the second syllable of the word or phrase, frequently with secondary prominence on the last syllable; e.g. *alába* 'daughter', *alá-barentzat dà* 'it is for the daughter', *lagúnari* 'to the friend'. Bisyllabic words ending in a vowel receive initial stress instead; e.g. *néska* 'girl'. But, as mentioned, stress is not phonologically contrastive and may also fall on other syllables. The situation is very different in many dialectal areas. Given the great diversity of accentual systems found in traditional Basque dialects, it is not possible to describe all of them here (cf. Hualde 1997, 1999 for overviews). In this section we will briefly describe only those systems with greatest typological or sociological importance.

2.2.1. Northern Bizkaian

From a typological point of view the most interesting accentual systems in Basque are found in northern Bizkaian. In this accentual type, most words lack lexical accent. In isolation or under focus, in the unmarked case a phrase will present a tonal rise on the second syllable and a high tone plateau up to the final syllable, where there is a falling contour. The final syllable is perceived as prominent, as seen in table 31.

Table 31. Northern Bizkaian: Lexically unaccented phrases

<i>n̥re laguná</i> \	'my friend'
<i>n̥re lagunén amá</i> \	'my friend's mother'
<i>n̥re lagunén txakur ederrá</i> \	'my friend's beautiful dog'
<i>n̥re lagunén txakur ederrári</i> \	'to my friend's beautiful dog'

There are, however, words with lexical accent. These words will show a drop in pitch on a given syllable in all syntactic contexts. For instance, the words *léku* 'place' and *léngusu* 'cousin' have lexical accent in the first syllable. All plural words are also lexically accented. The accent occurs on the syllable preceding the plural suffix (i.e. plural suffixes are preaccented). For instance, *lagúnen* 'of the friends' minimally contrasts with unaccented singular *lagunen* 'of the friend' as seen in table 32.

Table 32. Northern Bizkaian (Gernika): Phrases containing lexically accented words

<i>n̥re lagúnen dma</i>	'the mother of my friends'
<i>n̥re lagunén léngusua</i>	'the cousin of my friend'
<i>n̥re lagúnen léngusua</i>	'the cousin of my friends'
<i>n̥re lagunén léku ederra</i>	'my friend's beautiful place'
<i>n̥re lagunén léngusu ederrári</i>	'to the beautiful cousin of my friend'

It can be seen that after an accent-induced drop the tone remains low until the end of the word, but there can be a rise in a following word within the phrase. This rise will occur on the second syllable if the word is lexically unaccented. After the first accent in the sentence, other accents are downstepped. (The schematic contours in table 32 abstract away from the effects of downstep, see section 2.3.)

Most words are lexically unaccented. It is important to note that lexically unaccented words are not stressable at all if they are not phrase-final. In a sentence like the one below, it is totally impossible to give accentual prominence to the unaccented word *txakur* 'dog' even if narrow focus on it is intended, i.e. in a context such as 'You said you saw our beautiful cat?' 'No, I saw our beautiful dog'. The only way to accent the phrase *txakur ederra* 'the beautiful dog' is as in (b), where the whole noun phrase is focalized.

- (a) *gu | re txakúr | ederra ikusi dot
 our dog beautiful see AUX
- (b) gu | re txakur ederrá \ ikusi dot
 our dog beautiful see AUX
 'I have seen our beautiful dog'

Lexically accented words fall into several categories. First of all, as already shown, certain inflectional suffixes induce an accent on the preceding syllable. In particular, all plural suffixes, the ablative suffix and the comitative suffix are all preaccenting when attached to unaccented stems (in some varieties of this area the benefactive is also accented), as seen in table 33.)

Table 33. Gernika: Unaccented stems

uninfl	SG	PL	
ABS	<i>adar</i>	<i>adarra</i>	<i>adárrak</i>
ERG	<i>adarrek</i>	<i>adarrak</i>	<i>adárrak</i>
DAT	<i>adarrerri</i>	<i>adarrari</i>	<i>adárrari</i>
GEN	<i>adarren</i>	<i>adarran</i>	<i>adárran</i>
BEN	<i>adarrentzat</i>	<i>adarrantzat</i>	<i>adárrantzat</i>
COM	<i>adarrégaz</i>	<i>adarrágaz</i>	<i>adárrakaz</i>
INES	<i>adarretan</i>	<i>adarrien</i>	<i>adárratan</i>
ALL	<i>adarretara</i>	<i>adarrera</i>	<i>adárratara</i>
ABL	<i>adarretatik</i>	<i>adarrétik</i>	<i>adárratatik</i>

In words containing more than one accented (preaccenting) inflectional suffix, the first one determines the position of the accent. Consider the examples in table 34.

Table 34. Gernika: First accent rule

(a) GEN SG + DAT SG <i>lagun-en-ari</i> 'to the one of the friend'
(b) GEN SG + DAT PL <i>lagun-én-ari</i> 'to the ones of the friend'
(c) GEN PL + DAT SG <i>lagún-en-ari</i> 'to the one of the friends'
(d) GEN PL + DAT PL <i>lagún-en-ari</i> 'to the ones of the friends'

In (a) there are no accented morphemes and the word receives phrase-final prominence. In (b) and (c) there is a preaccenting suffix, respectively the dative plural and the genitive plural, which induces an accent on the preceding syllable. Finally, the example in (d) contains two preaccenting plural suffixes, and the one that prevails is the first one.

The 'first accent wins' rule is a general one in the system. This can be seen in the fact that if the stem is accented all its inflected forms are ac-

cented on the same syllable. The singular/plural distinction is lost with accented stems, as seen in table 35.

Table 35. Gernika: Accented stems

<i>léngusu</i>	'cousin'
<i>léngusue</i>	'the cousin, ABS SG'
<i>léngusuek</i>	'the cousins, ABS/ERG PL' or 'the cousin, ERG SG'
<i>léngusuari</i>	'to the cousin' or 'to the cousin'
<i>léngusuenari</i>	'to the one(s) of the cousin(s)' (= all four meanings above for <i>lagun</i>)

The class of accented stems contains a large number of borrowings, both old (e.g. *kipúla* 'onion' < Lat *caepulla*, *puxíka* 'bladder' < Lat *uessica*, *léku* 'place' < Rom *lueco*) and more recent (e.g. *básu* 'drinking glass' < Sp *vaso*, *písu* 'apartment' < Sp *piso*). Another important subgroup of accented items are morphologically complex words. Some productive derivational suffixes which give rise to accented stems are the comparative *-ago* (e.g. *báltzago* 'blacker', *edérrago* 'more beautiful'), the superlative *-en* (e.g. *báltzena* 'the blackest', *edérrena* 'the most beautiful'), the excessive *-egi* (e.g. *báltzegidxe* 'too black', *edérregidxe* 'too beautiful'), the adjectival *-ti* (e.g. *lóti* 'sleepy', *negártidxe* 'the crying one'), the diminutive *-txu* (e.g. *txakúrtxue* 'the little dog') and the ordinal *-garren* (e.g. *bígarrena* 'the second one'), among others. Many compounds are also accented (e.g. *léngusu* 'cousin' < *lehen* 'first' + Rom *cosino*, *seméalabak* 'sons and daughters'). Finally there is a relatively small residue of accented stems which do not fall into any of these categories, e.g. *béste* 'other', *egúzki* (or *éguzki*) 'sun', *égi(a)* 'truth', *belárri* (or *bélarri*) 'ear'. At least some of these may be historically complex words whose structure has become opaque. The great majority of morphologically simple stems are unaccented.

In verbal participles we also find an accented/unaccented division. Almost all perfective participles are unaccented, but there are a few exceptions, including both borrowings (e.g. *bóta* 'throw') and old causative formations (e.g. *éroan* 'to carry'). Both the imperfective suffix *-t(z)en* (and related nominalizer *-t[z]e*) and the future suffix *-ko* are preaccented, as seen in table 36.

The facts that have been presented correspond to the most widespread situation within the pitch-accent area of northern Bizkaia (from Gernika and Bermeo to Getxo). Some local varieties, however, show significant differences, resulting from accent shifts and restructurings of various types. In Lekeitio all lexical accents have shifted to the penultimate, as can be seen by comparing the examples in table 37.

Table 36. Gernika: Participles

	PRF	IMPF	FUT	
(a)	<i>ikusi</i>	<i>ikústen</i>	<i>ikusíko</i>	'see'
	<i>galdu</i>	<i>gáltzen ~ galdúten</i>	<i>galdúko</i>	'lose'
(b)	<i>bóta</i>	<i>bótaten</i>	<i>bótako</i>	'throw'

Table 37. Shift of lexical accents to the word- penultimate syllable in Lekeitio

Gernika	Lekeitio	
<i>gixónari</i>	<i>gixonári</i>	'to the men'
<i>adárratatik</i>	<i>adarretátik</i>	'from the horns'
<i>lékue</i>	<i>lekúa</i>	'the place' (accented stem)
<i>lékuetakoa</i>	<i>lekuetakúa</i>	'the one of the places'

As a consequence of this accentual shift, there is only a two-way accentual contrast in Lekeitio: word-penultimate (lexically accented words) vs. unaccented/phrase-final (with some systematic exceptions, see Hualde et al. 1994, Elordieta 1997).

In the Markina area and elsewhere phrase-final accent has become penultimate, e.g. *sagarrá* > *sagárra* 'the apple'. Perhaps as a reaction, the position of lexical accents has been restructured, with leftward shift in a number of cases, e.g. *sagárrak* > *ságarrak* 'the apples' (In fact, lexical accents are mostly restricted to the antepenultimate syllable of the word in the Markina variety, see Hualde 2000).

In Ondarroa, a town geographically located between Lekeitio and Markina, the retraction from phrase-final to phrase-penultimate accent in unmarked phrases has taken place like in Markina. In lexically accented words, on the other hand, the accent has shifted to the penultimate of the word, like in Lekeitio. The result is the neutralization of many accentual contrasts in phrase-final position; e.g. *sagárra* 'the apple', *sagárrak* 'the apples', but *sagarrá ra* 'it is the apple' vs. *sagárrak dis* 'they are the apples' (see Hualde 1995, 1996).

2.2.2. Western Gipuzkoa

In the western Gipuzkoan area we find a number of accentual systems which are transitional between the northern Bizkaian pitch-accent type described in the previous subsection and the general central type with postinitial accent described in the next section.

Outside of the northern Bizkaian area, we do not find such a clear distinction between accented and unaccented words. Neither do we find the pe-

culiar tonal realization of accentual prominence, with long high-toned plateaux, which we have described for northern Bizkaian; rather the tone will remain low up to the accented syllable in declarative intonation. Nevertheless, in the paradigmatic distribution of accents there are important coincidences between the northern Bizkaian system and the accentual systems of other areas of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, pointing to a clear common historical origin.

In Antzuola and Bergara, in southwestern Gipuzkoa, words are for the most part accented on the penultimate syllable, as seen in table 38.

Table 38. Antzuola: Unmarked word-penultimate accent:

<i>ésku</i>	'hand'	<i>eskuandáko</i>	'for the hand'
<i>eskúa</i>	'the hand'	<i>eskuandakúa</i>	'the one for the hand'

However, in plural forms, the accent falls on the penultimate syllable of the stem, as seen in table 39.

Table 39. Antzuola: SG. vs. PL

	SG	PL
ABS	<i>mutilla</i>	<i>mútilak</i>
ERG	<i>mutillak</i>	<i>mútilak</i>
COM	<i>mutillákiñ</i>	<i>mútillekiñ</i>
GEN + ABS SG	<i>mutillána</i>	<i>mútillena</i>
BEN	<i>mutillandáko</i>	<i>mútillendako</i>
BEN + ABS SG	<i>mutillandakúa</i>	<i>mútillendakua</i>

Like in the northern Bizkaian type, there is a group of marked forms which present fixed accent on a given syllable of the stem in all inflected forms, singular and plural; e.g. *líburua* 'the book', *líburuak* 'the books'. By and large these marked words are the same ones that are lexically accented in northern Bizkaian varieties.

It is not difficult to envision how this system may have derived historically from an accentual system of the northern Bizkaian type. Like in the Markina area, the unmarked final accent was retracted from the final to the penultimate. In plural forms another 'compensatory' retraction took place in the absolutive/ergative (also like in Markina) which (unlike in Markina) served as model for all other plural forms.

A further development has been the reinterpretation of the penultimate accent of unmarked singulars as accent on the third syllable from the beginning of the word, which has taken place in the Azkoitia area (in the Urola Valley of Gipuzkoa). This has been facilitated by the fact that in the vast

majority of cases there is ambiguity between a penultimate pattern and another pattern where the third syllable is accented as long as it is not word-final (see Hualde 1998).

2.2.3. *The central accentual type*

In a large central area covering most of Gipuzkoa and parts of Bizkaia and Navarre, the general rule is postinitial accent (on the second syllable), with some exceptional words receiving, instead, initial accent. The general pattern is illustrated by examples such as *gizóna* 'the man', *gizónari* 'to the man', *gizónarena* 'the one of the man', *txistúlaria* 'the flutist', *txistúlariari* 'to the flutist'. In most varieties with postinitial accent, final prominence is avoided, with accent retraction to the initial syllable in bisyllabic forms: *néska* 'the girl', *neskári* 'to the girl'. The group of exceptional items generally includes a number of borrowings and compounds, e.g. *básoa* 'the drinking glass' from Sp *vaso* (vs. *basóa* 'the forest'), *léngusua* 'the cousin', as well as some other words such as *béstea* 'the other', *égia* 'the truth', whose anomalous accentuation is more difficult to explain (i.e. by and large the same words that are accentually marked in northern Bizkaian). In some of these varieties all plural forms also present initial accent, provided that the absolutive/ergative plural does not contain more than three syllables: *gízonak* 'the men ABS/ERG' (vs. *gizóna* 'the man, ABS', *gizónak* 'the man, ERG'), *gízonai* 'to the men' (vs. *gizónai* 'to the man'), *zákurrak* 'the dogs, ABS/ERG' (vs. *zakúrra* 'the dog, ABS', *zakúrrak* 'the dog, ERG'), but longer plural *emákumeak* 'the women' with the same accentual pattern as singular *emákumea* 'the woman'.

Some varieties of this area have lost the singular/plural accentual distinction and, to different extents, also the class of exceptional stems with initial accent.

In Standard Basque, postinitial accent is the dominant pattern among speakers of this variety. But, as mentioned before, in Standard Basque accentuation is not contrastive and all words are accented in the same manner and can also be accented on a syllable other than the second.

2.2.4. *Zuberoan*

Zuberoan is the only eastern dialect with contrastive accent. The general accentual rule of Zuberoan is penultimate accent, as seen in table 40.

Table 40. Zuberoan: General paroxytonic pattern

<i>gízun</i> 'man'	<i>bezála</i> 'like'
<i>gizúna</i> 'the man, ABS'	<i>bezaláko</i> '(of) like'
<i>gizúnak</i> 'the men, ABS or the man, ERG'	<i>bezalakóxe</i> '(of) like, DIM'

However, there is also a marked oxytonic pattern. In some cases, oxytonic accent is clearly the result of a historical contraction. For instance, the absolutive singular form of stems ending in *-a*, where a historical sequence /a+a/ has been reduced, shows final accent, table 41 (a). Final accent is also found in plural forms of all words, except in the absolutive. To explain this case a historical contraction has also been proposed, table 41 (b).

Table 41. Zuberoan: Exceptional oxytonic pattern

(a)	<i>alhabá</i>	'the daughter, ABS'	< * <i>alhaba-a</i>	cf. uninfl <i>alhába</i>
	<i>neská</i>	'the girl, ABS'	< * <i>neska-a</i>	cf. uninfl <i>néska</i>
(b)	<i>gizunék</i>	'the men, ERG'	< * <i>gizon-ag-ek</i>	
	<i>gizunér</i>	'to the men, DAT'	< * <i>gizon-ag-er(i)</i>	cf. uninfl <i>gízun</i> , ABS PL <i>gizúnak</i>

Words bearing certain monosyllabic derivational morphemes also present final stress when uninflected (e.g. *aitañí* 'grandfather', cf. *áita* 'father'). There is also a group of monomorphemic words which exceptionally present final instead of penultimate stress (e.g. *arrés* 'sheep', *animál* 'huge').

2.3. Intonation

G. Elordieta

In this section we provide an overview of the major intonational properties of three local dialectal varieties of Basque: the northern Bizkaian variety of Lekeitio, the Gipuzkoan variety of Tolosa, and the northern High-Navarrese variety of Baztan. We concentrate on local varieties because Standard Basque does not have yet a clearly established prosody. A description of the intonational patterns of these three varieties should be sufficient to expose the main intonational aspects of Basque. The intonational system of northern Bizkaian shows the greatest difference with respect to other European languages. For this reason, the intonation of the Lekeitio dialect, as a representative of northern Bizkaian, is described in some detail here. For the other two dialects considered briefer descriptions are given.

2.3.1. *Lekeitio*

2.3.1.1. Accented and unaccented words

The basic aspects of the accentuation system of the variety of *Lekeitio* are described in section 2.2.1. (for further information, see Hualde 1997, 1999, Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta 1994 and Elordieta 1997, 1998). Accent or prominence is phonologically contrastive in this dialect and is phonetically realized by means of a tone accent (pitch accent) characterized by a high tone on the prominent syllable followed by a low tone on the following syllable. As explained in section 2.2.1, in northern Bizkaian there is a fundamental distinction between lexically accented and unaccented words: accented words contain one or more accented morphemes. In *Lekeitio* accented morphemes trigger penultimate prominence on the word they are a part of (cf. Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta 1994:52-55, for an extensive list of accented roots and affixes in *Lekeitio* Basque). Unaccented words display a pitch accent on their final syllable when they occur immediately preceding the main verb in an utterance and when pronounced in isolation; otherwise, they remain unaccented.

In the utterances in (1)-(2) we show that a word that is left-adjacent to the verb has its final syllable as the most prominent one, but the rest of the unaccented words do not have a prominent syllable. Main prominence is represented here by an acute mark on the vowel of the syllable with the pitch accent, i.e., the final syllable of the word that immediately precedes the verb:

- (1) *Nire amen diruá galdu dot.*
 my mother.GEN money lose AUX
 'I have lost my mother's money.'
- (2) *Arrebien lagunén ume txikiñá ikusi dot.*
 sister.GEN friend.GEN child small see AUX
 'I have seen my sister's friend's small child.'

The transcription system that we use for the examples in this chapter follows the general principles of Basque orthography (see section 2.1.1), but more accurately reflecting the pronunciation of the dialects in question. For instance, the letter *h* is not employed if it is not pronounced in the dialect. Similarly, in dialects where the phonemic distinction reflected by orthographic *s* and *z* has been lost, only *s* is used. To give an example, for

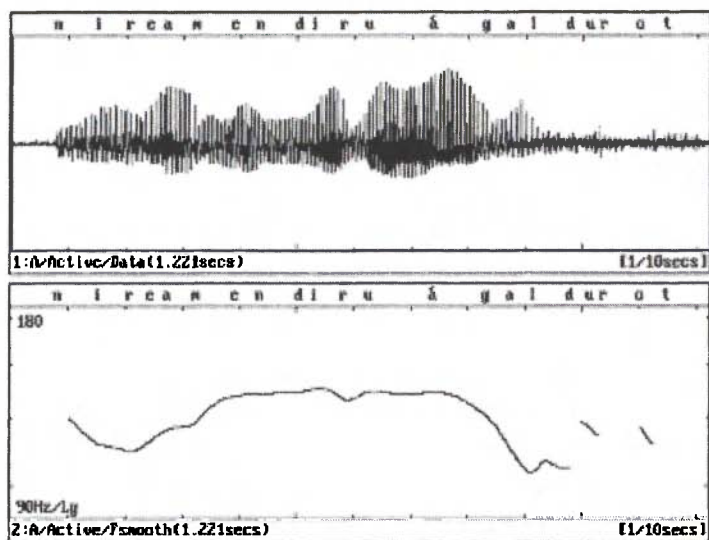


Figure 1.

Lekeitio we write *sure aitxak artun dau* ‘your father has taken it’ instead of *zure aitak hartun dau* (Standard Basque *zure aitak hartu du*), reflecting the facts that the etymological distinction between apical *s* and laminal *z* has been neutralized, etymological /-it-/ is palatalized and etymological *h* is not pronounced in this dialect. It should also be noted that verb intervocalic /d/ is flapped in Lekeitio: *galdu dot* → *galdu rot*.

As we said above, a pitch accent is phonetically realized as a high tone on the syllable perceived as most prominent, followed by an immediate lowering in pitch onto the following syllable. Thus, it can be described as a high tone followed by a low tone. This is illustrated in Fig. 1, corresponding to sentence (1), where we can observe the fall in pitch from a high tone on the final syllable of the word *diruá* ‘money’, which precedes the verb *galdu* ‘lose’, to the following syllable. In fact, the fall starts already on the final syllable of this word.

It is important to notice from the F0 contour in Fig. 1 that the initial syllable of the first word has a low tone, and that there is an immediate rise in pitch from this syllable to the second one (observe the rise from the initial syllable *ni.* to the second syllable *.rea.*). This is the regular intonational pattern in Lekeitio Basque: the first syllable of an utterance presents a low tone, and the second syllable has a high tone. In the speech of some speakers, a sequence of unaccented words forms a plateau with a high tone that starts on the second syllable of the first word. That is, the high tone is maintained in all the following syllables up to a syllable with a pitch accent. In the case of

the F0 contour in Fig. 1, the high pitch is maintained until the pitch accent in the final syllable of the word *diruá*. However, the occurrence of this pattern finds greater variability when the phrase is longer (i.e., it is composed of three or more words). When the words belong to separate syntactic phrases, speakers often introduce a low tone on the first syllable of the first word of a phrase. We will discuss these possibilities in section 2.3.1.2.2.

Accented words always have a pitch accent on their penultimate syllable, regardless of their position in the utterance, unlike unaccented words. This is apparent in the F0 contour corresponding to the utterance in (3) below (cf. Fig. 2):

- (3) *Amúmen liburúa emon nau.*
 grandmother.GEN book give AUX
 '(S)he has given me grandma's book.'

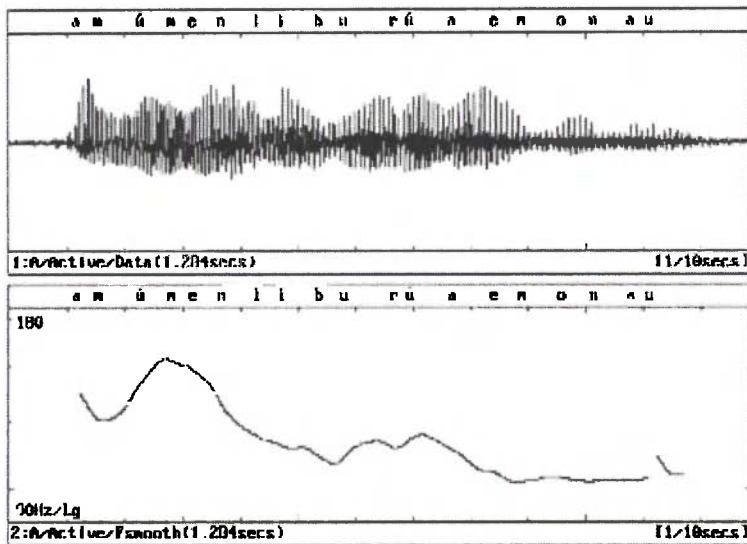


Figure 2.

As we can see, the words *amúmen* and *liburúa* in (3) display pitch accents on their penultimate syllables, realized as a high tone on the prominent syllable followed by an immediate lowering onto the following syllable. Thus, whereas only an unaccented word that occurs immediately to the left of the verb gets a pitch accent on its final syllable, all accented words surface with a pitch accent on their penultimate syllables, regardless of whether or not they occur to the left of the verb.

It is important to note that after each pitch accent, the next word has a low tone on its first syllable, with an immediate rise to a high tone in the second syllable, which is maintained until the next pitch accent is met, on the penultimate syllable. That is, the pattern of pitch raising on the second syllable and high pitch maintenance until the next pitch accent recurs with each pitch accent (or for some speakers, with every syntactic phrase boundary, as we will see below in section 2.3.1.2.2).

2.3.1.2. Intonational division of an utterance

An utterance in Lekeitio Basque is divided in three parts, with a correspondence between the informational organization of the sentence and intonational structure. On the one hand, there is the phrase that receives main prosodic prominence in the utterance. This element in almost all cases and types of sentences occurs before the verb, especially if it is a noun phrase. Main prosodic prominence is signaled to the listener by the reduction in pitch level produced after the last word in the phrase, i.e., from the verb on. This region with compressed pitch range constitutes the second part of the utterance. As for the third part, its presence is not necessary in a sentence; it is the part of the utterance that precedes the phrase with main prosodic and pragmatic prominence. This three-way partition in intonational organization of an utterance is shared by other dialects as well.

2.3.1.2.1. Main prosodic and pragmatic prominence

Traditional grammarians such as Azkue (1931, 1932) and Altube (1934) described the word preceding the verb as the most prominent element in a sentence, both prosodically and pragmatically. That is, the word preceding the verb is perceived by speakers as the most prominent, or ‘stronger’ than the rest of the words in the utterance. At the same time, Azkue and Altube identified this word, or the phrase it is contained in, as ‘the most important piece of information’ in a sentence. This word or phrase could be the element constituting the answer to the interrogative pronoun in questions such as ‘What happened?’ or ‘Who gave you the book?’, for example. This is illustrated in the question-answer pairs in examples (4) through (6) below. The most prominent or focalized constituent appears in boldface:

- (4) *Sér galdu dósu?*

what lose AUX

'What have you lost?'

Nire amen diruá galdu dot.

my mother.GEN money lose AUX

'I have lost my mother's money.'

- (5) *Nór ikusi dósu?*

who see AUX

'Who have you seen?'

Arrebien lagunén ume txikiñá ikusi dot.

sister.GEN friend.GEN child small.DET see AUX

'I have seen the sister's friend's small child.'

- (6) *Sér emon dótzu?*

what give AUX

'What has (s)he given you?'

Amúmen liburúa emon nau.

grandmother.GEN book give AUX

'(S)/he has given me my grandmother's book.'

The words or phrases responding to the question words *sér* 'what' and *nór* 'who' are interpreted as the most important part of the sentence informationally, that is, as phrases that provide the necessary information that fills the gap corresponding to the question word. In pragmatic terms, this constituent is referred to as new information, rheme, or focus. Azkue and Altube called this element the 'inquired element', referring to the correspondence between this phrase and a presupposed question, and the position immediately preceding the verb as the position of the inquired element. The verb itself may be the most prominent element prosodically and semantically, as we will see below.

But the focus or rheme of an utterance does not have to be triggered by a question. It might appear in a sentence independently in a discourse, as the speaker organizes and divides his/her utterances in parts carrying different informational load: theme and rheme, old and new information, or topic and focus. Like with answers to questions, the constituent that represents the rheme, new information or focus of a sentence without being the answer to a question appears immediately preceding the verb, at least in Northern Bizkaian varieties such as Lekeitio Basque (cf. also 4.4). In other varieties, focalized or new information constituents can appear postverbally within a

speaker's narrative discourse, but they must appear preverbally when they constitute the answer to a *wh*-word in a preceding question (cf. section 4.4.8).

It is important to point out that the preverbal constituent is not always interpreted as the most prominent element informationally. A whole sentence may constitute new information as well, if it is uttered out of the blue or as an answer to a question such as 'What happened?', and reflects the canonical word order in Basque (S-IO-DO-V). In this case, it is still the word preceding the verb that receives the main prosodic prominence, without any difference in pitch level or pitch excursion with respect to a sentence in which the word or phrase preceding the verb constitutes new information. Thus, if the sentence in (7) were the answer to a question such as 'What happened?', or were uttered out of the blue, the pitch contour of the utterance would be the same as if the preverbal phrase (i.e., the direct object *madari bat* 'a pear') were the focalized constituent. The F0 contour is illustrated in Fig. 3.

- (7) *Mirènek umiari madari bát emo(n) (d)otzo.*
 Miren.ERG child.DAT pear one give AUX
 'Miren has given a pear to the child.'

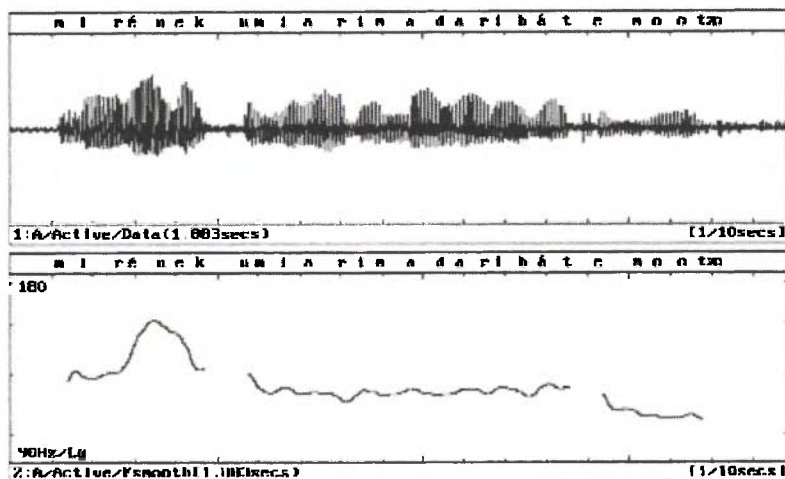


Figure 3.

Similarly, more than one phrase could constitute new information or the focus of the utterance, provided the right context. For instance, in a sentence such as (7) the subject, indirect object and direct object could be the focus, if the sentence were uttered in a situation in which it was apparent that some-

body bought something for somebody. Another possibility would be for the indirect object and the direct object to be the focus of the utterance, if what was known was that Miren gave something to someone, and we wanted to know whom she gave what. What is important is that the same intonational contour results in all cases, namely the one represented in Fig. 3.

When the neutral or canonical order of constituents is altered, however, the whole utterance or other phrases apart from the preverbal one cannot be the constituents conveying new or focalized information. Only the preverbal phrase can be interpreted that way (cf. A. Elordieta 2001). Thus, in a sentence such as (8), where the direct object is postverbal, only the indirect object can be interpreted as new or focalized information.

- (8) *Mirének umiarí emon dotzo madari bat.*
 Miren.ERG child.DAT give AUX pear one
 'Miren has given a pear to the child.'

The focalized constituent receives main prosodic prominence even though its accent may be downstepped by a preceding accent, as in Fig. 3. The pitch accent of the word that appears to the left of the verb is perceived as the strongest stressed syllable in the utterance by native speakers of Lekeitio Basque. From an observation of the F0 contour of the sentence in (1) (cf. Fig. 1), we can see that immediately after the syllable with the pitch accent the pitch level falls and does not rise again. Those examples only include a verb and its auxiliary after the most prominent element, but if there were more material following the verbal complex, it would have a reduced pitch range as well. See for instance the F0 contour in Fig. 4 for the utterance in (9), where the postverbal subject *mariñeruak* appears with the same low pitch as the verb:

- (9) *Eñeldi oná emon dau mariñeruak.*
 weather good give AUX sailor.ERG
 'The sailor has predicted good weather.'

In fact, it is the reduced pitch range of the part of the utterance that includes the verb and whatever material appears after it that causes the word before the verb to be perceived as the most prominent one prosodically. An accented verb or an accented word after the verb presents a much smaller peak than the peaks corresponding to any of the words with pitch accents preceding the verb.

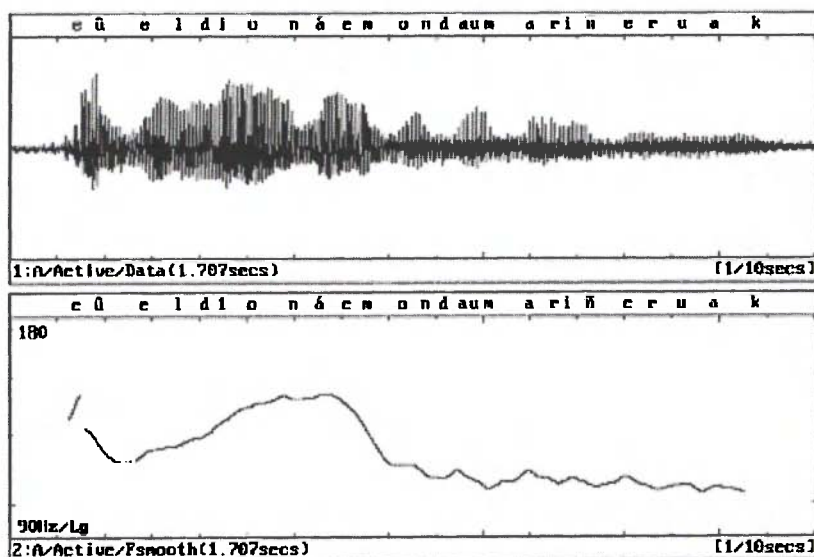


Figure 4.

The perception of main prominence is independent of the lexical or derived nature of the accent on the word preceding the verb. That is, the same perception of main prominence is obtained whether the word is lexically accented or unaccented. The phrase with main prominence constitutes an intonational boundary from what follows, starting with the verb; this would be the division between the two parts we mentioned above.

The verb itself may be the most prominent element, if it is the focus of the utterance. There are two different types of verb focalization: in the first type, the emphasis may be placed on asserting the realization of the event expressed by the verb. That is, the speaker stresses the fact that the event has occurred, is occurring or will occur. In the second type, the speaker wishes to emphasize the realization of the type of event expressed by the verb, stressing that it is that type of event that has occurred, is occurring or will occur, and not any other type of event. Thus, one of the contexts in which this type of focalization may be used is in contexts in which the speaker wishes to correct what another speaker stated (cf. section 4.4.3.2 for more syntactic details on these two types of verb focalization).

In the first type, in analytical forms the last syllable of the main verb receives a pitch accent (cf. [10a]). In synthetic forms, the prefix *ba-* is inserted before the verb, and the pitch accent falls on the last syllable of the verb if it is unaccented (cf. 10 b.); if the verb is accented, two pitch accents surface, one on the prefix *ba-* and another on the penultimate syllable of the syn-

thetic verb (cf. [10c]). In the second type, besides the main verb receiving a pitch accent on its final syllable, the dummy verb *eiñ* 'do' is inserted between the main verb and the auxiliary, both in analytic and synthetic forms (cf. [11]). The word receiving focal accent is written in boldface:

- (10) a. *Mikélek **deitxú** dotzo Mirenéri.*
 Mikel.ERG call AUX Miren.DAT
 'Mikel has called Miren.'
 (asserting that the event of Mikel calling Miren has taken place)
- b. ***Badatór** gero aitxítxa.*
 ba-come later grandpa
 'Grandpa is coming later.'
 (asserting that the event of grandpa coming will take place)
- c. ***Báakárre** dirua.*
 ba-bring money
 'They are bringing the money.'
 (asserting that the event of them bringing the money is taking place)
- (11) *Mikélek **deitxú** eiñ ddotzo Mirenéri.*
 Mikel.ERG call do AUX Miren.DAT
 'Mikel has called Mary.'
 (stressing the event of calling, as opposed to any other type of event)

In negative clauses, the negative particle and/or the auxiliary verb or synthetic verb following it usually receive main prosodic prominence in the utterance, although not in all circumstances (see [14] below). If the auxiliary or synthetic verb following the negative element *es* 'no, not' (*ez* in Standard Basque) is unaccented, the last syllable of the auxiliary or verb receives a pitch accent and the negative particle is pronounced as part of the verb. If the auxiliary or synthetic verb is accented, both the negative particle and the penultimate syllable of the auxiliary or synthetic verb surface with a pitch accent. Thus, compare (12a), where the negative particle is followed by the unaccented auxiliary *totzú* (= *dotzú*, with devoicing of the initial consonant after /s/) with (12b), where the negative particle is followed by the accented auxiliary *gaitxúe*:

- (12) a. *Amak **es totzú** esan ori étxeko.*
 mother.ERG not AUX say that do.to
 'Mother has not told you to do that.'

- b. *Guri és gaitxúe eser emon.*
 we.DAT not AUX anything give
 'They haven't given us anything.'

Also, in imperative forms in which the negative particle is followed by a participial verb, the negative particle receives focal accent:

- (13) *És etorri gure etxera!*
 not come our house.to
 'Don't come to our house!'

A word or phrase preceding the negative particle may be focalized, in contrastive or corrective contexts:

- (14) *Képak es táu amaitxu ondiñóko, és Mirének.*
 Kepa.ERG not AUX finish yet not Miren.ERG
 'It is Kepa the one that has not finished yet, not Miren.'

A postverbal word or phrase may receive main prosodic prominence and be interpreted as new information. These cases often occur when the speaker takes a longer time to retrieve the focus or most important element, as if s/he were hesitating or trying to remember the piece of new information. Utterances with postverbal prosodic prominence often present semantically empty fillers such as *baaa...* 'well' or *eee...* 'um, er' between the verb and what follows. They are more common with copulative verbs (cf. [15] below) and when the focalized constituent is relatively long. There is an intonational boundary intervening between the verb and the word or phrase, realized by lengthening of the final segment in the verb and rising intonation. This can be observed in the F0 contour for (15) (cf. Fig. 5 below), where the vowel of the copula is much longer than any other segment in the utterance, and the pitch rises until the next word begins with a low tone. To put it in plain terms, the sentence is pronounced as if it were separated in two parts, which prosodically constitute two intonational phrases as in (15).

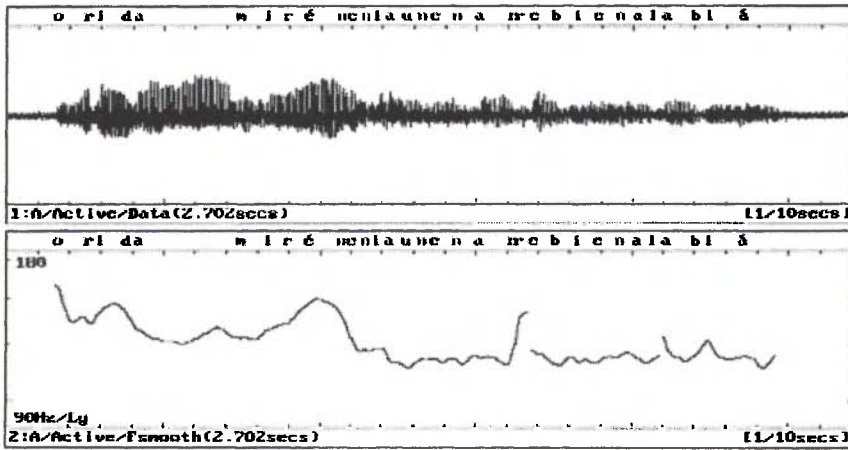


Figure 5.

Nevertheless, this strategy has limited occurrence; it cannot be applied in answers to questions, for instance. Thus, the previous example would be infelicitous as an answer to the question ‘Who is that?’. This strategy is found in narratives, with a pause after the verb, as if the element were dislocated from the rest of the sentence. Leaving aside these cases, it can be stated that in Lekeitio Basque there is a fixed position for the occurrence of a word or phrase that constitutes new information in the sentence (see section 4.4.3.2 for more detailed information).

- (15) *Ori da, Mirénen lagunén arrebién alabía.*
 that is Miren.GEN friend.GEN sister.GEN daughter
 ‘That (person) is, the daughter of Miren’s friend’s sister.’

2.3.1.2.1.1. Restrictions on the assignment of main prominence

The most prominent accent in a sentence has to be on one of the words in the preverbal syntactic phrase. An accented syllable in a phrase that is not left-adjacent to the verb cannot be the most prominent one in the utterance. This is exemplified by the ungrammaticality of an utterance such as (16), where main prominence is given to a word contained in a syntactic phrase that is not immediately preceding the verb. That is, instead of the direct object *liburúa* ‘the book’ having main prominence, it is the subject *maixuak* ‘the teacher’ that is assigned main prominence. The word with main prominence is written in boldface:

- (16) **Maixúak liburúa ekarri dau.*
 teacher.ERG book bring AUX
 'The teacher has brought the book.'

The corresponding grammatical sentence would be (17a), where the object *liburúa* has main prominence or (17b), with *maixúak* in preverbal position:

- (17) a. *Maixúak liburúa ekarri dau.*
 b. *Liburúa maixúak ekarri dau.*

On the other hand, as we said above in section 2.3.1.1, only an unaccented word immediately preceding the verb displays prominence on its final syllable. A lexically unaccented word that is not left-adjacent to the verb cannot have prominence, regardless of whether it is contained in the phrase preceding the verb or not. Thus, a sentence such as (18), pronounced with an accent in the first word, is ungrammatical. The word *gixonak* is the subject, and is therefore in a separate syntactic phrase from the preverbal word, the object *biarra*. Its correct version would be one of the sentences in (19):

- (18) **Gixonák biarra topa dau.*
 man.ERG job find AUX
 'The man has found a job.'
- (19) a. *Gixonak biarrá topa dau.*
 b. *Biarra gixonák topa dau / gixonák topa dau biarra.*

The only exception to this pattern would be cases of multiple foci, where the sentence is uttered as a response to a question with two inquired elements. For instance, to a question such as (20) one could respond as in (21), with the two words in different phrases having almost the same kind of prominence. It is important to point out that the first word, i.e., the subject *Aitorrek* is lexically unaccented but receives an accent in these circumstances:

- (20) *Es tót entendidu.*
 not AUX understand.
 'I haven't understood.'

Nók nóri emon dótzo dirua?
 who.ERG who.DAT give AUX money
 'Who has given the money to whom?'

- (21) *Aitorrék Mirenéri emon dotzo dirua.*
 Aitor.ERG Miren.DAT give AUX money
 'Aitor has given the money to Miren.'

In a sentence in which two or more unaccented words are contained in a syntactic phrase occurring immediately before the verb, only the rightmost word may have main prosodic prominence. Thus, a sentence such as (22) is ill-formed in Lekeitio Basque (cf. the well-formed [23], with the intended meaning):

- (22) **Neure semién etxia ikusi dot.*
 my son.GEN house see AUX
 'I have seen my son's house.'

- (23) *Neure semien etxiá ikusi dot.*

This restriction on accent assignment for unaccented words gives rise to a mismatch between pragmatic or informational focalization and prosodic focalization, as they may not coincide in these contexts. Indeed, one could imagine a context in which the word *semien* were the most prominent element in the utterance from an informational point of view, as it corresponds to the inquired element in a question such as (24), for example. Still, (22) is ill-formed, and the response would have to be uttered as in (23):

- (24) *Nóren etxia ikusi dósu?*
 who.GEN friend see AUX
 'Whose house have you seen?'

In the same manner, (23) could represent the prosodic pattern of a sentence with wide focus or completely new information, or a sentence where only *etxia* 'the house' were the focalized constituent. To express focus on the genitive rephrasing would be required; e.g.: *semiená ikusi dot* 'I have seen the one of the son'.

Interestingly, multiple foci type of questions would not constitute triggers of multiple prosodic prominence in this case. Thus, the correct answer to

(25) is (26) (= [23]), not (27). This indicates that it is not possible to have more than one word with prosodic prominence within a phrase:

- (25) *Es tòt entendidu. Nóren sér ikusi dôsu?*
 not AUX understand whose what see AUX
 'I haven't understood. Whose what have you seen?'

(26) *Neure semien etxiá ikusi dot.*

(27) **Neure semiën etxiá ikusi dot.*

On the other hand, when there is one or more lexically accented words in the preverbal phrase, the first accented word in the phrase is usually perceived by native speakers as the most prominent word prosodically. Thus, in (28) it is the word *lagünen* 'of the friends' that is perceived as the most prominent word in the utterance, even if the sentence were uttered as a response to a question such as 'What did you do today?', 'What did you take?', or 'What that belongs to the friends did you take?', i.e., when the context makes it clear that the whole utterance, the whole phrase *lagünen liburuak* 'the friends' books' or *liburuak* 'books' is the inquired or new information:

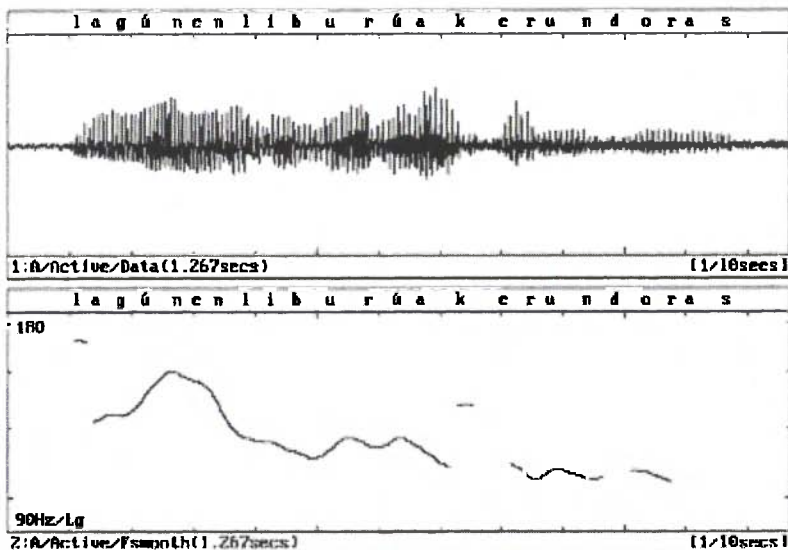


Figure 6.

- (28) *Lagúnen liburúak erun doras.*
 friends.GEN books take AUX
 'I have taken the friends' books.'

Importantly, the F0 contour is identical for cases in which the first word is focus or new information and for cases in which another word in the phrase, the whole phrase or the whole utterance is the focus or new information. That is, the F0 contour in Fig. 6 corresponds to an utterance with a previous discourse, i.e., one in which the word *lagúnen* is the focus or new information, as well as to an utterance in which the whole phrase or the whole utterance is the focus.

Nevertheless, the words following the first accented word in a phrase can receive main prosodic prominence. Interpretations which are prosodically non-ambiguous as to the constituent that is focalized are obtained when another type of focus is involved, where a word or phrase may be set in contrast or opposition to a word or phrase which has been uttered in a previous turn of speech, as in (29).

- (29) *La(g)únen liburúak erun doras, es kuadernúak.*
 friends.GEN books take AUX not notebooks
 'I have taken the friends' books, not the notebooks.'

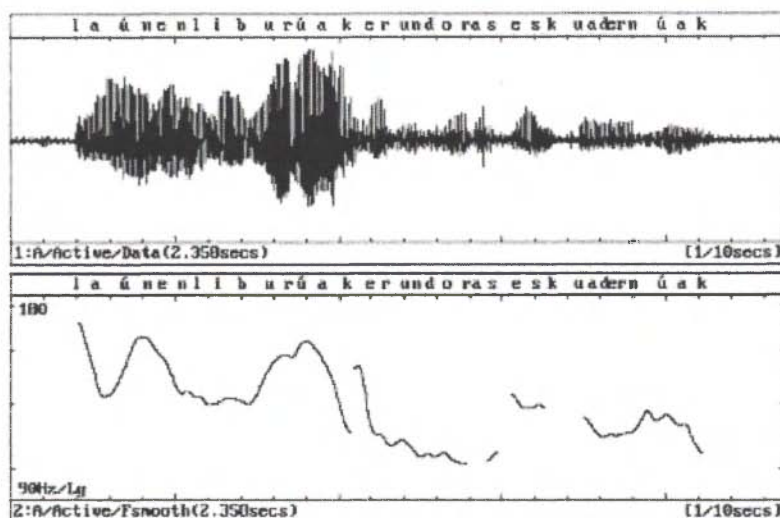


Figure 7.

Focus of this kind, sometimes called emphatic or contrastive focus in the literature, should be better identified as focus of correction, as not all defini-

tions of contrastive focus in the literature respond to this type of focus. This type of focus usually produces higher peaks than informational or identificational focus (see Kiss 1998 for criteria to distinguish the latter two types of foci). Thus, observe Fig. 7, corresponding to (29), and compare it with Fig. 6. The second accent in Fig. 7 is higher than that in a neutral pronunciation (Fig. 6). An accent of focus of correction need not be higher than the first accent; it may have the same or a slightly lower absolute F0 value, but it is perceived as the most prominent accent in the utterance, usually accompanied by more intensity. There are also segmental cues of contrastive focalization, such as initial consonant strengthening and lengthening. We will return to this type of focalization in the following section.

It is important to note that only words that receive an accent within the preverbal phrase (lexically or by being in immediate preverbal position) may be focalized. In (29) above the word *liburúak* was focalized correctively, but the word *lagúnen* could have been focalized that way as well, even though it is not immediately preverbal. This is because it has a (lexical) pitch accent and is contained within the preverbal phrase:

- (30) *Lagúnen liburúak erun doras, es Amaiénak.*
 friends.GEN books take AUX not Amaia.GEN.DET.PL
 'I have taken the friends' books, not Amaia's.'

But an utterance such as (31) is ill-formed, because the focalized word *gixonari* 'to the man' is part of a phrase separated from the immediately preverbal one. *Gixonari* is the indirect object, and *lagúnen liburúak* is the direct object.

- (31) **Gixonari lagúnen liburúak emon dotzaras.*
 man.DAT friends.GEN books give AUX
 'I have given the friends' books to the man.'

This restriction applies irrespective of whether the word in the phrase not immediately preverbal is accented or unaccented. Thus, an utterance such as (32) is ill-formed:

- (32) **Mikeléri lagúnen liburúak emon dotzaras.*
 Mikel.DAT friends.GEN books give AUX
 'I have given the friends' books to Mikel.'

Also, just as an unaccented word that is contained in a preverbal phrase but is not the rightmost word in that phrase cannot receive an accent, it cannot be focalized as focus of correction, either. This is illustrated in (33) (cf. [22]-[23]):

- (33) **Neure semién lagunak ekarri dau ori.*
 my son.GEN friend.ERG bring AUX that
 'My son's friend has brought that.'

The only correct possibility would be to focalize the rightmost word:

- (34) *Neure semien lagunák ekarri dau ori.*
 'My son's friend has bought that.'

2.3.1.2.1.2. Internal intonational organization of phrases with main prominence

When there is more than one accent inside a syntactic phrase, we observe that after the first accent, the other peaks are smaller. This phenomenon is known as downstep (cf. Fig. 2). This pattern is clearer in the F0 contour for sentence (35) (cf. Fig. 8), with three accented words inside the phrase:

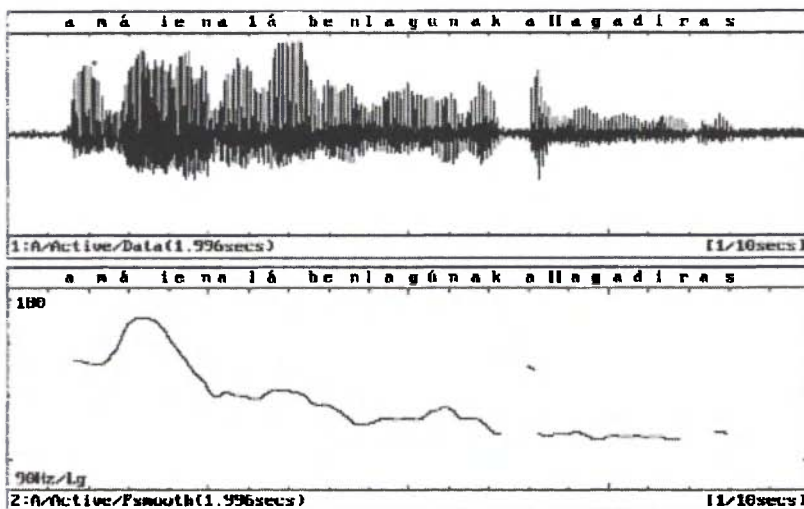


Figure 8.

- (35) *Amáien aláben lagúnak allaga diras.*
 Amaia.GEN daughters.GEN friends arrive AUX
 'The friends of Amaia's daughters have arrived.'

Focus of correction sets clearly apart one word from the rest prosodically, as in (36):

- (36) *Amáien aláben lagúnak allaga dira(s).*
 'It is the friends of Amaia's daughters that have arrived.' (i.e., and not of Amaia's parents)

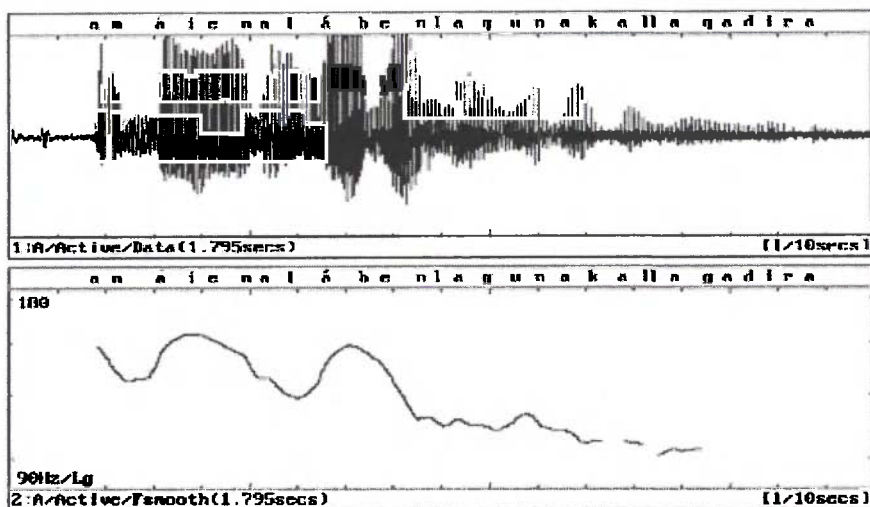


Figure 9.

Fig. 9 illustrates the F0 contour corresponding to this sentence, where we can see that the peak belonging to the focalized word is higher and the subsequent fall in pitch is bigger than in a neutral pronunciation (i.e., Fig. 8). The prosodic prominence associated with focalized words blocks downstep.

On the other hand, if the phrase is composed of unaccented words, we may have one single intonational unit, where the first syllable presents a low tone and the second one has a high tone, and this high tone is maintained until the last syllable of the last word of the phrase, which carries the pitch accent (cf. Fig. 1). This can be observed in the F0 contour of the sentence in (37) (Fig. 10).

If the phrase contains three or more words, some speakers may break up the sequence of unaccented words into two units (cf. Jun and Elordieta 1997, Elordieta 1998).

- (37) *Mariñeruen lagunen umiá allaga da.*
 sailor.GEN friend.GEN child arrive AUX
 'The son of the sailor's friend has arrived.'

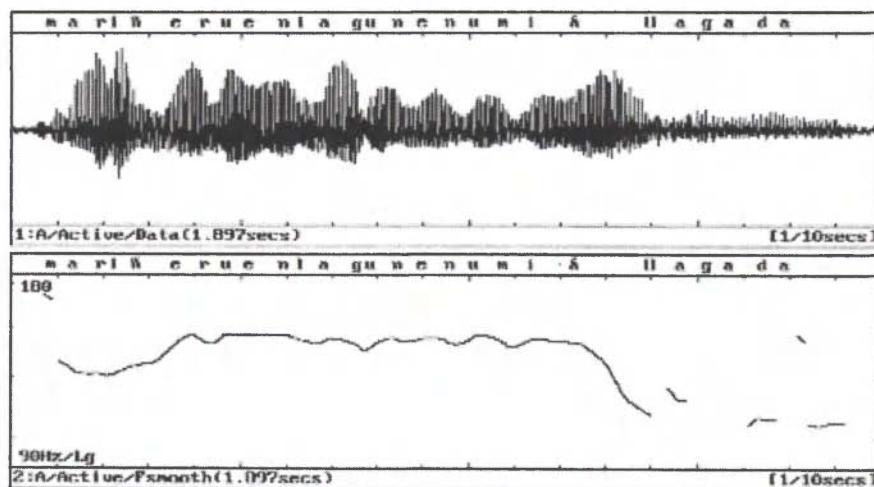


Figure 10.

2.3.1.2.2. Phrases preceding the preverbal phrase

A sentence may also include one or more syntactic phrases before the one with main prominence. If a phrase preceding the preverbal phrase contains one accented word, the first accent in the preverbal phrase is downstepped, as well as any accents after it. Observe for instance Fig. 11, corresponding to sentence (38), where the accented word *Amaiári* 'to Amaia' forms the phrase preceding the preverbal word *liburúa* 'the book', also accented. The pitch accent in *Amaiári* triggers downstep on the following accent.

It is important to point out that despite the big drop in pitch level after the first accented word, it is still the second word that is perceived as the semantic focus of the utterance. This is because the semantic focus of an utterance has to be included in the immediately preverbal phrase.

- (38) *Amaiári liburúa emon dotzo.*
 Amaia.DAT book give AUX
 '(S)he has given the book to Amaia.'

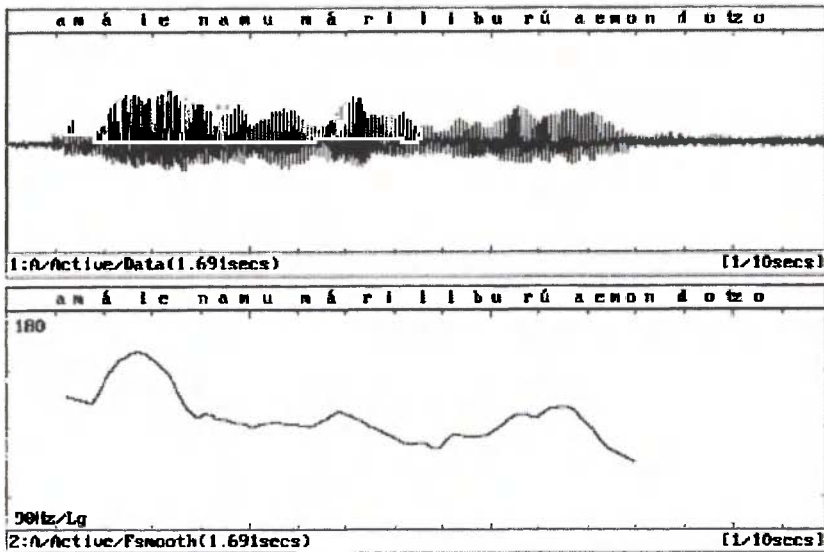


Figure 11.

When the phrase preceding the preverbal phrase contains two or more accented words, however, there is downstep within the nonpreverbal phrase, but the accent in the preverbal phrase is not downstepped with respect to the last accent in the preceding phrase. This is illustrated by the following utterance, where the first phrase contains two accented words (*Amáien* and *amumári*) (cf. Fig. 12):

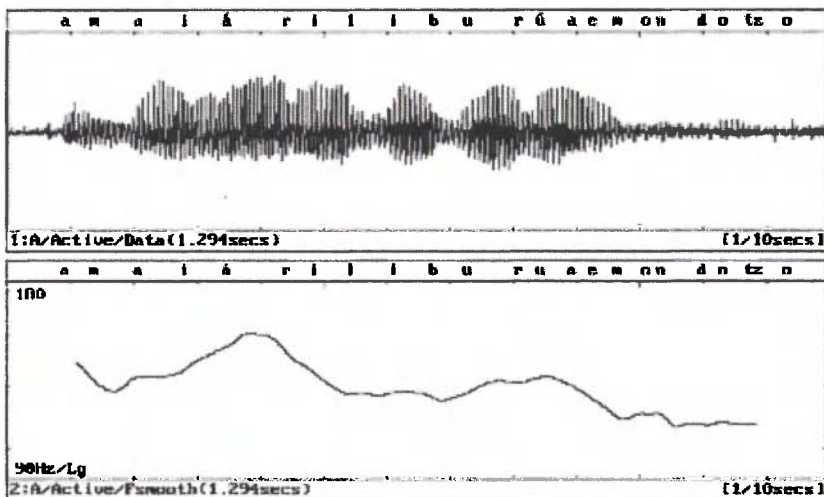


Figure 12.

- (39) *Amáien amumári liburúa emon dotzo.*
 Amaia.GEN grandmother.DAT book give AUX
 '(S)he has given the book to Amaia's grandmother.'

As we see in Fig. 12, the third pitch accent (belonging to the word in the preverbal phrase, *liburúa*) is not downstepped with respect to the preceding accent. The difference with the utterance in (38) suggests that syntactic phrases organize themselves in intonational phrases or groups. Downstep occurs within an intonational phrase; when it is blocked from occurring across two syntactic phrases, it means that these phrases form separate intonational phrases. When the phrase preceding the preverbal phrase is composed of only one accented word, it associates with the preverbal phrase to form one intonational group (intermediate phrases in Pierrehumbert and Beckman's [1988] widely adopted framework).

It seems then that there is a constraint in the dialect of Lekeitio prohibiting utterance-initial constituents with a single lexical accent before the preverbal phrase from forming independent intonational groups. On the other hand, when the phrase preceding the preverbal phrase ends in an unaccented word, there will not be downstep of a pitch accent in the preverbal phrase, because an unaccented word does not have an accent. An intonational boundary may or may not be realized between the two phrases.

2.3.1.3. Intonational contours of nondeclarative sentences

Section 2.3.1.2 contained a description of the basic intonational contours that are found in simple declarative sentences in Lekeitio Basque. In this section we will briefly provide an overview of the fundamental frequency curves that characterize nondeclarative sentences.

2.3.1.3.1. Absolute interrogative sentences

Unlike in Spanish (cf. Navarro Tomás 1944, Sosa 1991), absolute interrogative sentences in Lekeitio Basque do not end in a high tone, or with a rising intonational contour. Their intonational contour looks rather similar to that of declaratives, in that there is a word with main prosodic prominence, which can be a word immediately preceding the verb, or the verb itself. As in declaratives, main prominence is cued by a high tone followed by a fall in pitch on the following syllable, and the region in the utterance after the main

stress has a smaller pitch range. The difference with declaratives is that the pitch range is not reduced as much as in declaratives after the phrase with main prominence in the utterance. In Elordieta (1997, 1998) it is stated that absolute interrogatives have a higher overall pitch range than declaratives, but the pitch range need not be higher from the beginning of the utterance. Thus, compare the F0 contour of the interrogative utterance in (40) with the contour for the corresponding declarative utterance in (41), illustrated in Fig. 13 and Fig. 14, respectively. The word order is the same in both utterances, so they constitute a minimal pair.

- (40) *Diruá emon dotzo nebiari?*
 money give AUX brother.DAT
 'Has she given money to her brother?'

- (41) *Diruá emon dotzo nebiari*
 'She has given money to her brother.'

The drop in pitch in the final syllable of the interrogative in Fig. 13 is from 172 Hz to 144 Hz, whereas the pitch level simply keeps falling from the verb until the end in the declarative sentence, reaching 133 Hz. The higher pitch level in absolute interrogatives has the effect of making final lowering more noticeable on the last syllable, even if the utterance ends in an unaccented word. In fact, a clear fall in pitch is perceived at the end of an absolute interrogative, which is not observed at the end of declaratives.

Another property of interrogatives is the fact that the final syllables are longer than in declaratives. In our example, the final syllable in the interrogative sentence has a duration of 213 ms, whereas that of the declarative measures 153 ms.

2.3.1.3.2. Pronominal (or Wh-) interrogative sentences

Like absolute interrogatives and declaratives, pronominal questions present a falling intonation at the end. Unlike absolute interrogatives, they do not have a higher pitch range than declaratives, however, and do not have longer final syllables. The interrogative pronoun is always accented, and is the most prominent element in the utterance. After the interrogative pronoun there is a big fall in pitch level, and the pitch range is reduced, such that following lexical pitch accents have almost imperceptible peaks. This is also

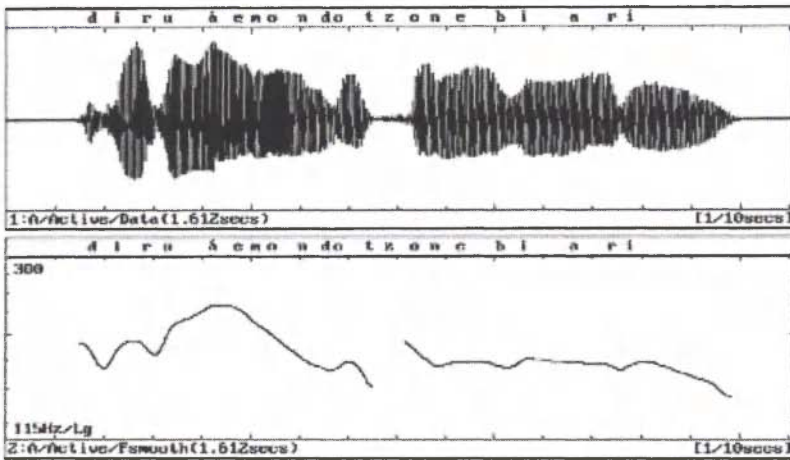


Figure 13.

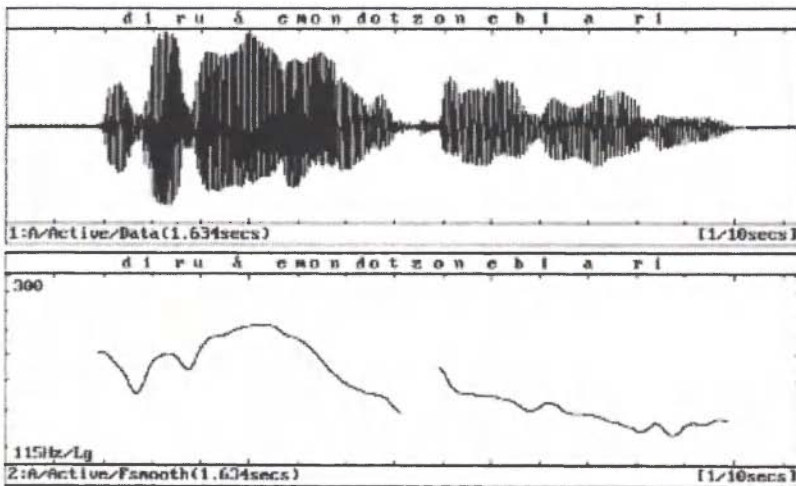


Figure 14.

why there is almost no drop in pitch at the end. Cf. Fig. 15 for an F0 contour of the pronominal question in (42).

- (42) *Norëna da ori umia?*
 whose.DET is that child
 'Whose is that child?'

It has to be pointed out that among younger speakers, it is possible to find pronunciations of interrogative sentences (both absolute and pronominal

questions) with final raising intonation, in what is probably an influence from Spanish.

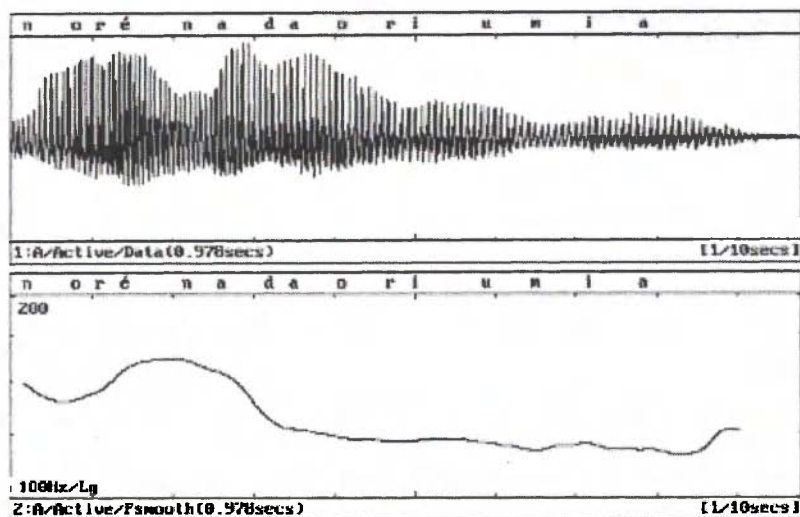


Figure 15.

2.3.1.3.3. Echo-questions

The main characteristic of echo-questions is their overall high pitch level. In absolute echo-questions, after the word with main prominence (i.e., the word which in the original declarative utterance that is being repeated had main prominence) the fall in pitch is not the same as in declaratives or absolute interrogatives, and the high pitch level is maintained throughout the utterance (cf. Fig. 16, illustrating the contour for sentence 43). Indeed, in some speakers' utterances there is no fall after the word that would have main prominence in the declarative, even if the word is accented, and the pitch level is high throughout. The high pitch level is maintained until the end, when final lowering applies, and by virtue of the combination of the high pitch level and final lowering even unaccented words ending an echo-question appear as if they were assigned a pitch accent (cf. Fig. 16). Lengthening of final syllables also applies in absolute echo-questions, like in their non-echo counterparts:

- (43) *Umiá erun dau mendira?*
 child take AUX mountain.ALL
 '(Are you saying that) (s)he has taken the child to the mountain?'

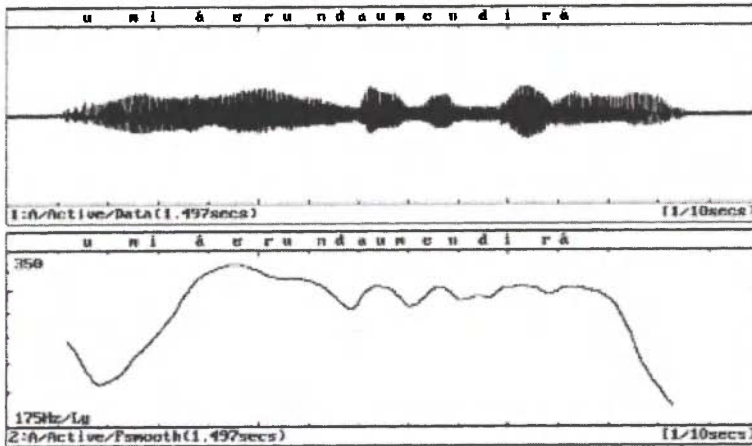


Figure 16.

Pronominal questions also have an overall high pitch level, but unlike absolute echo-questions there is a clear and sharp fall after the interrogative pronoun carrying main prominence. Another characteristic of pronominal echo questions is that they are pronounced with final raising intonation (cf. Fig. 17):

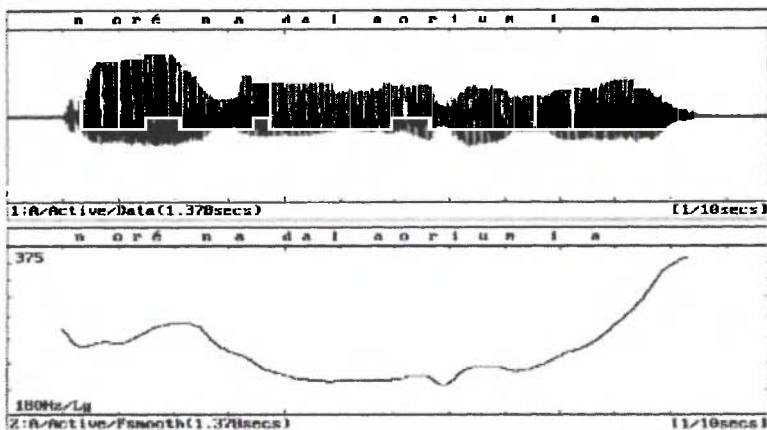


Figure 17.

- (44) *Noréna da-la ori umia?*
 whose.DET is-that that child
 'Whose (did you say that) that child is?'

2.3.1.3.4. Continuative intonation

List intonation is illustrated in (45) (Fig. 18) and (46) (Fig 19), for lexically unaccented and accented words, respectively. Notice the rising contour in the nonfinal unaccented words in (45).

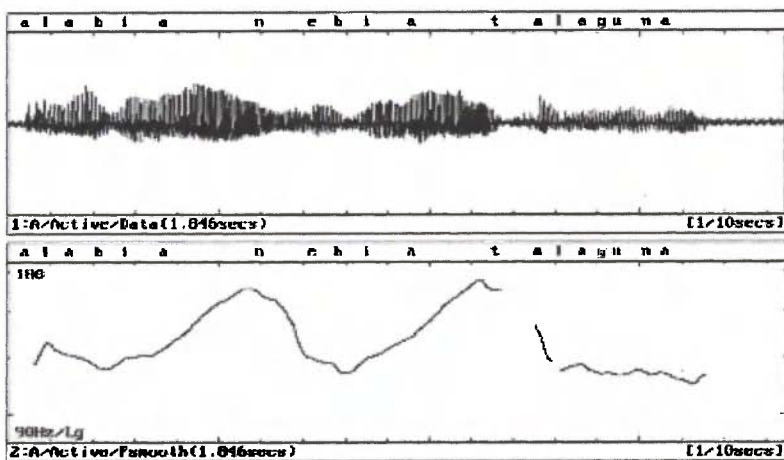


Figure 18.

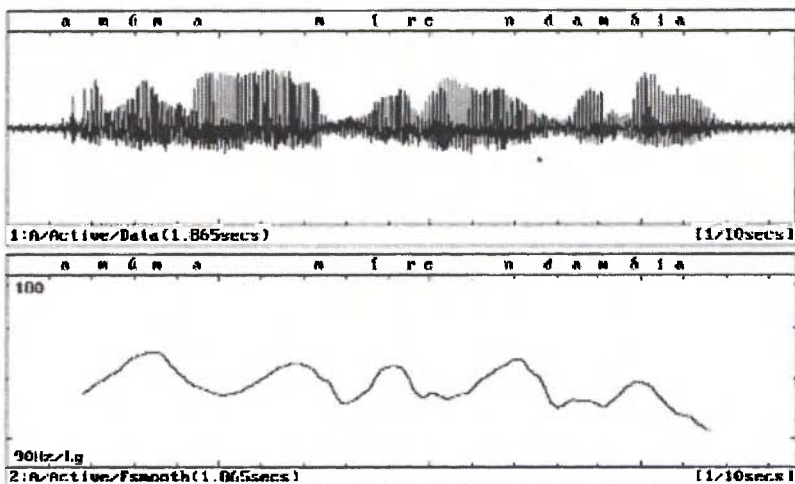


Figure 19.

- (45) *alabia, nebia, ta laguna*
 daughter brother and friend
 'the daughter, the brother, and the friend'
- (46) *amúma, Miren, da Amáia*
 grandma Miren and Amaia
 'grandma, Miren, and Amaia'

In most European languages continuatives or unfinished utterances are characterized by a final rising intonation (Hirst and Di Cristo 1998). In Lekeitio Basque, however, this is not observed, as evidenced by adverbial clauses and topic phrases. When the word before the juncture is unaccented, the pitch level of the word is maintained, without a rise or a fall, onto the next portion of the utterance. When there is no strong juncture or pause between the topic or adverbial clause and the matrix clause, this may continue with the same pitch level on its first syllable and then rise to a higher level on its second syllable, as evidenced in the F0 contour in Fig. 20, for sentence (47). When the topic or adverbial clause and the matrix clause are separated by a pause or strong juncture, the initial syllable of the matrix clause already starts with a higher pitch level than the one finishing the topic or adverbial clause (cf. Fig. 21, for sentence [48]).

When the adverbial clause or topic phrase before the break ends in an accented word, the pitch level usually does not fall to the baseline. This signals that the first part is not a full utterance by itself (cf. Fig. 22, for sentence [49]).

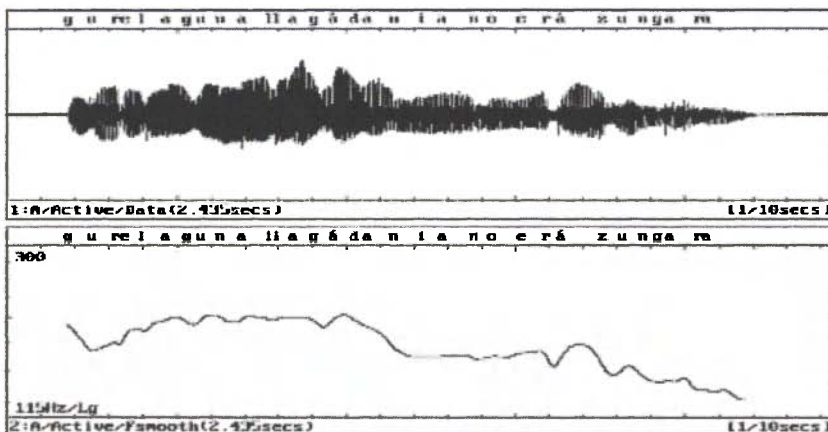


Figure 20.

- (47) *Gure laguna allagá da-nian oera dxun gara.*
 our friend arrive AUX-when bed.to go AUX
 'When our friend arrived, we went to sleep.'
- (48) *Dirua emõn nab-enian, Amaienë-ra ein dou.*
 money give AUX-when Amaia.GEN-to do AUX
 'When (s)he has given me the money, we have gone to Amaia's.'

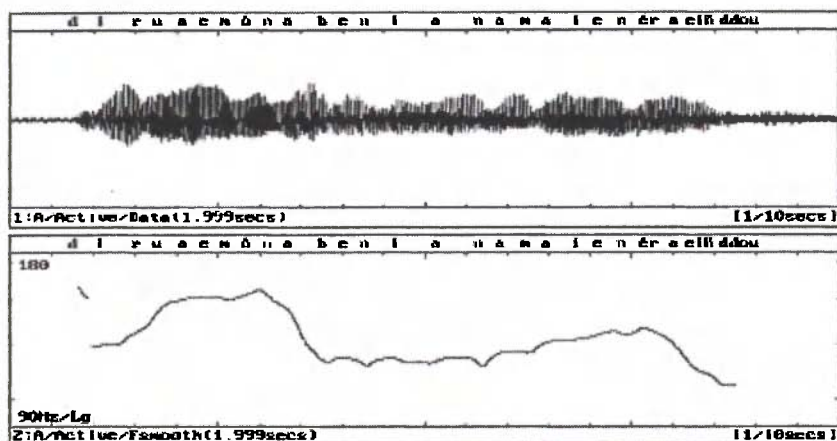


Figure 21.

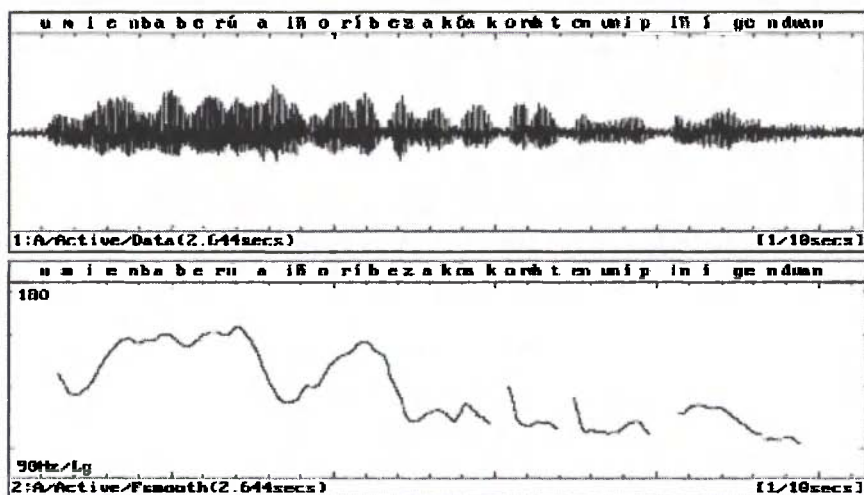


Figure 22.

- (49) *Umien baberúa, iñorí be*
 child.GEN bib nobody.DAT too
 'The child's bib, nobody...'
e-dxakō akordáten nun ipiní genduan.
 not-AUX remember.IMPF where put AUX
 '...remembers where we put it.'

2.3.1.3.5. Exclamatives

Exclamative sentences are characterized by starting with a high tone on the exclamative particle, *aixá*, followed by a sharp drop in pitch for the rest of the utterance. Observe Fig. 23, for (50).

- (50) *Aixá umore ona daukona orrek!*
 what mood good has.COMP.DET that.ERG
 'What a good mood that (person) is in!'

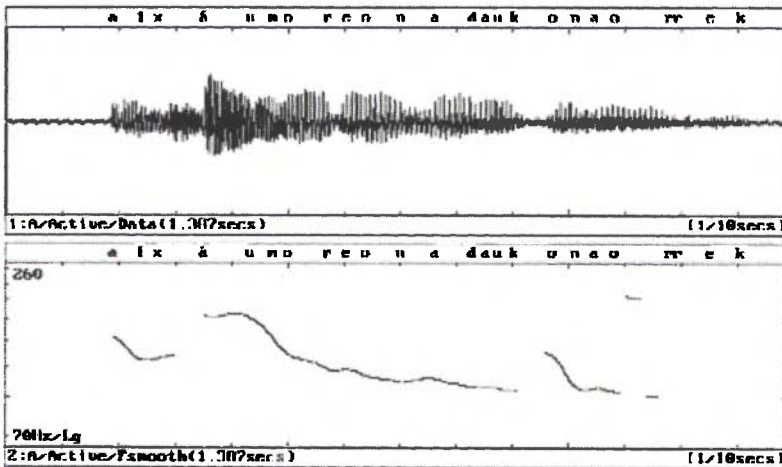


Figure 23.

2.3.1.3.6. Exhortatives

In exhortative utterances, there is an initial peak corresponding to the accented syllable of the noun or verb that constitutes the focus of the command, followed by a sharp fall in pitch. The rest of the utterance remains in a very low pitch level, as illustrated in Fig. 24, for the utterance in (51):

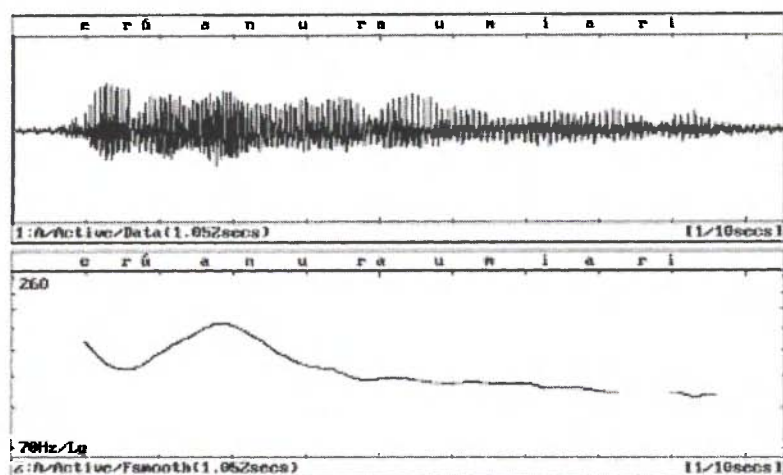


Figure 24.

- (51) *Erúan ura umiari!*
 take water child.DAT
 'Take water to the child!'

2.3.2. Tolosa

2.3.2.1. Realization of stress

The Gipuzkoan dialect of Tolosa could be classified as a stress-accent dialect rather than a pitch-accent dialect, and is representative of a wide area in the central part of the Basque speaking region. In Tolosa, like in most non-Bizkaian varieties there is no lexical contrast between accented and unaccented words. All lexical words can receive an accent. Stress is generally post-initial, i.e., on the second syllable of the word, although some exceptional words show initial stress. When the second syllable is word-final, however, stress is retracted to the first syllable (cf. section 2.2.3 and Hualde 1997, 1999). For example: *men.dí.a* 'the mountain', *bu.ru.a.na* 'of the head', *u.dá.re.a* 'pear', *gi.zó.na.na* 'of the man', but *mén.di* 'mountain', *bú.ru* 'head', *gi.zon* 'man'.

As mentioned, there are also some marked words, for which stress falls on the first syllable. Most are compounds, borrowings from Spanish or Latin and proper names, although there are also some words of apparent native

origin: *bá.so.ra* 'to the glass', *Án.do.ni.na* 'of Andoni (proper name)', *bé.la.rrí* 'ear'.

Usually there is a pitch rise throughout the stressed syllable. In the regular case (postinitial stress), the peak in this rise falls within the second syllable if the word contains not more than three syllables. But when the word is longer, the peak may be aligned with the third syllable. In our data, in words of three syllables, the peak alignment with the second syllable was observed in 100% of the cases, while in words with more than three syllables, F0 peaks aligned with the third syllable in 38% of the cases. In words in isolation or in preverbal position, this rise is followed by a fall. Given the absence of unaccented words in Tolosa, there are no tonal regions with high tone plateaux.

2.3.2.2. Restrictions on the assignment of main prosodic prominence

As in all dialects of Basque, in Tolosa only a word contained in the syntactic phrase immediately preceding the verb may receive main prosodic prominence. In sentences such as (52), with three syntactic phrases before the verb (i.e., the subject *amónak* 'grandma', the indirect object *anáiai* 'to [my] brother', and the direct object *ogí-mamia* 'bread-crumb'), it is the word in the phrase that is left-adjacent to the verb that is most prominent intonationally. This is the direct object *ogí-mamiya*. It would not be acceptable to provide main intonational prominence to any word in any phrase other than the direct object:

- (52) *Amónak* *anáiai* *ogí-mamiya* *emán* *dio*.
 grandma.ERG brother.DAT bread-crumb give AUX
 'Grandma has given a bread-crumb to (my, her, our) brother.' /
 'It has been a bread-crumb that grandma has given to (my, her, our) brother.'

In Tolosa all words in the phrase immediately preceding the verb can be focalized, given the absence of unaccented words in this variety.

2.3.2.2.1. Internal intonational organization of phrases with main prominence

Preverbal phrases containing the most prominent accent in an utterance may be composed of one or more words. If the word bearing the prominent accent is bisyllabic or is accentually marked, the first syllable will have a high tone, and there will be a fall in pitch on the following syllable. When the word has three or more syllables, the first syllable has a low tone, and there is a rise in pitch from the first to the second syllable. If the word is trisyllabic, the high tone on the second syllable is followed by a fall in pitch on the next syllable, i.e., the last syllable of the word. When the word has four or more syllables, in most cases the peak occurs on the second syllable, but it may also occur on the third syllable (in our data, in 64% of the cases the peak was aligned with the second syllable). When the peak is aligned with the second syllable, in most cases the high tone level is maintained on the third syllable, falling on the fourth syllable (70% of the cases in our data). In all other cases (30% in our data), the pitch level falls on the next syllable. When the peak is aligned with the third syllable, there is always a sharp fall onto the next syllable. What is important to note is that even when the peak is not reached until the third syllable, there is always a pitch rise on the second syllable. This can be observed in the F0 contour in Fig. 25, corresponding to (53). The two words in the preverbal phrase *ordéna(d)oren* and *balíyoa* present their highest F0 values on the third syllable, but there is a steep rise in pitch from their first syllables to the second syllables. Indeed, pitch rise on the second syllable is the major indicator of stress in Tolosa Basque. That is, even though the peak may not occur until the third syllable, the rise in pitch from the first syllable to the second syllable is perceived as stress in Tolosa. This pattern of “peak displacement” is observed in Spanish as well (cf. Sosa 1991):

- (53) *Ordénaoren balíyoa aittátu (d)u.*
 computer.GEN price mention AUX
 ‘(S)he has mentioned the computer’s price.’

When there is more than one word inside any syntactic phrase, as in (53) above, we observe that after the first peak corresponding to the first accent, the other peaks are smaller. Like in Lekeitio, the accents in these phrases display a ladder-type sequence, as an effect of downstep.

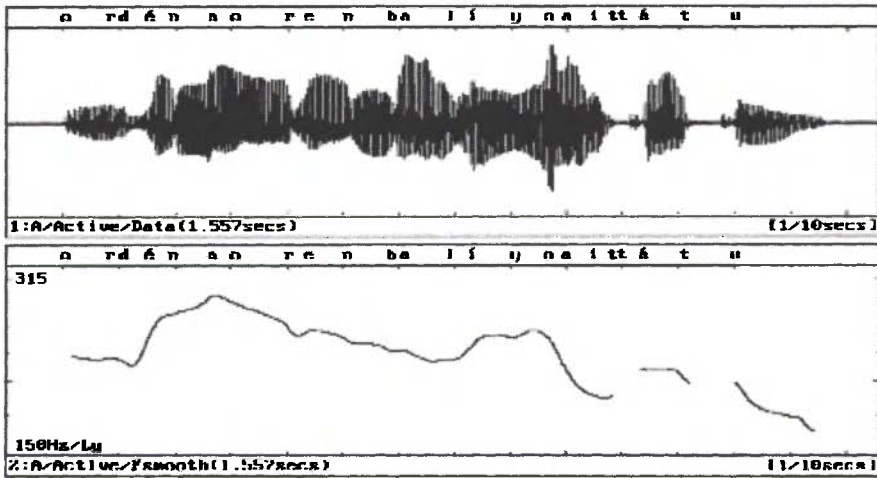


Figure 25.

2.3.2.2.2. Phrases preceding the preverbal phrase

When a sentence contains one or more syntactic phrases before the one with main prosodic and semantic prominence, the intonational pattern we obtain in Tolosa is always one in which the last word in the phrase preceding the preverbal phrase ends in a high pitch level. This final F0 level is higher than the preceding accentual peak. Once the peak is reached on the second or third syllable, the pitch level can dip slightly, be maintained, or continue raising progressively until the end of the phrase. That is, the intonational pattern reflected by final words in a phrase preceding a preverbal phrase (i.e., the one immediately preceding the verb) is different from that displayed by phrases in a preverbal phrase, where there is a fall in pitch after the accentual peak. Observe for instance the F0 contour for sentence (54), represented in Fig. 26, with the two phrases *ordenadorea* 'the computer' and *Oiánei* 'to Oihane':

- (54) *Ordenadorea Oiánei emán diot.*
 computer Oihane.DAT give AUX
 'I have given the computer to Oihane.'

2.3.2.3. Intonational contours of nondeclarative sentences.

As in Lekeitio, absolute interrogative sentences present intonational contours which look rather similar to those of declaratives: there is a word with

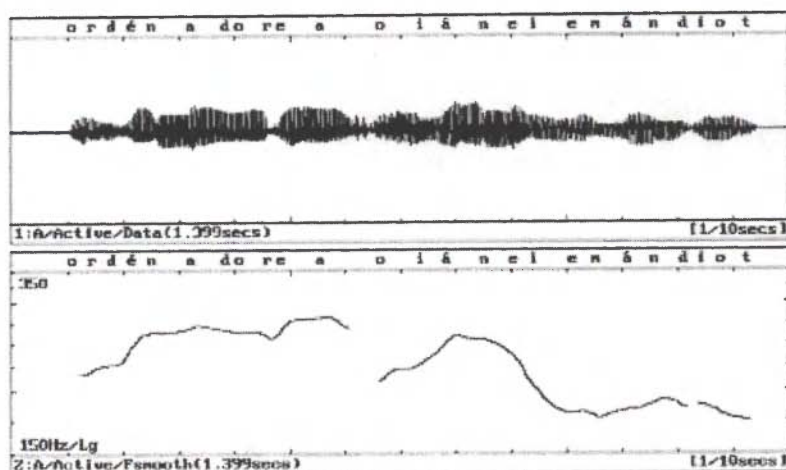


Figure 26.

main prosodic prominence, which can be a word immediately preceding the verb or the verb itself, and there is no final raising. As in declaratives, main prominence is cued by a high tone followed by a fall in pitch on the following syllable, and the region in the utterance after the main stress has a smaller pitch range. Absolute interrogatives have a higher pitch level than declaratives, but only until the most prominent word; after it, the range falls to levels similar to those of declaratives. This means that the pitch fall after the most prominent word is bigger in interrogatives than in declaratives. Unlike in Lekeitio, however, no significant final lengthening was observed at the end of interrogative utterances. Fig. 27 illustrates the F0 contour of sentence (55):

- (55) *Jún al da amona mendi(r)a?*
 go Q AUX grandma mountain.ALL
 'Has grandma gone to the mountain?'

Pronominal questions present a similar pattern to the one found in Lekeitio, that is, they have falling intonation at the end (like absolute interrogatives and declaratives), and do not have a higher pitch range than declaratives. The interrogative pronoun is the most prominent word in the utterance, and the peak for the interrogative pronoun reaches F0 values which are higher than a word in a declarative sentence would reach in the same position, i.e., (usually) at the beginning of the utterance. This means that pronominal questions have a bigger pitch range at the beginning. After the interrogative pronoun there is a big drop in pitch level, and the rest of the

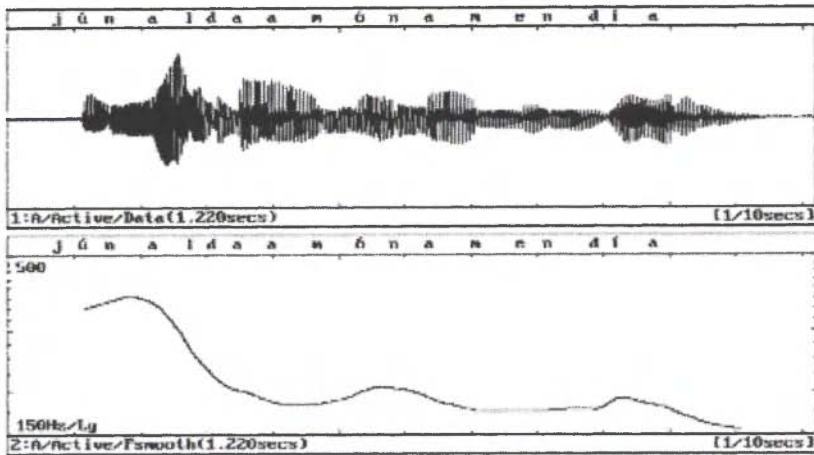


Figure 27.

utterance has a reduced pitch range, such that following accents have very small peaks.

As in Lekeitio, among younger speakers of Tolosa Basque it is possible to find pronunciations of interrogative sentences with final raising intonation, probably influenced by Spanish.

Repeat or echo-questions in Tolosa present similar features to those described above for Lekeitio Basque in 2.3.1.3.3. They have an overall high pitch level, which in absolute echo-questions is maintained throughout the utterance. At the end there is a slight final lowering. As for exclamatives and exhortatives, these types of utterances present the same basic characteristics described for Lekeitio above.

As pointed out in section 2.3.1.3.5, in most European languages continuatives or unfinished utterances are characterized by a final rising intonation. Although in Lekeitio this does not hold, in Tolosa we observe final raising at the end of adverbial clauses and topic phrases separated from the rest of the utterance by a pause or strong juncture. This pattern is illustrated in Fig. 28, for sentence (56).

- (56) *Gúre amóna eldú da-nen, amá(g)ana jún ge(r)a.*
 our grandma arrive AUX-when mother.ALL go AUX
 'When our grandma arrived, we went to our mother.'

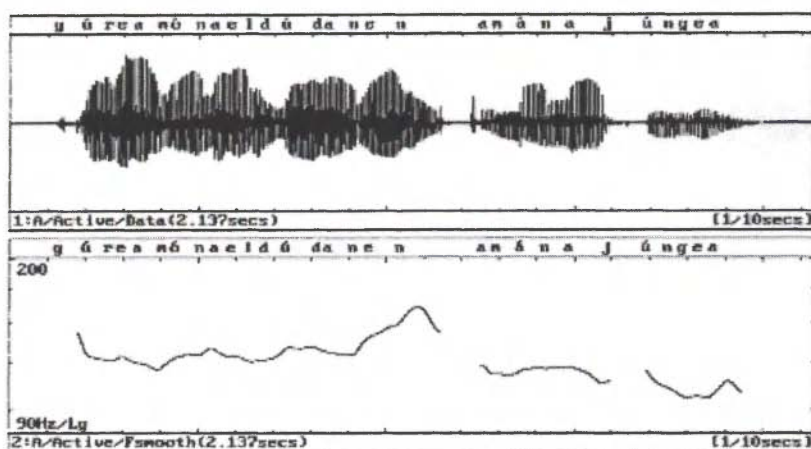


Figure 28.

2.3.3. *Baztan*

2.3.3.1. Realization of stress

The northern High-Navarrese variety of Baztan is also a stress-accent rather than a pitch-accent dialect. There are no lexically unaccented words, and stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable of the word (cf. Salaburu 1984, Hualde 1997, 1999). For example: *ma.ra.gù.rïe* 'strawberry', *u.mïan.dá.ko* 'for the child/children', *o.gi-má.mïe* 'bread piece'. In some cases, nevertheless, the stress may be on another syllable.

In Baztan, stress is tonally realized by a pitch rise on the penultimate syllable, followed by a fall in pitch on the following syllable. As in Spanish, the syllables before the accented syllable are pronounced in a low tone.

2.3.3.2. Intonational division of an utterance

One important word-order feature that distinguishes the variety of Baztan from the varieties of Tolosa and Lekeitio is that main prosodic prominence can appear postverbally more frequently in Baztan than in the other two varieties. When the whole utterance is new information, not only in narratives but also as an answer to a question such as '*What happened?*', the constituent with the most prominent pitch accent appears postverbally. Thus, an answer to the question '*What happened?*' could be the one in (57):

- (57) *Mírenek gan du libürüe.*
 Miren.ERG take AUX book
 'Miren has taken the book.'

This sentence could also be uttered within a narrative discourse, where the direct object *libürüe* 'the book' is focalized or constitutes new information.

The intonational pattern of Baztan Basque is very similar to the one described for the dialect of Tolosa (although the position of the accented syllable within the word is different). All constituents preceding the one carrying main prosodic prominence end in a rising intonation (that is, they have a peak on the final syllable, i.e., the post-tonic). The phrase or constituent with main prosodic prominence is identified not by its position, but by being the phrase containing the only word with a fall in pitch after the accented syllable and by being in the portion of the utterance with a lower pitch level or pitch range.

In instances of preverbal focalization, the portion of the utterance following the focalized constituent has a much more reduced pitch range than the preceding portion of the utterance, and it is this feature that triggers the perception of main prominence. In fact, even the stress on the auxiliary observable in (57) is absent in preverbal focalization instances such as the one in (58) (cf. Fig. 29):

- (58) *Libürüe gan du Mírenek.*
 book take AUX Miren.ERG
 'Miren has taken the book.'

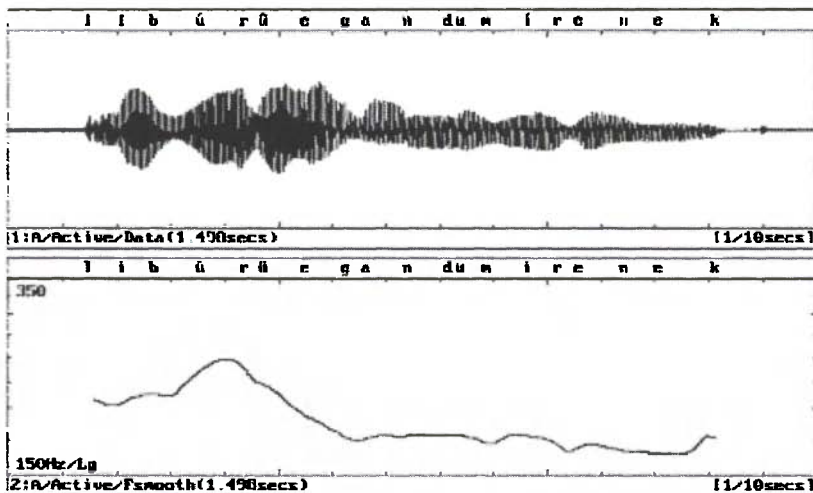


Figure 29.

2.3.3.3. Non-declarative sentences

Absolute interrogative sentences present a higher overall pitch level than declaratives, and display final lowering at the end. The verb or the word that the yes/no question is being asked about presents a rise on the accented syllable (i.e., usually the penultimate), and there is no fall afterwards. Rather, a high tone plateau follows until the stressed syllable of the last word in the utterance, after which final lowering applies. This is illustrated in the F0 contour in Fig. 30, for sentence (59):

- (59) *Ibíli de anáia méndien?*
 walk AUX brother mountain.LOC
 'Has the brother walked in the mountain?'

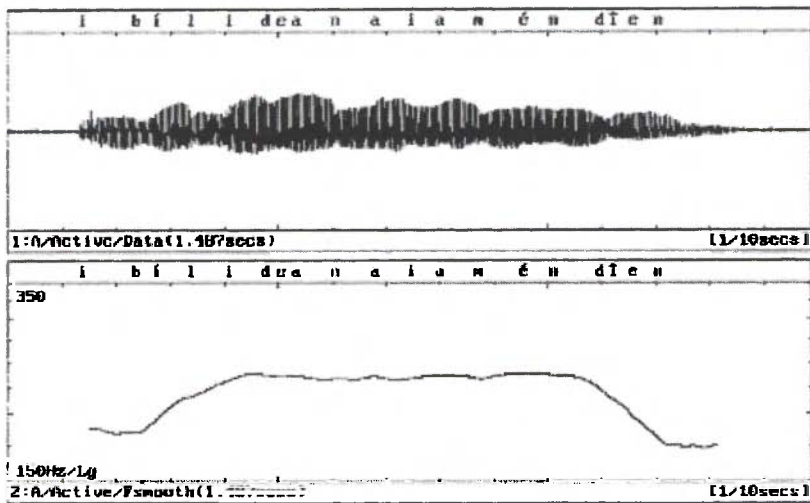


Figure 30.

Like in Lekeitio and Tolosa, pronominal questions do not have a higher pitch range than declaratives. The interrogative pronoun is the most prominent word in the utterance, after which there is a big drop in pitch level, and the rest of the utterance has a reduced pitch range, close to the speaker's baseline. Following pitch accents are almost imperceptible. This can be observed in Fig. 31, the F0 contour of the *wh*-question in (60):

- (60) *Noréna da líburu au?*
 who.GEN.DET is book this
 'Whose is this book?'

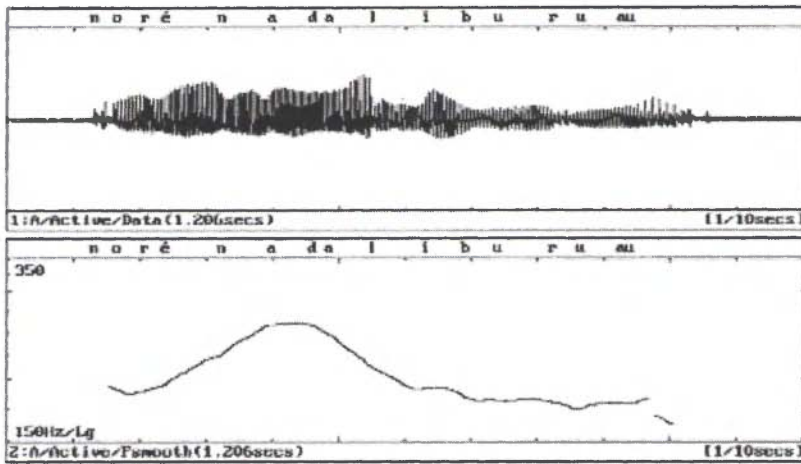


Figure 31.

As in Lekeitio and Tolosa, younger speakers may pronounce interrogatives with final raising intonation. Repeat or echo-questions have similar properties to those in the dialects of Lekeitio and Tolosa. The same patterns as in the other dialects are also found in exhortative and exclamative utterances.

Adverbial adjunct clauses separated from the main clause by a break display a continuative type of intonation. These phrases have a higher pitch level than the matrix clause. There is pitch rise on the penultimate syllable of the first word, and a further rising onto the last syllable. This pitch level is then maintained for the rest of the adverbial clause, until the last word, which presents a fall in pitch on the final syllable, i.e., as if it were the last word in a phrase with main prominence. The last syllable presents a contour intonation, however, as there is a rise in pitch at the end. This pattern is illustrated in Fig. 32, for sentence (61):

- (61) *Gure anáia allágu denēan, Amagoiakín gán gará.*
 our brother arrive AUX.when Amagoia.COM go AUX
 'When our brother arrived, we left with Amagoia.'

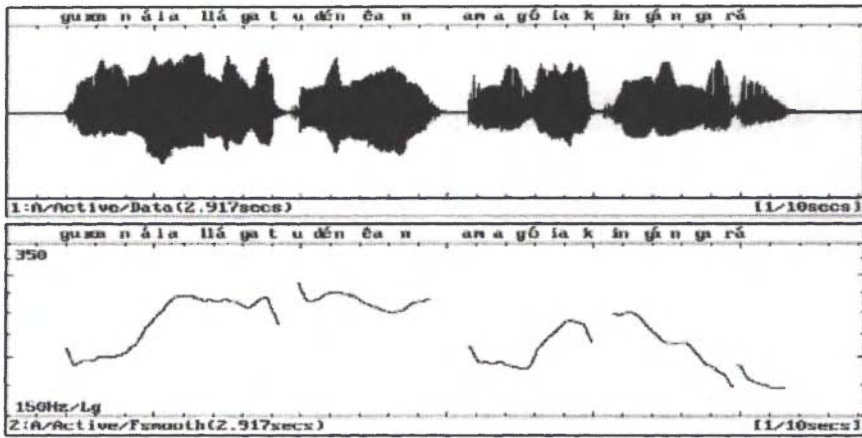


Figure 32.

Chapter 3

Morphology

3.1. The Noun Phrase: nouns, determiners and modifiers; pronouns and names

R.L. Trask

3.1.1. Introduction

3.1.1.1. The basics

It is convenient to present the structure of the noun phrase in the form of a template; an asterisk marks an element that may occur more than once:

Complex Modifier* – DET1 – N – ADJ* – DET2

The positioning of degree modifiers is complex and variable, and is described in section 3.1.3.4. Any case-marker is suffixed to the end of the NP, as described in section 3.2. Number-marking is possible only in the DET2 position, as explained below. Consequently, any number-marking or case-marking which is present appears only once, at the end of the noun phrase; there is no NP-internal agreement, and nouns cannot in fact be directly inflected at all: in Basque, it is noun phrases, and only noun phrases, which can be inflected.

The only obligatory element is a determiner. With only minor exceptions, an NP always contains a determiner; with just two significant exceptions, an NP contains only one determiner. Here we use the label *determiner* in a maximally broad sense, to include all of the following: (a) articles; (b) demonstratives; (c) the partitive marker; (d) numerals; (e) quantifiers; (f) interrogatives; (g) certain indefinite determiners.

A noun phrase may, of course, consist merely of a pronoun or a proper name; pronouns are treated in section 3.1.6 and proper names in section 3.1.7.

As a rule, Basque has no grammatical gender and no noun classes, and there are no classifiers. With only trivial phonological complications, all noun phrases are constructed and inflected identically, except that animate noun phrases form their local cases somewhat differently from inanimate

noun phrases; see section 3.1.1.2 for an account, and see section 3.2.2.4 for the list of forms.

The head of a noun phrase is the noun, if there is one, but see section 3.1.5 for headless NPs. The class of nouns is large and open, and nouns are generally sharply distinct from other parts of speech, though see section 3.1.3.1 for a sample of words which can be either nouns or adjectives. Words formed with the word-forming suffix *-dun* 'having, who has' can be either nouns or adjectives. For example, from *euskara* 'Basque language', the derivative *euskaldun* can be either a noun meaning 'Basque-speaker, Basque' or an adjective meaning 'Basque-speaking'.

A noun may be monomorphemic, like *neska* 'girl' or *zur* 'wood'. It may be derived from another word by means of a noun-forming suffix, like *edertasun* 'beauty' (from *eder* 'beautiful'), *ikusmen* 'vision' (from *ikusi* 'see'), or *jendetza* 'crowd' (from *jende* 'people'). Or it may be compound in form, like *eskulan* 'handicraft' (from *esku* 'hand' plus *lan* 'work'), *logela* 'bedroom' (from *lo* 'sleep' [n.] plus *gela* 'room'), *gurpide* 'cartpath' (from *gurdi* 'cart' plus *bide* 'road'), or the remarkable *eztabaida* 'argument, dispute' (from the two complete sentences *Ez da! Bai da!* 'No, it isn't! Yes, it is!') Sometimes a compound is written as two words; for example, 'sunflower' may appear either as *eguzkilore* or as *eguzki lore* (*eguzki* 'sun' plus *lore* 'flower'), and 'old people's home' may be *zaharretxe* or *zahar etxe* (*zahar* 'old [person]' plus *etxe* 'house').

Nouns are divided into countable and uncountable nouns, and, as a rule, an uncountable noun may not be the head of an NP which is overtly marked for plural number. Observe, however, that many uncountable nouns can be pluralized to give an individuating sense. For example, *ogi* 'bread' is uncountable as a generic, but is countable when it means 'loaf': *ogiak* 'loaves of bread'. As in other languages, there are a few nouns which are idiosyncratic in this respect: for example, the Romance loan *jende* 'people' is uncountable in Spanish Basque (like Peninsular Spanish *gente*), but countable in French Basque (like French *gens*). There are a few *pluralia tantum*, such as *guraizeak* 'scissors' and *frakak* ~ *prakak* 'trousers'. Some words are regionally variable here: the nouns *aza* 'cabbage', *orga* 'cart, wagon', *hilerri* 'cemetery' and *ote* ~ *ota* 'gorse' are *pluralia tantum* for some speakers only: *azak*, *orgak*, *hilerriak*, *otak*. But other words are ordinary count nouns, perhaps unexpectedly, like *haitzur* 'large shears'. Neologisms are variable: 'spectacles' is a count noun *betaurreko* for some speakers but a *pluralia tantum* *betaurrekoak* for others.

The language is rich in abstract nouns, such as *bizitza* 'life', *bakardade* 'solitude', *edertasun* 'beauty' and *zikinkeria* 'filth, lewdness, depravity', but

these do not differ at all from other nouns in their grammatical behavior, though of course most of them cannot be counted. Nouns denoting activities and events, such as *lurrikara* 'earthquake' (*lur* 'land, soil, earth' plus *ikara* 'tremor'), *korrika* 'race' (competition) and *desegite* 'destruction' are numerous and totally unremarkable. Collective nouns like *komite* 'committee' and *ekipo* '(sports) team' are ordinary countable nouns, and they likewise exhibit no distinctive behavior. Mass nouns like *gari* 'wheat' and *elur* 'snow' are ordinary uncountable nouns, and the language has no distinct singulative forms; related individuating nouns are constructed by ordinary lexical means, as in *galburu* 'head of wheat' (*gal-* 'wheat' plus *buru* 'head') and *elurluma* 'snowflake' (*elur* 'snow' plus *luma* 'feather').

Noteworthy is the presence of a set of spatial nouns, such as *aurre* 'front, space in front of', *atze* 'space behind' and *inguru* 'vicinity'; these are ordinary nouns, but their case-inflected forms constitute the largest group of postpositions in the language, as explained in section 3.3.1, and in postpositional use they exhibit a few idiosyncrasies.

Dvandva compounds are almost invariably plural in form, like *aitamak* 'parents' (*aita* 'father' plus *ama* 'mother'), *hortz-haginak* 'teeth' (*hortz* 'molar' plus *hagin* 'incisor'), and *plater-pitxeruak* 'crockery' (*plater* 'plate' plus *pitxeru* 'pitcher'). Noteworthy is the case of *Bizkai-Gipuzkoetan* 'in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa', again with a plural ending (see section 3.8.1).

Otherwise, there are no irregular nouns in standard Basque (although in local varieties one sometimes finds nouns which are exceptional in the morphophonological rules they trigger in combination with inflectional suffixes). As in Spanish, nouns of foreign origin lose all trace of their foreign inflections, except sometimes for gender in loans from Spanish (see section 3.1.1.3); for example, *fenomeno* 'phenomenon' and *erradio* 'radius' behave just like any other noun.

3.1.1.2. Animacy

Animate noun phrases exhibit a peculiarity in the formation of their local cases. An animate noun phrase is one denoting a human being or a larger animal, and it is, of course, the animacy of the head noun that determines the animacy of the whole noun phrase (even in headless NPs; see section 3.1.5). Speakers are uncertain about the animacy of small creatures like birds, crustaceans and insects, but names of these creatures very rarely occur in the local cases anyway, except in fables, in which case the creatures are personified and of course their names are treated as animate.

As a rule, animate noun phrases are inflected just like inanimate ones: hence, with *mendia* ‘the mountain’, we have absolutive plural *mendiak* and ergative plural *mendiek*, and, with *gizona* ‘the man’, we have absolutive plural *gizonak* and ergative plural *gizonek*, and so on. However, animate NPs frequently form all their local cases differently from inanimate NPs. Hence, ‘in/on the mountains’ is *mendietan*, but ‘in/on the men’ is commonly *gizonengan* (or northern *gizonen baitan*). See section 3.2.2.4 for the forms. The local cases are the Locative, the Ablative, the Allative, and the compound cases formed on the Allative: Directional, Terminative and Destinative. This distinction is adhered to rather rigorously in western dialects, but less so in eastern dialects. Eastern varieties sometimes use inanimate forms with animate NPs, above all when the local sense is abstract or metaphorical, rather than literal. For example, we find the following:

- (62) *Nik ez dut konfidentzirik honelako gizonetan.*
 I not have confidence.PRTT such man.PL.LOC.
 ‘I don’t have any confidence in men like that’. [Xalbador]

But even literal senses sometimes appear with inanimate inflections:

- (63) *Hura zalu, goait zagozkon senar eta haurretarat.*
 s/he agile wait were husband and child.PL.ALL
 ‘She hurried off to the husband and children who were waiting for her.’ [Hiriart Urruty]

This eastern usage is particularly common when the NP is plural and generic, or when it is a personal pronoun, but it is not confined to such cases.

But, in all varieties, an animate noun phrase regularly takes the inanimate forms of certain local cases to provide the special sense of ‘among’. Thus, the ordinary locative of *zazpi alabak* ‘the seven daughters’ is *zazpi alabengan* ‘in/on the seven daughters’, but the inanimate form *zazpi alabetan* means ‘among the seven daughters’. Likewise, *gizonak* ‘the men’ forms an ordinary ablative *gizonengandik* ‘from the men’, but inanimate *gizonetatik* means ‘from among the men’.

3.1.1.3. Sex-marking

In the great majority of cases, nouns are not marked for sex: *ikasle* ‘student’, *mediku* ‘doctor’, *poeta* ‘poet’, *antzerkilari* ‘actor’, ‘actress’, *mahaizain*

'waiter', 'waitress', *zerbitzari* 'servant', *jorskile* 'tailor, dressmaker, seamstress', *katu* 'cat', *ardi* 'sheep', *zaldi* 'horse', and many others are all neutral as to sex.

The sex-marking of nouns, where it occurs at all, is usually done lexically: *gizon* 'man', *emakume* 'woman'; *zezen* 'bull', *behi* 'cow'. A few cases are asymmetric: alongside generic *zaldi* 'horse' and female *behor* 'mare', there is no distinct lexical item for 'stallion'. With nouns denoting human beings, the suffix *-sa* (borrowed from Romance) is occasionally used to mark a word as female: *jainko* 'god', *jainkosa* 'goddess'; *okin* 'baker', regional *okintsa* 'female baker'. In much of the country, *alargun* means both 'widow' and 'widower', but in some places it is strictly 'widower', while 'widow' is *alarguntsa*. Eastern varieties make more systematic use of this suffix, distinguishing, for example, between *errient* and *errientsa* 'primary-school teacher' (male and female) and *infermier* and *infermiertsa* 'nurse' (male and female). Names of larger animals can be sex-marked, when necessary, by suffixing *ar* 'male' or *eme* 'female': *katu* 'cat', *katar* 'tomcat', *kateme* 'female cat'. In one or two cases a diminutive suffix is used to mark an animal name as female: *urde* 'hog', *urdanda* ~ *urdanga* 'sow', with diminutive *-anda*. (In the case of *oilo* 'hen', which is already sex-marked, the diminutive *oilanda* means merely 'young hen'; the male form is *oilar* 'rooster'.)

A certain number of sex-marked pairs have been borrowed or adapted from Romance. Thus, 'first cousin' is *lehengusu* for a male cousin but *lehengusina* for a female cousin; here native *lehen* 'first' has been added to the Romance words for 'cousin'. Similarly, 'male teacher' is *maisú* but 'female teacher' is *maistra*, both forms coming from Romance. Such borrowed pairs are now numerous in western varieties.

In western varieties, a few native nouns have somewhat remarkably acquired Romance-style sex-marking. The purely native word *gixajo* 'poor fellow', whose final *-o* has nothing to do with the Romance gender-marker, has for many speakers acquired a female counterpart *gixaja*, with importation of the Spanish feminine suffix. See also section 3.1.3.1 for occasional sex-marking in adjectives.

3.1.2. Determiners

3.1.2.1. General

Some determiners occur in the DET1 position, while others occupy the DET2 position. In the DET1 position, we find:

- (a) all numerals except *bat* 'one' (and, in B alone, *bi* 'two');
- (b) some quantifiers, such as (*h*)*anitz* 'many, much' (in some varieties), *zenbait* 'some, several' (in some varieties), *hainbat* and *hainbeste* 'so many, so much', northern *asko* and *aski* 'enough';
- (c) question words, such as *zein* 'which?', *zer* 'what?', *zenbat* 'how many?, how much?';
- (d) certain indefinite determiners, such as *edozein* 'any', *zeinnahi* 'whichever you like', and the now archaic *ezein* 'any'.

In the DET2 position, we find:

- (a) both articles: *-a*, *-ak* (definite) and *bat* (indefinite);
- (b) all three demonstratives;
- (c) the partitive marker *-ik*;
- (d) the numeral *bat* 'one' (and, in B alone, *bi* 'two');
- (e) some quantifiers, such as *batzu(k)* 'some, several', *guti* ~ *gutti* ~ *gutxi* 'few, little'.

The three demonstratives and the definite article all distinguish number (singular versus plural), and an NP bearing one of these is always explicitly singular or plural. No other determiners distinguish number, and hence an NP which does not contain one of these four is never marked for number, though it will often be semantically singular or plural, with (in many varieties) the corresponding verbal agreement. Examples: *zein gizon?* 'which man?, which men?', *diru asko* 'lots of money', *bi liburu* (B *liburu bi*) 'two books', *zenbait ume gazte* 'several young children'

3.1.2.2. Articles

There are two articles, the so-called definite article *-a* (singular), *-ak* (plural), and the so-called indefinite article *bat*. The first of these is used more broadly than its name would suggest, the second more narrowly.

3.1.2.2.1. The definite article

The so-called definite article is a bound morpheme, *-a* in the singular and *-ak* in the plural (historically derived from a distal demonstrative, see 3.1.2.3). With *gizon* 'man' and *handi* 'big', we thus have *gizona* 'the man', *gizonak* 'the men', *gizon handia* 'the big man', and *gizon handiak* 'the big men'. When this article is suffixed to a word ending in a vowel, there are various phonological complications, for which see section 3.2.2. Orthographically, however, the only point of note is that a word-final 'a' merges with the article: *neska* 'girl' + *-a*, *-ak* gives *neska* 'the girl', *neskak* 'the girls'. (See also section 3.2.2 for phonological complications in the oblique cases.)

The label 'definite article' is misleading, since this article is of much broader use than the English definite article. It occurs:

- (a) in an NP which is definite and either is identifiable to the hearer or can be safely presumed by the hearer to exist: *goizeko izarr-a* 'the morning star', *Erromaren jatorri-a* 'the origin of Rome', *txakurr-a* 'the dog' (which I have previously mentioned).

- (b) in an NP which is identifiable to the speaker but not to the hearer

- (64) *Emazte-a dut/daukat.*
 wife.DET have
 'I have a wife.'

- (65) *Kotxe berri-a erosi dut.*
 car new.DET buy AUX
 'I've bought a new car.'

- (c) in an NP which is generic

- (66) *Ardo gorri-a nahiago dut.*
 wine red.DET prefer AUX
 'I prefer rosé wine.'
- (67) *Txakurr-a-k ugaztun-a-k dira.*
 dog.DET.PL mammal.DET.PL are
 'Dogs are mammals.'

- (68) *Haritz-a zuhaitz saindu-a da.*
oak.DET tree sacred.DET is
'The oak is a sacred tree.'

(d) in an NP which is non-specific

- (69) *Zigarro-a nahi dut.*
cigarette.DET want AUX
'I want a cigarette.'

- (70) *Sagarr-a-k jaten ari dira.*
apple.DET.PL eat.NOM.LOC AUX are
'They are eating apples.'

- (71) *Arto-a erein dugu.*
corn.DET plant AUX
'We have planted corn.'

(e) in an NP which is the subject of a non-negative existential sentence

- (72) *Lekuederr-a-k daude Bizkaian.*
placebeautiful.DET.PL are Bizkaia.LOC
'There are beautiful places in Bizkaia.'

- (73) *Ogi-a dago mahaian.*
bread.DET is table.LOC
'There is bread on the table.'

(f) in an NP which is abstract: *edertasuna* 'beauty', *bizitza* 'life'

(g) in an NP headed by a gerund (verbal noun)

- (74) *Erre-tze-a gustatzen zait.*
smoke.NOM.DET like.IMPF AUX
'I enjoy smoking.'

- (75) *Ez du balio hain urrun joa-te-a.*
not have worth so far go.NOM.DET
'It's not worth going that far.'

(h) in a predicate NP expressing class membership (see 4.2)

(76) *Irakasle-a naiz.*
 teacher.DET am
 'I'm a teacher.'

(77) *Esther bizkaitarr-a da.*
 Esther Bizkaian.DET is
 'Esther is (a) Bizkaian.'

(i) in a predicate adjective phrase (see 4.2)

(78) *Liburu hau interesgarri-a da.*
 book this interesting.DET is
 'This book is interesting.'

(79) *Oso on-a-k dira.*
 very good.DET.PL are
 'They're very good.'

(j) in most vocative NPs, as in *Bai, gizon-a* 'Yes, sir' or *Ume-a-k, etorri hona!* 'Come here, children.'

(k) in the citation form of a noun or adjective

The use of noun phrases without determiners is explained in 3.1.2.8. For details on the use of the determiner in nominal predicates, see 4.2.1.

Save only in the easternmost dialects, a Basque asked for a Basque noun or adjective will invariably cite this with the article, and hence will give *gizona* for 'man' and *gorria* for 'red'. Some early dictionaries do the same. Linguists and modern dictionaries cite forms without the article, and would hence provide *gizon* and *gorri* for these examples. Speakers at the eastern extreme of the country also cite words without the article.

Note that a Basque NP with the definite article may or may not correspond to a definite NP in English: thus, *ura* may correspond either to 'water' or to 'the water', and *umeak* may correspond either to 'children' or to 'the children'. So, depending on context, *Umeak maite ditut* may translate either as 'I love children' or as 'I love the children'.

3.1.2.2.2. The proximate plural article

Western varieties (only) have, alongside the ordinary plural article *-ak*, a proximate plural article *-ok*. In these varieties, *gizonak* means '(the) men', while *gizonok* variously means 'we men', 'you men', or 'the men here'. In case-inflection, the plural marker *-e-* which normally appears in all the oblique plural forms is replaced by *-o-* in the proximate plural: hence, *etxee-tan* 'in the houses', but *etxeotan* 'in the houses here'. The proximate plural is also found in some eastern varieties in early literature, but it is extinct in the east today. As a rule, there is no corresponding proximate singular in the modern language, but a proximate singular, variously *-ori*, *-or*, *-au* or *-o*, is attested in a number of varieties in early texts, and *-o* still exists marginally in Bizkaian today, as in *hemen berton* 'right here', alongside *hemen bertan*.

3.1.2.2.3. The indefinite article

The so-called indefinite article is *bat*. In general, this is identical to the numeral *bat* 'one': *etxe bat* 'one house' or 'a house', though a few varieties may make an accentual distinction. This article is used much less freely than the indefinite articles of English and other western European languages, and it often corresponds more directly to 'a certain', rather than merely to 'a(n)'. Note the difference, for some speakers though not for all, between *Semea (ba-)dut/daukat* 'I have a son' (i.e., I am not without sons) and *Seme bat (ba-)dut/daukat* 'I have a certain son' (among others) or 'I have one son' (not two). Likewise, *Emaztea dut/daukat* is 'I have a wife', while *#Emazte bat dut/daukat* sounds bizarre and suggests polygamy.

The quantifier *batzuk* 'some, several', treated in section 3.1.2.6, is formally a plural of this *bat*.

Among some younger speakers, there is a tendency to extend the use of *bat* to calque the much broader use of the Spanish article *un(a)*.

The indefinite article *bat* has a special use, as follows. It can follow a bare noun carrying the genitive suffix *-en*, as in *umeren bat* 'a child', 'some child or other'. This construction can be extended to involve two instances of *bat*, as in *liburu baten bat* 'a book', 'some book or other'.

The same construction with a numeral gives the sense of 'about, approximately', as in *hogeiren bat* 'about twenty', 'twenty or so'. Some speakers drop the genitive and say *hoge bat*.

3.1.2.3. Demonstratives

3.1.2.3.1. Ordinary demonstratives

There are three demonstratives: proximal (*h*)*au(r)* ‘this’, mesial (*h*)*ori* ‘that’ (just there), distal (*h*)*ura* (B *a*) ‘that’ (over yonder). In general, the first indicates proximity to the speaker, the second proximity to the addressee, and the third remoteness from both, though on occasion *hori* and *hura* merely indicate differing degrees of remoteness from the speaker. All show stem-suppletion: proximal *hau(r)* has oblique singular stem *hon-*, plural stem *haue-* (B *one-*); mesial *hori* has oblique singular stem *horr-*, plural stem *horie-*; distal *hura* has oblique singular stem *har-*, plural stem *haie-*. All three occupy the DET2 position: *etxe hau(r)* ‘this house’, *ume horiek* ‘those children’, *mendi hura* ‘that mountain’.

In B, uniquely, the demonstratives may occur either preposed or in both positions simultaneously, and B has constructions like *ori gizona* or *ori gizon ori* (often written as *ori gizonori*) ‘that man (just there)’ and *a gizon a* (or *a gizona*) ‘that man (over yonder)’. These take double case-marking, as in *orrek gizon orrek* (ergative) and *oneri umeori* ‘to this child’ (dative), a rare exception to the principle that case-marking occurs only once within an NP. None of this is possible in other varieties.

See section 3.1.6.1.1 for the use of demonstratives as personal pronouns.

The determiner *hori* is used for something which is not located in space, or not located in a way that is relevant to the context, as in *Nor da Igone hori?* ‘Who is this Igone (you’re talking about)?’ It is possible to use *hori* and *hau*, Spanish-style, to express ‘the former’ and ‘the latter’, respectively, though other locutions are more common.

3.1.2.3.2. Intensive demonstratives

The intensive suffix *-xe* can be added to a demonstrative to produce an intensive form, as in *hauxe*, *horixe*, *huraxe* (B *axe*). Such forms are most typically used with noun phrases which are in focus (see also 4.4.7.2.2). Compare the following two sentences, where *liburu hau* can be interpreted as a topic while the intensive *liburu hauxe* is in focus:

- (80) *Liburu hau erosi dut.*
 book this buy AUX
 ‘I bought this book/This book I bought.’

- (81) *Liburu hau-xe erosi dut.*
 book this.INTS buy AUX
 'I bought this very book.'

The suffix *-xe* normally precedes any case-suffix, and always so with an ergative or genitive suffix, so that intensive *hauxe* has ergative *honexek* and genitive *honexeren*. With other case-suffixes, some speakers place the *-xe* after the case-suffix, and so the dative of *hauxe* may be either *honexeri* or *honixe*.

The form *horixe* is commonly used as a complete utterance expressing strong agreement with a preceding statement, like English 'Exactly!' or 'That's it!'.

3.1.2.4. The partitive

Many textbooks classify the partitive affix *-ik* as a case-form, but in fact this *-ik* cannot be added to a full NP with a determiner, but only to a determinerless sequence of the type called an N-bar in some theoretical frameworks; here, therefore, we treat it as a determiner, but a rather special one, since a partitive NP cannot take any further overt case-marking. The partitive is a polarity item, and it occurs chiefly in polarity contexts, in positions in which an absolutive would otherwise occur (see de Rijk 1972a). The main polarity contexts are listed below:

- (a) Negative clauses. Partitives occur regularly as the direct object or intransitive subject of a negated verb:

- (82) a. *Ez dugu/daukagu ogi-rik.*
 not have bread.PRTT
 'We don't have any bread.'
- (83) b. *Gaur ez da hemen ume-rik jaio.*
 today not AUX here baby.PRTT be.born
 'No baby has been born here today.'

Some negated main verbs such as *uste* 'think' also allow partitives inside their complement clauses, as do inherently negative verbs like *debekatu* 'forbid', *ukatu* 'deny', etc. See 4.10.1.1.4 for complement clauses marked partitive. 'Negation' must be understood here in a loose way, since formally

positive sentences containing semantically negative adverbs such as *nekez* 'hardly', *gutxitan* 'seldom' may also license partitive phrases.

(b) Complements of 'affective' predicates such as *arraroa izan* 'be strange, funny', *harrigarria izan* 'be surprising', *harritu* 'amaze', *gaitza izan* 'be hard', *ebitatu* 'avoid', *sentitu* 'be sorry' admit partitive phrases.

(c) Interrogative clauses. Main and embedded yes-no questions are typical contexts where partitive expressions are found:

(84) *Behar dugu ogi-rik?*
 need AUX bread.PRTT
 'Do we need any bread?'

Wh-questions occasionally licence partitive phrases; however, more than genuine questions these are rhetorical expressions which negate what they formally inquire about:

(85) *Nola eros auto-rik diru-rik gabe?*
 how buy.RAD car.PRTT money.PRTT without
 'How can one buy a car without any money?'

(d) The previous example also shows that it can optionally be attached to an object of the postposition *gabe* 'without'; see also *besterik gabe* 'without anything else', 'without further ado'.

(e) Some speakers allow partitives in existential sentences (as in [a]; note the singular verb-form). This seems to be possible especially when an adjective modifies the head noun. An emphatic existential interpretation is also found with partitives used with non-existential predicates (b), (c):

(86) a. *Bada hemen neska ederr-ik.*
ba.is here girl beautiful.PRTT
 'There are (some) beautiful girls here.'

b. *Beste.rik ere ikusi dut.*
other.PRTT also see AUX
 'I have also seen other things/There are also others things that I have seen.'

- c. *Baluke merezimendurik liburu honen egileak.*
 ba.would.have merit.PRTT book this.GEN author.ERG
 'The author of this book would certainly have some merit.'
 [Mitxelena]

(f) The partitive may also occur in conditional clauses:

- (87) *Laguntza-rik behar baduzu, deitu.*
 help-PRTT need if.AUX call
 'If you need any help, (just) call.'

- (g) It is also sometimes attached to the head noun of an NP carrying certain quantifiers, as in *euskaldunik gehienak* 'most Basques' and in the common phrase *eskerrik asko* 'many thanks'. Nouns modified by superlative adjectives can also appear in the partitive. See section 3.1.3.3.
- (h) It is also found in complements of adjectives modified by the excessive affix *-egi*, as in *erantzun-ik emateko urduri-egia* 'too nervous to give any answer'.
- (i) Inside *baino lehenago* 'before' clauses: *erantzun-ik eman baino lehenago* 'before giving any answer'.

In all these contexts, partitive phrases are interpreted as non-specific. Thus, in the last example, partitive *erantzunik* 'any answer' would contrast with absolutive *erantzuna* 'the answer'.

3.1.2.5. Numerals

3.1.2.5.1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals are found in table 42; western forms are given first, and the second forms, where given, are eastern. Note the vigesimal system (more consistent and systematic than that of French or Danish).

Note the irregular forms of the numerals for '11', '18' and '19'. Note also that, in modern standard Basque, complex number names are often written as two words, such as *berrogeita hamar* for *berrogeitahamar* '50'.

Table 42. Cardinal numbers

0	<i>huts</i>	19	<i>hemeretzi</i>
	or zero	20	<i>hogeï, hogoi</i>
1	<i>bat</i>	21	<i>hogeitabat</i>
2	<i>bi, biga ~ bi</i>		(<i>hogoi</i> - here and below)
3	<i>hiru, hirur</i>	22	<i>hogeitabi</i>
4	<i>lau, laur</i>	...	
5	<i>bost, bortz</i>	30	<i>hogeitahamar</i>
6	<i>sei</i>	31	<i>hogeitahamaika</i>
7	<i>zazpi</i>	32	<i>hogeitahamabi</i>
8	<i>zortzi</i>	...	
9	<i>bederatzi</i>	40	<i>berrogei</i>
10	<i>hamar</i>	41	<i>berrogeitabat</i>
11	<i>hamaika</i>	...	
12	<i>hamabi</i>	50	<i>berrogeitahamar</i>
13	<i>hamahiru, hamahirur</i>	60	<i>hirurogei</i>
14	<i>hamalau, hamalaur</i>	70	<i>hirurogeitahamar</i>
15	<i>hamabost, hamabortz</i>	80	<i>laurogei</i>
16	<i>hamasei</i>	90	<i>laurogeitahamar</i>
17	<i>hamazazpi</i>	100	<i>ehun</i>
18	<i>hemezortzi</i>	1000	<i>mila</i>

The construction of long number-names is illustrated by the following:

- (88) *mila bederatziehun hirurogeita hemeretzi*
 thousand nine.hundred sixty.and nineteen
 '1979'

The numeral *bat* 'one' follows its head noun. The same is true today in B alone, with *bi* 'two', though this is often also postposed in eastern varieties in the writings of the 16th–17th centuries. All other numerals precede their head noun. Examples: *etxe bat* 'one house', *bi zuhaitz* 'two trees' (B *zuhaitz bi*), *lau lagun* 'four companions', *hiru liburu berri* 'three new books'. Observe that no other article normally occurs in a noun phrase containing a numeral, but see section 3.1.2.9 for an important exception.

When the numeral 'two' forms a noun phrase by itself, in eastern varieties (only) it assumes the extended form *biga*, and this form is also used in eastern varieties in counting: *bat, biga, hirur, ...* In all other circumstances in these varieties, and in all circumstances in other varieties, the invariable form is *bi*.

The numerals *hiru(r)* 'three' and *lau(r)* have lost their final /r/ in isolation in most circumstances, but this /r/ always resurfaces when the plural suffix *-ak* is added: *hirurak* 'all three', *laurak* 'all four', but *seiak* 'all six', *zazpiak*

'all seven' (though the analogical formations *seirak* and *zazpirak* are also found). Eastern varieties retain the /r/ in a numeral used as a pronoun.

The numeral *bi* also means 'both': *biak* 'both of them', B G *biok* 'both of us', 'both of you', with the proximate plural ending *-ok*. The construction *zu ta biok*, literally 'you and both of us', actually means 'you and I (together)', and this construction may be extended to larger numerals: *Jon, Edurne ta hirurok* 'Jon, Edurne and I', literally 'Jon, Edurne and the three of us'. At least some speakers make a distinction between *zu ta biok* 'you and I (together)' and *zu ta ni* 'you and I (separately)', though this distinction is not universal.

The form *bizpahiru* means 'two or three' in its indefinite sense of 'about'. Similar formations exist for other such collocations, like *hiruzpalau* 'three or four'.

3.1.2.5.2. Distributive numerals

A distributive numeral is formed by adding the suffix *-na* to the cardinal numeral, sometimes with phonological adjustments; the resulting distributive is a determiner, and it occupies the same position as the corresponding cardinal. Hence we have *boteila bana* 'one bottle each, one bottle apiece', from *bat* 'one', but *hiruna boteila* 'three bottles apiece', from *hiru(r)* 'three'. Note that such an NP contains no other determiner. A noun phrase containing a distributive cannot appear in subject position: hence, while (a) is fine (b) is impossible:

- (89) a. *Emakumeeek hiru-na ogi erosi zituzten.*
 women.ERG three.na bread buy AUX
 'The women bought three loaves of bread apiece.'
- b. **Hiruna emakumeeek ogia erosi zuten.*
 'Three women bought a loaf of bread each.'

Eastern varieties also have the unique item *bedera* 'one apiece': *liburu bedera* 'one book apiece'.

A distributive numeral extended by a suffix *-ka* or *-n* serves as an adverbial meaning 'X at a time'; in the second case the form is reduplicated, and so we have *banaka* or *banan-banan* 'one at a time, one by one' and *binaka* or *binan-binan* 'two at a time, two by two'.

3.1.2.5.3. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are adjectives, not determiners, but they are treated here for convenience.

The ordinal for 'first' is *lehen*, though this often has suffixed variants like *lehenengo* and *lehen(da)biziko*, which are *-ko* phrases (see section 3.1.4.2). Western varieties also have *aurren*, though this is most often used to express 'chief, principal, first in rank', rather than merely in counting.

All other ordinals are formed by suffixing *-garren* to the corresponding cardinals: *bigarren* 'second', *hirugarren* 'third', *zazpigarren* 'seventh', *hamaikagarren* 'eleventh', *hogeitabostgarren* 'twenty-fifth', and so on. Note that 'twenty-first' is *hogeitabatgarren*, and not **hogeitalehen*, and similarly for other numerals.

The ordinal for 'last' is *azken*, which has extended forms *azkeneko* and *azkenengo*, while 'next-to-last' is *azken-aurreko*; all of these but *azken* itself are *-ko* phrases. Also in use are formations like *azken-bigarren* 'second-last', *azken-hirugarren* 'third last', and so on.

Unlike lexical adjectives, ordinals normally precede their head noun: *lehen maila* 'the first level', *bigarren pertsona* 'the second person', *azken eguna* 'the last day'. However, both *lehen* and *azken*, at least, can follow their head noun in elevated styles: *Euskadi lehena* 'the first Euskadi' (X. Lete); *irabazi azkena* 'the last victory' (B. Lertxundi). Ordinal numerals also follow proper names in titles: *Karlos bostgarrena* 'Charles V'.

3.1.2.5.4. Fractions and percentages

As a rule, a fraction is constructed just like an ordinal, by adding the suffix *-garren* to the numeral. However, the first few numerals are exceptional.

Table 43. Fractions

two	<i>biga ~ bi</i>	half	<i>erdi</i>
three	<i>hiru(r)</i>	third	<i>heren</i>
four	<i>lau(r)</i>	quarter	<i>laurden</i>
five	<i>bost ~ bortz</i>	fifth	<i>bostgarren ~ bortzgarren</i>
six	<i>sei</i>	sixth	<i>seigarren</i>

And so on. Older texts occasionally show the suffix *-en* in place of *-garren* for a few numerals, such as *bosten* for 'fifth' and *hamarren* for 'tenth' (in place of *hamargarren*). These older forms were until recently archaic, but in

pedagogical work the suffix *-en* is now widely used for forming all fractions, and hence we have *bosten* ‘fifth’ and *hamarren* ‘tenth’.

As usual, the numeral normally precedes the fraction: *bi heren* ‘two-thirds’, *hiru laurden* ‘three-quarters’. But *bat* ‘one’ follows, also as usual: *erdi bat* ‘one-half’, *laurden bat* ‘one-quarter’.

Easterners can use the ablative plural case-suffix (*-etarik* in these varieties, for standard *-etatik*) and say, for example, *hamarretarik bat* ‘one tenth’.

A percentage is constructed by adding the relational suffix *-ko* to *ehun* ‘100’ and following this with the numerical value. Thus, ‘fifteen percent’ is *ehuneko hamabost*, written %15.

3.1.2.5.5. Measure noun phrases

Numerals in measure noun phrases behave as explained in section 3.1.2.5.1: *ehun metro* ‘a hundred meters’, *lau libera* ‘four pounds’, *libera erdi bat* ‘half a pound’. Any fraction follows the head noun and is connected by *eta* ‘and’, often reduced to *ta* or *t*, as in *zazpi oin t’erdi* ‘seven feet and a half’. If the material being measured is named, it follows both the numeral and the measure word and takes no determiner: *boteila bat ardo* ‘one bottle of wine’; *bi boteila ardo* ‘two bottles of wine’. Note the difference between *boteila bat ardo* ‘a bottle of wine’ and *ardo boteila bat* ‘a wine bottle’.

3.1.2.5.6. Time of day

An hour of the clock is expressed by adding the plural article *-ak* to the numeral, except that ‘one o’clock’ and ‘two o’clock’ require the numeral to be preceded by *ordu* ‘hour’:

Table 44. Time of day

<i>ordu batak</i>	‘one o’clock’
<i>ordu biak</i>	‘two o’clock’
<i>hirurak</i>	‘three o’clock’ (cf. Sp <i>las tres</i>)
<i>laurak</i>	‘four o’clock’

And so on. Note the usual plural form of ‘one o’clock’, even though the Academy has decreed that the standard form should be *ordu bata*. Eastern varieties use *oren* for ‘hour’, and ‘one o’clock’ is *oren bata*, singular. Minutes or fractional hours after the hour are expressed by using *eta* ‘and’ plus the appropriate addition: *ordubiak eta hamar* ‘2:10’, *hamabiak eta laurden*

'12:15', *zazpiak eta erdi* '7:30'. Minutes or fractions before the hour are expressed with *gutxi* 'little': *zazpiak hamar gutxi* 'ten to seven', *ordubatak laurden gutxi* 'a quarter to one'. English 'at' is expressed by adding the locative case-ending: *ordu bietan* 'at two o'clock'; *ordubi t'erdietan* 'at two-thirty'.

3.1.2.6. Quantifiers

Quantifiers vary in their placement. Some appear in the DET1 position, others in the DET2 position. In the first group are *zenbat* 'how many?' 'how much?' and *hainbat* and *hainbeste* 'so many, so much, that many, that much'. In the second group are *batzu(k)* 'several, some', *guti ~ gutti ~ gutxi* 'few, little, not much, not many', *gehiago* 'more' and *gehiegi* 'too much'. Many others are regionally variable, being in some places preposed but in others postposed. Among these are (*h*)*anitz* 'much, many, lots of', *zenbait* 'several, some', *aski* 'enough' and *asko* 'many, much, lots of': *asko diru* or *diru asko* 'lots of money'. (This *asko* formerly meant 'enough' in the east.)

Naturally, the presence of a quantifier normally prohibits any other determiner from appearing (though see section 3.1.2.9 for two major exceptions). Consequently, an NP with a quantifier is not usually overtly marked for number. Examples:

Table 45. NP with quantifier

<i>hanitz jende</i>	'lots of people'
<i>zenbait ume</i>	'several children'
<i>jende gutxi</i>	'few people'
<i>diru gehiago</i>	'more money'

However, the addition of the article is by no means rare here, and we find examples like *merezi hainitzak* 'many virtues' in the writer Haramburu, for expected *merezi hainitz* (here *hainitz* is a variant of *hanitz*), and we hear *urte askoan* 'in many years', with the article, for expected indefinite *urte askotan*. Some speakers regard this odd use as being in some way "expressive". In eastern varieties, *anitz* can take a plural article to form the pronoun *anitzak* 'lots of people'.

The quantifier *oro* 'all', today confined to eastern dialects, exhibits unique behavior: it functions as a kind of appositive, following a complete NP with a determiner. Compare *mendiak* '(the) mountains' with *mendiak oro* 'all the mountains'. If the NP is case-marked, the case-marker may be repeated on *oro*, and so the ergative case-form of this last example is *mendiek*

orok, with ergative *-k* appearing twice (note the absence of the article; the form **mendiek orok* is impossible). Likewise, 'on all the mountains' is *mendietan orotan*, with repetition of the locative case-ending, though *mendi orotan* also occurs and is now perhaps the norm with non-argument (adverbial) cases. The same behavior is sometimes exhibited by the adjective *guz(t)i* 'all', and so, in place of normal *mendi guztiak* 'all the mountains', we occasionally find *mendiak guztiak*. This is usual when a demonstrative is present: *mendi horietan guztietan* 'on all those mountains'.

In fact, the behavior of quantifiers is often regionally highly variable and idiosyncratic. For example, with *franko* 'a whole bunch of', we find in use all of *franko gizon*, *gizon franko*, *gizona franko* and *gizonak franko*.

Certain words with quantifier-like meanings are strictly adjectives, including *guzti* ~ *guzi* 'all', *bakoitz* 'each', *gehien* 'most' and *ugari* 'abundant, numerous': *etxe guztiak* 'all the houses', *ikasle bakoitza* 'each student', *pilotari gehienak* 'most jai-alai players', *janari ugaria* 'abundant food'. But *gehiago* 'more' and *gehiagi* 'too much, too many' are determiners, and they do not co-occur with another determiner: *lan gehiago* 'more work', *diru gehiagi* 'too much money'.

3.1.2.7. Indefinite and interrogative determiners

Basque has a number of indefinite and interrogative determiners. All of these are formally derived from indefinite and interrogative pronouns, and their formation is accordingly described in sections 3.1.6.1.3 and 3.1.6.1.4, but their syntax is described here.

All the determiners described here occupy the DET1 (preposed) position. They include *zein* 'which?' (Northern *zoin*), *zer* 'what?', *zenbat* 'how much? how many?' (variants *zeinbat*, *zonbat*, *zomat*), *zeinnahi* 'whichever you like, any at all', *edozein* 'any' (free-choice, not polarity), *hainbat* and *hainbeste* 'so many, that much' and the archaic *ezein* 'any' (polarity item). Examples may be found in table 46.

The items *zein* and *zer* have a special use in exclamations, corresponding to English 'what' or 'how' in this function (4.6.1.1). Unusually, they frequently, though not invariably, take the definite article in this function; in central varieties, *zer* commonly occurs in its reduced prenominal form *ze* (see table 47).

Table 46. DET1 (preposed) determiners

<i>zein gizon?</i>	'which man?', 'which men?'
<i>zein egunetan?</i>	'on which day?'
<i>zer liburu?</i>	'what book?'
<i>zer berri?</i>	'what's new?' (literally, 'what new?')
<i>zenbat diru?</i>	'how much money?'
<i>zenbat ume gazte?</i>	'how many young children?'
<i>zeinnahi emakume</i>	'any woman/women you like, any woman/women at all'
<i>edozein modutan</i>	'in any case'
<i>hainbat gizon</i>	'so many men'
<i>ezein aldakuntzarik gabe</i>	'without any change' (archaic)

Table 47. *Zein* and *zer*

<i>ze(r) gauza lotsagarria!</i>	'what a shameful thing!'
<i>ze(r) eguraldi ederra!</i>	'what beautiful weather!'
<i>zein ederra!</i>	'how beautiful!'

3.1.2.8. Noun phrases without determiners

Pronouns and most proper names, of course, generally take no determiners, though exceptions exist; see sections 3.1.6 and 3.1.7.

Otherwise, there are a very few circumstances in which an apparent NP can occur with no determiner.

3.1.2.8.1. Translatives and essives

Complements expressing the capacity into which someone is translated or the capacity in which someone acts take no determiner. In example (a), the item *artzai* 'shepherd' takes no determiner; likewise, in (b), the phrase meaning 'editor of the magazine *ARGIA*' takes no determiner (see 4.2):

- (90) a. *Ameriketara joan zen artzai.*
 Americas.to go AUX shepherd
 'He went to America as a shepherd.'
- b. *ARGIA aldizkariko zuzendari izendatu zuten.*
 ARGIA magazine.REL editor name AUX
 'He was named (lit., 'they named him') editor of the magazine ARGIA.'

3.1.2.8.2. Predicate nominals

A verb denoting a change of state, such as *bihurtu* ‘turn into’, always takes a complement NP with no determiner:

- (91) *Otso bihurtu zen.*
 wolf become AUX
 ‘He turned into a wolf.’

The ordinary copular verbs *izan* ‘be’ and *egon* ‘be’ usually take a complement NP or adjective phrase with a determiner; see section 4.2. However, it is possible for the complement to lack a determiner:

- (92) *Bekatu da hori.*
 sin is that
 ‘That’s a sin.’ [Folk song]

- (93) *gure herriko alkate ez izan arren...*
 our town.REL mayor not be in.spite.of
 ‘in spite of not being the mayor of our town...’ [Xabier Lete]

- (94) *Gure herriko lanak haundi dire.*
 our country.REL tasks big are
 ‘The tasks facing our country are great.’ [Xabier Lete]

In these examples the nouns *bekatu* ‘sin’ and *alkate* ‘mayor’ and the adjective *haundi* ‘big’ take no determiner. This usage is typical of elevated styles, but it is by no means rare today in even moderately formal writing.

3.1.2.8.3. Instrumentals

An apparent noun phrase consisting of a bare unmodified noun generally takes no determiner when it occurs with the instrumental suffix *-z*:

- (95) *Esku-z egin behar dut.*
 hand.INST do must AUX
 ‘I have to do it by hand.’

- (96) *Tren-ez etorri naiz.*
 train-INSTR come AUX
 'I have come by train.'
- (97) *Frantses-ez egiten ari dira.*
 French-INSTR do.NOM.LOC ari AUX
 'They are speaking French.'
- (98) *Oin-ez dabilta.*
 foot-INSTR walk
 'They're walking.' (lit., 'going on foot')

It is debatable whether such phrases should be regarded as NPs at all: they are perhaps better classified as adverbials. Compare cases like *bi eskuez* 'with both hands', in which the plural article (represented by *-e-*) is present.

3.1.2.8.4. Proverbials

The absence of determiners is common in proverbs, particularly when no verb is present, as in *Atzerri, otserri* 'Foreign country, wolf country', and in *Alargun, begi ilun* 'Widow, sad eyes', in which neither noun phrase bears a determiner.

3.1.2.8.5. Miscellaneous

No determiner occurs in certain cases when an NP is being used in a generic sense, as in *ardoz betea* 'full of wine' and *sutan egon* 'be on fire', in which *ardo* 'wine' and *su* 'fire' take no determiner but take case-endings as required.

Certain vocative NPs exceptionally occur with no determiner, as in vocative *ume* 'child' and *mutil* 'boy, fellow' (but compare vocative *gizona* 'man', with the article). Note also the song title *Bizkaia maite* '(my) beloved Bizkaia', which is a vocative.

A few fixed expressions lack determiners, such as *jo ta ke* 'incessantly, without interruption' (literally 'strike and smoke'), in which the noun *ke* 'smoke' takes no determiner.

See also section 3.1.7.1 for certain personal names which take no determiners.

3.1.2.9. Noun phrases with two determiners

There are just two circumstances in which an NP can commonly take two determiners. First, an NP can take both a definite determiner (demonstrative or definite article) and a numeral. Compare the following examples:

bi etxe (B *etxe bi*) ‘two houses’

bi etxeak (B *etxe biak*) ‘the two houses, both houses’

hiru andere ‘three ladies’

hiru andereak ‘the three ladies, all three ladies’

lau lagun ‘four guys’

lau lagun horiek ‘those four guys’

This is uncommon but possible with *bat* ‘one’:

liburu bat ‘one book’

liburu bata ‘the one book’

Second, it is possible to add the partitive *-ik* to an NP which already contains a quantifier, if the partitive is required by a polarity context:

- (99) *Ez daukat diru askorik.*
 not have money much.PRTT
 ‘I don’t have much money.’

3.1.3. *Adjectives*3.1.3.1. *Lexical adjectives*

Basque has a large and open class of adjectives, and adjectives are rather sharply distinguished from other parts of speech: as a rule, a word which is an adjective cannot also be another part of speech. There are just a handful of mostly ancient exceptions which can serve as either adjectives or nouns, like *ilun* ‘dark’ and ‘darkness’, *hotz* ‘cold’ (ADJ.) and ‘cold’ (n.) (opposite of ‘heat’), *bero* ‘hot’ and ‘heat’, and *gose* ‘hungry’ and ‘hunger’, plus a couple of adjectives which can also serve as verbs, like *hil* ‘dead’ and both ‘die’ and ‘kill’, and *busti* ‘moist’ and ‘moisten’. (Such cases must not be con-

fused with headless NPs containing adjectives; see section 3.1.5.) Lexical adjectives may be morphologically simple (*handi* 'big', *gorri* 'red'), they may be derived from other words by means of the numerous adjective-forming suffixes (*euritsu* 'rainy', from *huri* 'rain', *diruzale* 'avaricious', from *diru* 'money'), or they may be compounds (*larrugorri* 'naked', from *laru* 'skin' plus *gorri* 'red', *ahobero* 'indiscreet', from *aho* 'mouth' plus *bero* 'hot').

Virtually all lexical adjectives follow their head noun within an NP, but a small number of adjectives may or must precede the head noun; see section 3.1.3.2 below. Some adjectives may also occur as appositions following the noun phrase, see

There is no formal difference between restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives: *liburu zaharra* 'the old book' can be understood either restrictively ("as opposed to the new one") or non-restrictively ("the only book under discussion, which happens to be old").

There are two lexical adjectives derived from relative forms of finite verbs: *den* (B G *dan*) 'all', from *da* 'is', and *zen* (B G *zan*) 'late' (i.e., 'deceased'), from *zen* ~ *zan* 'was', as in *gizon denak* 'all the men' and *Koldo Mitxelena zena* 'the late Luis Michelena'. (In the north, *dena*, plural *denak*, is strictly pronominal, and cannot be used as an adjective.)

A number of adjectives, mostly borrowed from Spanish, exceptionally exhibit sex-marking. An example is *majo* 'nice', which has a female variant *maja* applied to women and girls; the unmarked variant *majo* is used in all other circumstances (males, animals, inanimates, abstractions). Other examples include the loans *tonto/tonta* 'foolish' and *katolikol/katolika* 'Catholic'. Such sex-marking is confined to western varieties, and B in particular may have hundreds of these; eastern varieties invariably borrow only the masculine form of a Romance adjective and apply it indiscriminately to both sexes in Basque.

Multiple adjectives are possible. The order is usually exactly the reverse of English, or exactly the same in terms of distance from the head noun, as in:

- (100) *etxe zuri txiki polit bat*
 house white little pretty a
 'a pretty little white house'

But other orders can occur, as in the popular song

- (101) *txakur txiki gorritxo bat*
 dog small red.DIM a
 'a little red dog'

Transitive adjectives exist, governing complement phrases in various cases but most often in the instrumental:

- (102) *Bere lan-az harroa dago.*
 his work.INST proud.DET is
 'She is proud of her work.'

However, such transitive adjective phrases are confined to predicate position, and may not occur inside a noun phrase:

- (103) **emakume [bere lanaz harro] a*
 woman her work.INST proud DET
 'a woman proud of her work'

The only way of translating the English phrase here is by means of a relative clause:

- (104) [*bere lanaz harroa dagoen*] *emakumea*
 her work.INST proud.DET is.COMP woman.DET
 'a woman who is proud of her work'

3.1.3.2. Preposed adjectives

While the vast majority of lexical adjectives follow their heads, a very few precede. There are several classes of these.

First, ordinal numerals usually precede their heads; see section 3.1.2.5.2.

Second, the unique item *bertze* ~ *beste* 'other' always precedes, as in *Beste pertsona bat* 'another person' and *beste bi liburu* 'another two books'.

Third, adjectives of nationality commonly precede their head, though not invariably so. Nationality modifiers formed with *-ko* are, of course, *-ko* phrases, and they occupy the position of a complex modifier, as in *Bizkaiko Golkoa* 'the Bay of Biscay' and *Estatu Batuetako ikasleak* 'students from the USA'. Nationality adjectives formed with the ethnonymic suffix *-(t)ar* may either precede or follow: *espainiar idazleak* or *idazle espainiarrak* 'Spanish writers'. Nationality adjectives which are lexically simple (in

Basque) usually precede but may occasionally follow; most of these are loans and many can also be used as nouns: *Frantses Bidea* 'the French Road' (i.e., 'the Milky Way'), *nafar hizkuntza* 'the Navarrese language' (i.e., Basque), *ingeles hitza* 'an English word', *polizia espainola* 'the Spanish police'. Note, though, that, for some (not all) speakers, *ingeles liburua* can only mean 'an English book' (a book for teaching English), whereas *liburu ingelesa* can mean either this or 'an English book' (a book written in English). The first pattern is perhaps to be regarded as a compound noun rather than as an instance of adjective-noun.

The nationality term *euskal* 'Basque' (L LN *eskual*) is unique, in that it is explicitly a combining form and hence must precede its head: *Euskal Herria* 'the Basque Country', *euskal idazleak* 'Basque writers'. Eastern varieties (only) permit the long form *eskudara* to follow its head: *liburu eskudara bat* 'a Basque book'. This is not possible in other varieties. The combining form *euskal* has a non-historical variant *eusko*, coined in the late 19th century by Sabino Arana (who spelled it *euzko*); this variant is official in certain contexts, as in *Eusko Jaurlaritza* 'the Basque (Autonomous) Government'. It is now often preferred to denote 'Basque' (as an ethnic or geographical label), while *euskal* is confined to 'Basque-speaking', 'in the Basque language'.

Fourth, adjectives of religion may either precede or follow: *girixtino sinestea* or *sineste girixtinoa* 'Christian belief'.

Fifth, adjectives formed with the derivational suffix *-dun* 'having' may either precede or follow. This suffix is a reduced form of *duen* 'who has', a relative form of a finite verb, and the preposed position is therefore to be expected, but in practice we find both *euskaldun umeak* and *ume euskaldunak* for 'Basque-speaking children' (see section 3.7.2.1).

Sixth, the two words *eskuin* 'right' and *ezker* 'left' can be found both preposed and postposed: *esku ezkerra* 'the left hand', *eskuin belarria* 'the right ear'. The same is true of *gaiso* ~ *gaixo* 'poor' (expressing sympathy): *gaixo gizona* or *gizon gaixoa* 'the poor man' (western varieties permit only the second).

Seventh, the adjective *gazte* 'young', which is normally always postposed, is preposed in the fixed expression *gazte jendea* 'the young people', 'the younger generation'.

Finally, adjectives derived from participles of verbs may, in northern varieties, occur in either position: *ongi ikasi haurrak* or *haur ongi ikasiak* 'well-educated children'. See section 3.1.3.5 for more information.

A preposed adjective must usually follow any preposed quantifier: *lau ingeles untziak* 'the four English ships', *hanitz espainiar idazle* 'many Span-

ish writers'. But, as shown above, *bertze ~ beste* 'other' is an exception, as are *-ko* phrases: *Estatu Batuetako lau ikasle* 'four students from the US'.

3.1.3.3. Adjective comparison

Adjectives are compared by suffixation: comparative *-ago*, superlative *-en*, excessive *-egi*. With *handi* 'big': *handiago* 'bigger', *handien* 'biggest', *handiegi* 'too big'. All these forms pattern just like simple adjectives: *gizon handiagoa* 'the bigger man', *gizon handiena* 'the biggest man', *gizon handiegi* 'the man who is too big'.

Only one adjective compares irregularly: *on* 'good' has the comparative *hobe* 'better', not **onago* (the redundant form *hobeago* 'more better' is found dialectally). The superlative is variously the regular *onen* and the irregular *hobe(r)en*; the excessive is always *onegi*.

Naturally, some adjectives have meanings which do not allow them to be compared, such as *hil* 'dead', *nagusi* 'chief, principal', *guzti ~ guzi* 'all' and *eme* 'female' (except that *eme* can also mean 'soft', in which case it allows a comparative *emeago* 'softer', etc.).

There is no comparison of inferiority. Recently a few writers have self-consciously introduced a construction involving *gutxiago* 'less', the comparative of *gutxi* 'little, not much': *garesti gutxiagoa* 'less expensive'. It cannot be said that this coinage has yet found a secure place in the language.

In a comparative phrase, the order is standard—pivot—adjective, and the pivot is *baino* 'than' or *bezain* 'as...as':

(105) a. *Jon Patxi baino handiagoa da.*

Jon Patxi than tall.more.DET is

'Jon is taller than Patxi.'

b. *Jon Patxi bezain handia da.*

Jon Patxi as tall.DET is

'Jon is as tall as Patxi.'

The standard takes any case-ending logically required. So, in the following example we find the ergative case-suffix *-k* on the standard *Patxi*, which is logically the subject of an understood transitive verb

(106) *Anak Patxik baino sagardo hobea egiten du.*

Ana.ERG Patxo.ERG than cider better.DET make AUX

'Ana makes better cider than Patxi.'

It is difficult to construct comparatives of adjectives inside noun phrases: speakers reject the following, and require another construction, such as a relative clause:

- (107) **Gizon zu baino handiago batek esan dit.*
 man you than big.more.DET one say AUX
 ‘A man taller than you told me.’

With a superlative, the group from which the superlative is extracted is usually marked by a noun phrase in the ablative, if definite; since the sense of ‘from among’ is present, the inanimate form of the ablative is used even with an animate NP: hence, ‘the biggest of the men’ is *gizonetatik handiena*. Eastern varieties can also use the locative, as in *gizonetan indartsuena* ‘the strongest of the men’. However, if the group is indefinite, it is denoted by a noun phrase marked only with partitive *-ik*: *gizonik handiena* ‘the biggest of men’. See 4.10.4 for more information on the syntax of comparative and superlative constructions.

3.1.3.4. Degree modification

An adjective may be modified by a degree modifier, of which there are many: *oso*, *guztiz* and *txit* ‘very’, *biziki* ‘really’, *hain* ‘so’, *erabat* and *arras* ‘utterly, completely’, *izugarri* ‘terribly’, *aski* and *nahiko* ‘quite, rather, enough’, and others: *oso handia da* ‘it’s very big’, *nahiko ona da* ‘it’s fairly good, it’s good enough’. There is considerable regional variation in the use of intensifiers with meanings like ‘very’ and ‘extremely’. In the standard language, the definite form *nahikoa* often occurs unexpectedly, as in *nahikoa liburu ona da* ‘it’s a rather good book’. The modifier *samar* ‘somewhat, rather’ exceptionally follows its adjective: *handi samarra da* ‘it’s rather big’. Some central varieties allow the quantifier *asko* ‘lots of’ to be used as a degree modifier meaning ‘very’: *itzaldi eder-askoa* ‘a very beautiful speech’ (Lizardi).

When a degree modifier occurs inside a noun phrase with a head noun, the modifier precedes the noun while the adjective follows: *oso gizon handia* ‘the very big man’. Only a definite determiner is possible here; with the indefinite article *bat* the construction is *gizon bat oso handia* ‘a (certain) very big man’, with two determiners, and **oso gizon handi bat* is impossible, though *gizon oso handi bat* is permissible. See Goenaga (1991).

An adjective may also be intensified by reduplication: *on-ona da* 'it's very good'.

3.1.3.5. Adjectival participles

The perfective participle of a verb, either transitive or intransitive, may function as an ordinary lexical adjective. Examples:

Table 48. Adjectival participles

<i>hosto eroriak</i>	'fallen leaves'
<i>ate giltzatua</i>	'a locked door'
<i>sagar helduak</i>	'ripe apples'
<i>etxe errea</i>	'a burned-out house'

In eastern varieties, though not in western, a participial adjective in this position can take modifiers and complements:

haur ongi ikasiak 'well-educated children'
bere seme gudan hilei 'to her sons killed in the war'

Usually, though not invariably, the head noun in this last construction must represent the object of the participle.

In western varieties, participles cannot do this, and the only way of adding modifiers and complements to a participle is to add to the participle an adverbial suffix and then to convert the whole thing to a preposed *-ko* phrase; see section 3.1.4.2 (i).

Eastern varieties (only) also permit a participle with complements to precede its head noun; see section 3.1.4.4.

3.1.3.6. Predicate adjectives

As a general rule, a predicate adjective (see 4.2) must take the definite article and must agree in number with its subject: hence, with *on* 'good', *Hau ona da* 'This is good', but *Hauek onak dira* 'These are good'. But Zuberoan is an exception here: 'This is good' is *Hau hun da*, 'These are good' is *Hauek hun dira*, and *Hau huna da* means specifically 'This is the good one'. This determinerless construction is also possible in other dialects, but generally only in elevated styles and in songs, as in:

- (108) *Itxasoan urak haundi dire*
 see.LOC water.DET.PL big are
 'the waters in the sea are vast'

Determinerless *haundi* occurs here in place of normal *haundiak*.

3.1.4. Complex modifiers

There are three types of complex modifier (four in eastern varieties), and all occur in the initial position in an NP.

First, there are genitives.

Second, there are *-ko* phrases, syntactically complex adjectivals constructed in most cases from adverbials.

Third, there are finite relative clauses; the formation of these is described in section 4.10.3.

Eastern varieties (only) permit a fourth type of complex modifier, a non-finite relative clause constructed with a perfective participle without the use of *-ko*.

Multiple complex modifiers are possible. In the phrase *hemengo gure lagunak* 'our friends here', *hemengo* is a *-ko* phrase and *gure* is a genitive.

3.1.4.1. Genitives

Virtually any noun phrase may take the genitive suffix *-en* to produce a complex modifier. The genitive can express almost any sort of relation, though there are limitations described in the last paragraph of this section. Examples:

Table 49. Genitives

<i>Muñagorri-ren bertsoak</i>	'Muñagorri's verses'
<i>ogi-en mirakulua</i>	'the miracle of the loaves'
<i>herri pintore-en lanetan</i>	'in the works of popular painters'
<i>Euskal Herriko artist-en eragina</i>	'the influence of the artists of the Basque Country'
<i>nere aita-ren etxea</i>	'my father's house'
<i>gure herriaren larriminaren lekukoa</i>	'a witness to [lit. 'of'] the suffering of our country'

The personal pronouns form their genitives in an irregular manner, as seen in table 50. Of the first-singular forms, *ene* is the oldest and quite enigmatic; *nere* is a reduced form of intensive *neure* 'my own'; and *nire* is an analogical formation of recent origin.

With kinship terms and names denoting a member of one's immediate family, it is possible to use *gure* 'our' rather than *nere* (and variants) 'my': *gure amona* 'our grandmother', *gure Jon* 'our Jon'. In the past, this usage was normal, and was almost categorical with *aita* 'father': an older Basque usually says *gure aita* rather than *nere aita*. However, such use of *gure* is markedly less prominent among younger Basques today.

Table 50. Genitive formation/personal pronouns

<i>ni</i>	'I'	<i>ene, nere, nire</i>	'my'
<i>hi</i>	'you' (intimate SG.)	<i>hire</i>	'your' (intimate SG.)
<i>gu</i>	'we'	<i>gure</i>	'our'
<i>zu</i>	'you' (unmarked SG.)	<i>zure</i>	'your' (unmarked SG.)
<i>zuek</i>	'you' (plural)	<i>zuen</i>	'your' (plural)

In elevated styles, it is also possible, when the genitive is a personal pronoun, to invert the normal construction and to place the genitive after the head noun, in which case the definite article must be used, even with a proper name: *aita gurea* 'our father', *Jon gurea* 'our Jon'. This construction is not normal in ordinary styles.

In order to express a genitive-like relation which involves the notion of location, Basque uses, not a genitive, but a *-ko* phrase. Compare the genitives in *etxearen izena* 'the name of the house' and *etxearen kolorea* 'the color of the house' with the *-ko* phrases in *etxeko andrea* 'the lady of the house' and *etxeko atea* 'the door of the house'. In other words, Basque uses a *-ko* phrase, rather than a genitive, to express the relations 'who/which is located in', 'who lives in', 'who/which comes from', 'which forms part of', and similar local notions. See the next section.

3.1.4.2. *-ko* phrases

The relational suffix *-ko* is of central importance, and it is exceedingly frequent. Its principal function may be readily described: any constituent of adverbial function, regardless of its internal structure, may take the suffix *-ko* to produce an adjectival modifier which precedes its head noun. The only limitations on this process are semantic ones. The addition of *-ko* produces irregular phonological developments in certain cases: the final *-n* of a

locative or comitative NP or of the manner suffix *-lan* is lost before *-ko* (adverbs of place are sometimes exceptions), and the locative singular ending *-an* disappears entirely. As usual, the plosive is voiced after /n/ or /l/.

The suffix may be added to any of the following.

(a) a simple lexical adverb

atzo 'yesterday'; *atzoko egunkaria* 'yesterday's newspaper'
hemen 'here'; *hemengo giroa* 'the atmosphere here'
gero 'later, afterward'; *geroko bizitza* 'the afterlife'

The adverb *orduan* 'then', which is historically the locative singular of the noun *ordu* 'hour', usually forms the *-ko* phrase *orduko* 'of that time'; see (d) below.

(b) an adverb of manner formed with *-la(n)*

hola(n) 'thus, in this way' (from *hon-* 'this'); *holako lana* 'this kind of work'; *zelan* 'how?' (from *ze-* interrogative); *zelako pertsona?* 'what kind of person?'

(c) a morphologically complex adverb

zirt edo zart 'decisively', *zirt-edo-zarteko gizona* 'a decisive man'; *hitzez hitz* 'literally, word for word', *hitzez hitzeko itzulpena* 'a word-for-word translation'; *egunero* 'every day' (from *egun* 'day'), *eguneroko gertaerak* 'everyday events'.

(d) an NP marked for any local case

mendietan 'in the mountains', *mendietako haitzuloak* 'the caves in the mountains'; *orduan* 'then, at that time', *orduko ohiturak* 'the customs of that time'; *Bilbora* 'to Bilbao', *Bilborako bidea* 'the road to Bilbao'; *gizonetatik* 'from among the men', *gizonetatiko batzuk* 'some of the men'.

(e) an NP marked for comitative case

gurekin ~ *gurekila* 'with us', *gurekiko umeak* ~ *gurekilako haurrak* 'the children (who are/were) with us'

(f) an NP marked for instrumental case (in certain circumstances)

euskaraz ‘in Basque’; *euskarazko hitzaldia* ‘a lecture (given) in Basque’
egiaz ‘in truth, truly’, *egiazko esaldia* ‘a true statement’

The combination *-z-ko* is in fact very common in deriving adjectives of material, as in *urrezko* ‘golden, made of gold’, from *urre* ‘gold’, but is probably best regarded as a single distinct word-forming suffix, rather than as a true *-ko* phrase — though note that such formations occupy the normal position of a *-ko* phrase.

(g) a postpositional phrase

lotsa gabe ‘without shame’; *lotsagabeko emakume bat* ‘a shameless woman’; *gerra ondoan* ‘after the war’; *gerra-ondoko mundua* ‘the post-war world’

(h) an adverb constructed from a determinerless NP or other sequence by means of the suffix *-ka*

esku-huska ‘bare-handed’ (ADV) (from *esku* ‘hand’ plus *huts* ‘bare’ plus *-ka*); *esku-huskako pilota partida* ‘a game of bare-handed pilota’; *bai ala ez* ‘yes or no’; *bai-ala-ezkako galderak* ‘yes-or-no questions’

(i) an adverbial participle in *-ta* or *-(r)ik* (together with its arguments and adjuncts)

erosita ‘having (been) bought’; *atzo nik erositako liburua* ‘the book I bought yesterday’; *ekarririk* ‘having (been) brought’; *txoriak kabira ekarririko abarra* ‘the branch brought to the nest by the bird’

In general, the *-ta* participle is used in the west, the *-(r)ik* participle in the east and to some extent in B. This construction represents the only way in which an adjectival participle can take arguments and adjuncts in western varieties; see section 3.1.3.5 for an alternative construction in eastern dialects, and see also section 3.1.4.4 for yet another possibility in eastern dialects.

(j) a finite adverbial clause (only in certain circumstances, notably with temporal clauses, since most other formations would be senseless):

(109) a. *izarra agertu zitzaienean*
 star appear AUX.(COMP).LOC
 'when the star appeared to them'

b. *izarra agertu zitzaieneko garaian*
 AUX.(COMP).REL time.LOC
 'at the time when the star appeared to them'

(110) a. *usoak iragaiten direnean*
 doves pass.IMPf AUX.COMP.LOC
 'when the doves pass over'

b. *usoak iragaiten direneco haroa*
 AUX.COMP.REL season
 'the season when doves pass over'

(k) a finite complement clause in *-la* (only with a following head noun meaning 'story, report, rumor' or the like)

(111) a. *hil dute-la*
 kill AUX-that
 'that he has been killed'

b. *hil dutelako kontua*
 AUX.that.REL report
 'the report that he has been killed'

The only major exception is that *-ko* cannot be added to an adverb of manner derived from an adjective, so that, for example, *gaizki* 'badly' (from *gaitz* 'bad') cannot form **gaizkiko*. But this restriction has an obvious semantic basis: the non-existent **gaizkiko* could have no meaning distinct from that of *gaitz*.

On occasion an adverbial source for the *-ko* phrase is difficult to identify: *ARGIA aldizkari-ko zuzendaria* 'the editor of the magazine *ARGIA*'. Here *ARGIA aldizkaria* 'the magazine *ARGIA*' takes the suffix *-ko* even though there is no source: we cannot describe the editor as being 'in' the magazine (*ARGIA aldizkariaren zuzendaria* is also possible).

There exists a second type of *-ko* phrase, quite different from the paradigm cases described above and similar to descriptive genitives in other languages. Here the suffix is added, not to an adverbial, but to a determinerless NP; this sequence must consist of at least two words (with a few exceptions like *adineko*, *edadeko* 'elderly, of age'), it must express a quality or characteristic, and there are obscure semantic restrictions:

Table 51. *-ko* phrases

<i>hortz bi</i>	'two teeth'	<i>hortz biko sardea</i>	'a two-pronged pitchfork'
<i>bihotz on</i>	'good heart'	<i>bihotz oneko neska bat</i>	'a good hearted girl'
<i>hiru urte</i>	'three years'	<i>hiru urteko ume bat</i>	'a three-year-old child'
<i>beso eder</i>	'beautiful arm'	<i>beso ederreko pilotaria</i>	'a jai-alai-player with a great arm'

These formations have no adverbial source: we cannot, for example, speak of a child who is 'in three years' (*hiru urtetan*), and even if we could the form is wrong: we would expect **hiru urtetako ume bat*. This last is impossible in the western varieties from which the example is taken, though it is possible in the east, and similar examples are found in early texts.

In addition, we have a number of strictly lexicalized *-ko* phrases, such as *nahiko* 'enough' (*nahi* 'want') and *herriko* 'popular, vernacular' (*herri* 'people'); these have meanings which are at least partly opaque, and they are therefore normally entered separately in dictionaries, but syntactically they behave like other *-ko* phrases.

We find a few other miscellaneous and idiosyncratic instances of *-ko* phrases. A striking one is *balizko* 'hypothetical', which occurs in the familiar proverb *Balizko olak burdinarik ez* 'A hypothetical forge doesn't [produce] any iron'; this derives from the finite verb-form *balitz* 'if it were'.

Only in a handful of lexicalizations does a *-ko* phrase follow its head noun. This occurs, for example, in *Jaungoikoa* 'God', from *jaun* 'lord' and *goiko*, a *-ko* phrase formed from *goian* 'in a high place', and also in *zezen-suzko* 'toro de fuego', from *zezen* 'bull' and the *-ko* phrase *suzko*, from *su* 'fire' and instrumental *-z* (this is a papier-mâché figure of a bull covered in fireworks and displayed at festivals). (Eastern varieties often prefer the more regular *suzko zezen*.)

See also section 3.1.7.1 for the occasional use of postposed *-ko* phrases in personal names.

See section 4.10.3 for the somewhat specialized use of *-ko* in relative clauses.

3.1.4.3. Relative clauses

The formation of relative clauses is treated in detail in section 4.10.3. Here we note only that a relative clause is a complex modifier and thus precedes its head, as in

- (112) [*loreak eman dizkiodan*] *neska*
 flowers give AUX.COMP girl
 'the girl [I gave the flowers to]'

3.1.4.4. Participles

In eastern varieties (only), there exists a fourth type of complex modifier. This consists of the perfective participle of a verb (transitive or intransitive), often accompanied by arguments and adjuncts, but with no further suffix on the participle. Apart from the absence of any suffixes on the participle, this construction is similar to the type of *-ko* phrase discussed in section 3.1.4.2 (i), and it is an alternative to the postposed eastern construction described in section 3.1.3.5. Example:

- (113) *nik erosi liburua*
 I buy book
 'the book I bought/the book bought by me'

3.1.5. Noun phrases lacking head nouns

There is no requirement that an NP must contain a head noun, and NPs with empty heads are exceedingly common. Examples:

Table 52. Genitives

<i>gorri-a-k</i>	'the red ones'
<i>nere-a</i>	'mine'
<i>Bilbo-ko-a-k</i>	'the ones in Bilbao' (often 'the people in Bilbao')
<i>bi berri</i>	'two new ones'
<i>gu-re-kila-ko-a-k</i>	'the ones (who are/were) with us'

Note in particular that a complex modifier, such as a genitive or a *-ko* phrase, may modify such a headless noun phrase; for example, from *mendietan* 'in the mountains' we can form the *-ko* phrase *mendietako*, which

can take a null head and the article to produce *mendietakoa* ‘the one in the mountains’. This process is recursive, and the last noun phrase can take a genitive suffix to form the genitive *mendietakoaren*, which can again take a null head and an article to yield *mendietakoarena* ‘the one belonging to the one in the mountains’, which can take (say) a dative case-suffix to give *mendietakoarenari* ‘to the one belonging to the one in the mountains’. Such recursive formations with multiple null heads are perfectly normal in context, but they have been misunderstood by some Basque grammarians, who have tried to analyze them as single nouns with multiple case-suffixes and who have consequently applied the label ‘superdeclension’ to such formations. The superdeclension analysis is quite wrong.

The only inflectional suffix that can be recursively repeated is the genitive: *gizonarena* ‘the one of the man’, *gizonarenarena* ‘the one of the one of the man’, *etxekoarena* ‘the one of the house’, *etxekoarenarena* ‘the one of the one of the house’. In particular, *-ko* does not allow this type of recursivity: **etxekokoa*.

The animacy of a headless NP is determined by the animacy of its understood head. For example, *beltza* ‘the black one’ takes animate morphology when denoting a horse but inanimate morphology when denoting a skirt.

3.1.6. *Pronouns*

A pronoun may not cooccur with a determiner. Normally, a pronoun forms a noun phrase by itself, with no modification, but see below for a few exceptions.

3.1.6.1. *Personal pronouns*

3.1.6.1.1. *Ordinary personal pronouns*

The ordinary personal pronouns are as follows:

Table 53. Personal pronouns

<i>ni</i>	‘I’
<i>hi</i>	‘you’ (singular intimate)
<i>gu</i>	‘we’
<i>zu</i>	‘you’ (singular unmarked)
<i>zuek</i>	‘you’ (plural)

The pronoun *zu* is listed with the plurals because it was historically a plural and it still takes plural agreement in the verb; the innovating plural *zuek* takes double plural agreement.

The intimate singular *hi* is of extraordinarily restricted use. Its use is generally obligatory (a) between siblings, and (b) between close friends of the same sex and roughly the same age, particularly those who have grown up together. Its use is optional (a) in addressing children (whether one's own or not), and (b) in teasing, cursing or abusing (people or animals). It is not normally used (a) in addressing an adult of the opposite sex (except a sibling), not even a spouse, (b) in addressing a significantly older person (including a parent), or a person of superior status, (c) in addressing an animal (except when abusing it), (d) in addressing God. Basque-speakers do not normally change from *zu* to *hi* for any reason at all, and so one may find a 70-year-old man addressing a 55-year-old neighbor with *hi* and receiving *zu* in return, because long ago a 20-year-old man chose to address his five-year-old neighbor with *hi*.

Some eastern varieties have another second-person pronoun *xu*, a palatalized form of *zu*; this is intermediate in intimacy between *zu* and *hi*. Some southern varieties have a very formal second-person pronoun *berori*, used only in addressing a person of markedly superior status; this is formed from *ber-* 'self', 'same', plus *hori*, the mesial demonstrative. A few eastern varieties have a formal second-person singular pronoun *ori*; this is derived from the mesial demonstrative *hori*.

In general, Basque lacks true third-person pronouns, and demonstratives are used when third-person pronouns are required for thematic purposes. Western varieties, however, have acquired third-singular *bera* and third-plural *berak*; these consist of *ber-* 'self' and the article *-a* (historically the distal demonstrative), and represent extensions of the intensive third-person pronouns (see section 3.1.6.1.2). Bizkaian has a curious variant *eurak* for *berak*.

Personal pronouns cannot be modified directly. A second-person pronoun, however, can be modified indirectly by using the mesial demonstrative *hori* as a pronoun, as in

- (114) *Hain argia zaren horrek jakin beharko zenuke.*
 so clever are.COMP that.ERG know must.FUT AUX
 'You, who are so clever, ought to know.'

Note that the verb-forms *zaren* and *zenuke* show second-person agreement, as though the head were (ergative) *zuk* rather than *horrek*. This same *hori* is

also used for vocative ‘you’ when there is other material present, as in *gaiso hori* ‘you poor thing’ and *alu hori!* ‘you jerk!’. The comparable use of *hau(r)* for ‘I’ is less common today, but frequent in older literature, as in

- (115) *Uste nuen nar honek zela hain handia.*
 think AUX idiot this.ERG was.that so big.DET
 ‘Idiot that I am, I thought it was so big’

For inflectional paradigms, see section 3.2.4.

3.1.6.1.2. Intensive personal pronouns

There is a set of intensive personal pronouns; these are generally constructed from the ordinary personal pronouns (absolute or genitive) plus demonstratives, but the forms vary according to place.

Table 54. Intensive personal pronouns

<i>neu, nerau, nihaur</i>	‘I myself’
<i>heu, herori, hihaur</i>	‘you yourself’ (intimate)
<i>geu, gerok, guhaur</i>	‘we ourselves’
<i>zeu, zerori, zuhaur</i>	‘you yourself’ (unmarked)
<i>zeuek, zerok, zuihauk</i>	‘you yourselves’

These forms are most typically used when the pronoun is in focus (see also 3.1.2.3.2 and 4.4.7.2.2), as in the following example:

- (116) *Neuk asmatu dut hori.*
 I.INTS think AUX that
 ‘I myself thought of that/I thought of that myself.’

The intensive forms may also be used as topicalized noun phrases; in this function, they are frequently (but not invariably) preceded by ordinary pronouns:

- (117) *Nik neuk, ez dakit zer egin.*
 I.ERG I.INTS.ERG not know what do
 ‘As for me, I don’t know what to do.’

Neuk alone would also be possible here. Note the double case marking, in this instance ergative.

There is variation in the inflection of the intensives. The forms like *neu* and *nihaur* most often retain the same stems with all case-suffixes, as in ergative *neuk* and *nihaurek*, while the forms like *nerau* usually exhibit the suppletive stems of the demonstratives, and hence *nerau* has ergative *neronek*. But other forms are found.

There are also intensive pronouns for the third person. Most commonly, we find singular *bera* 'he himself, she herself', while the plural is variously *bera* or *berak* 'they themselves'. Some northern varieties make a distinction here, using singular *beraur* and plural *berauk* in isolation, but *bera* to accompany another item, usually a demonstrative: hence *beraur* but *hura bera*, both 'he himself, she herself'. Western varieties use only *bera* in both functions.

In some eastern varieties, the intensives have an additional use, to express 'by oneself', 'alone'. Examples: *Nihaur naiz hemen* 'I am alone here'; *Pello bera bizi da* 'Pete lives alone'.

In all varieties, postposed *ber-* plus the article makes the ordinary third-person intensifier: *Igone bera* 'Igone herself', *liburua bera* 'the book itself', *gizonak berak* 'the men themselves'. Any case-suffix is added to both elements: *Igonek berak egin zuen* 'Igone herself did it'. Some northern varieties allow *ber* to be preposed, with no second article, and hence allow *ber liburua* as well as *liburua bera* for 'the book itself'.

In the classical Lapurdian language of the 17th century, a genitive was obliged to appear in its intensive form if and only if it was coreferential with another noun phrase (not necessarily the subject) in the same simplex clause, whether or not that other noun phrase was overtly present. Hence the classical language made a sharp distinction between (a), with an intensive genitive and (b), with an ordinary genitive of a demonstrative:

- (118) a. *Hartu du bere liburua.*
 take AUX his.INTS book
 'He took his (own) book.'
 b. *Hartu du haren liburua.*
 his
 'He took his (someone else's) book.'

This distinction, comparable to that in Latin between *suus* and *eius*, is no longer regularly observed today, though its demise is recent (mid-20th century), and Zuberoan still observes it today (see 4.9).

Note, though, that the intensive genitive *bere* is still used today in all varieties to express 'his/her/its own'.

The genitives of the intensive pronouns are used in forming reflexives; see section 3.1.6.1.5.

3.1.6.1.3. Interrogative pronouns

All interrogatives are formed from the stems *no-* and *ze-*. Here we give both the pronouns and the related forms.

Table 55. Interrogative pronouns

<i>nor</i> 'who?'	<i>zer</i> 'what?'
<i>non</i> ~ <i>nun</i> 'where?'	<i>zein</i> 'which?'
<i>noiz</i> 'when?'	<i>zerga(i)tik</i> 'why?', 'from what cause?'
<i>nola</i> 'how?'	<i>zelan</i> 'how?'
<i>nolako</i> 'what kind of?'	<i>zelako</i> 'what kind of?'
<i>nora</i> 'where to?'	<i>zerta(ra)ko</i> 'what for?', 'why?'
<i>nondik</i> ~ <i>nundik</i> 'where from?'	

The determiner *zein* also functions as a pronoun meaning 'which one?', as in *Zein dira?* 'Which ones are they?'. In Gipuzkoan and some varieties of Bizkaian, *zein* can also mean 'who?'.

An interrogative may be followed by *eta* 'and' in exclamative questions of the following type:

- (119) *Nor eta Jone heldu zen!*
 who and Jone arrived AUX
 'And who should turn up but Jone!'

- (120) *Non eta etxean aurkitu dut!*
 where and house.LOC find AUX
 'And where did I find it but in the house!'

The interrogatives do not, in general, distinguish number. However, in Bizkaian alone, there exist explicitly plural forms constructed by suffixing *-tzu(k)*: *nortzu(k)* 'who?' (plural), *zertzu(k)* 'what?' (plural), and *zeintzu(k)* 'which?' (plural) (cf. Sp *quiénes*, *cuáles*).

For the use of interrogatives as indefinites, see section 3.1.6.1.4.

3.1.6.1.4. Indefinite pronouns

There are three major classes of indefinite pronouns (and related items), and these are not equivalent. Almost all are formed from the corresponding interrogatives, by affixation or reduplication.

The first group we may call the 'existential' indefinites; these correspond to the English indefinites in 'some-', and are formed by suffixing *-bait* to the interrogative: *norbait* 'somebody', *zerbait* 'something', *nonbait* 'somewhere', *noizbait* 'sometime', *nolabait* 'somehow'. There is no form related to *zein* 'which?'

This *-bait* is historically derived from reanalysis of the verbal prefix *bait-* (see sections 4.10.1.1.6 and 4.10.2.1.3). In the earlier language, therefore, *-bait* followed a case-suffix, as in *norkbait* (ergative) and *noribait* (dative). Today only the restructured forms like *norbaitek* and *norbaiti* are in use. However, internal inflection is still found in *norabait* '(to) somewhere' (more common than *nonbaitera*)

The pronouns *norbait* and *zerbait* may be modified, as in *zerbait ona* 'something good' and *ona den zerbait* 'something which is good'; note the presence of the article *-a* in both constructions. The first construction is only possible when the pronoun stands in the absolutive case.

The pronoun *zerbait* may take a diminutive suffix to express 'a little something'. Eastern varieties use forms like *zerbaitto*, but western varieties have a different ordering, with *zertxobait*.

In eastern varieties (only), *zerbait* may be used as an indefinite determiner, as in *zerbait obra* 'some piece of work'.

Equivalent in function, but much less frequent, are *nor edo nor* 'somebody' and *zer edo zer* (B *zeozer*) 'something'; these consist of *nor* 'who?' and *zer* 'what?' reduplicated about *edo* 'or'.

Semantically similar to *norbait*, but perhaps emphasizing the sense of 'somebody or other', 'one or another', is a construction involving two instances of *bat* 'one' connected by *edo* 'or', by the genitive *-en*, or by both: hence, *bat edo bat*, *baten bat*, or *bat edoren bat*.

The second group are the 'free-choice' indefinites; these correspond to the English indefinites in 'any-' when these are *not* polarity items. There are two different sets of these, the first found more or less throughout the country, the second largely confined to the west. The first set is formed by suffixing *nahi* 'want' to an interrogative: *normahi* 'anybody (at all), anyone (you like)', *zernahi* 'anything (you like)', *nonnahi* 'anywhere (you like)', *noiznahi* 'any time (you like)', *nolanahi* 'any way (you like)', *zeinnahi* 'any, whichever you like'. These are similar in form to the Castilian items like

quienquiera ‘anybody at all’, and may have originated as calques. The second set is formed by prefixing *edo* ‘or’ to the corresponding interrogative: *edonor* ‘anybody at all’, *edozer* ‘anything at all’, *edonon* ‘anywhere at all’, *edonoiz* ‘any time at all’, *edonola* ‘anyhow’, *edozein* ‘any’.

The third group are polarity items, and they correspond to English forms in ‘any-’ in that function (see 3.1.2.4). In principle, they are formed by prefixing *e-* to the interrogative, but there are numerous complications, and northern varieties sometimes use unrelated forms in this function. Examples: *ezer* ‘anything’ (but also northern *deus*), *inor* (northern *nehor*) ‘anybody’, *inon* (northern *nehon*) ‘anywhere’, *inoiz* (northern *nehoiz*) ‘ever’ (but also *sekula[n]*), *inola* (northern *nehola*) ‘in any way’. The form *ezein* ‘any’, from *zein* ‘which?’, is now archaic.

All the members of this third group are frequently reinforced by the particle *ere* ‘also’ (B *bere* or *be*). They occur in polarity contexts, typically under negation and in questions:

(121) *Ez dut ezer(ere) ikusi.*

not AUX anything see
‘I didn’t see anything.’

(122) *Inork ez du ezer erosi.* (with two of these items)

anyone not AUX anything buy
‘Nobody bought anything.’

(123) *Inoiz ikusi al duzu kometa?*

ever see Q AUX comet
‘Have you ever seen a comet?’

In eastern varieties, a case-suffix may occasionally follow the reinforcing *ere*, as in *nehoneretik ez* ‘from nowhere at all’, in place of *nehondik ere ez*.

Basque has no negative pronouns or related forms, and these are expressed by combining the items in this third group with *ez* ‘not’, as in the examples just given: *inor ez* ‘nobody’, *ezer (ere) ez* or *deus ez* ‘nothing’, *inola (ere) ez* ‘in no way’, and so on. Exception: in eastern varieties, *deus* or its extended form *deusik* can be used in isolation to express ‘nothing’, without *ez*; the same is not true of *ezer*.

A negative may take a diminutive suffix, as in *ezertxo ere ez* ‘absolutely nothing’.

An indefinite of the *ezer* type may be followed by *guti* ~ *gutxi* ‘few, little’ to express ‘hardly any...’: *inor gutxi* ‘hardly anybody’, *ezer gutxi* ‘hardly

anything'. A case-ending follows, as in *Inor gutxik daki hori* 'Hardly anybody knows that'.

The interrogative *nor* 'who' functions as an indefinite meaning 'the one, the person' in locutions like this:

(124) *Ni ez naiz nor hori egiteko.*

I not am who that do.NOM.REL

'I am not the one to do that/I am not the right person to do that.'

This is comparable to Castilian *Yo no soy quién para hacerlo*.

Both *nor* and *inor* ~ *nehor* are occasionally used in the sense of 'person of quality, worthy person', as in *zu nor bazara* 'if you are worthy'. A rare use of *nor* to mean 'some' is illustrated by the example

(125) *Jendea, nor zaldiz, nor oinez, etorri zen.*

people who horse.INSTR who foot.INSTR arrive AUX

'The people arrived, some on horseback, some on foot.'

The phrase *ez nor eta hura* 'not who and he' is attested for 'somebody unknown', as in

(126) *Goiz batean arkitu zuen otsoa*

morning one.LOC find AUX wolf...

ez nork eta ark illa.

not who and he killed.DET

'In the morning he found a wolf, killed by somebody unknown.'

[Iztueta]

In northern varieties, *deus* could formerly be used as a noun meaning 'thing', as in *hain deus izigarria* 'what a terrible thing' and *ene deusak* 'my things'. But this is no longer current, and it has never been true of *ezer*.

The item *zer* is very commonly used as an indefinite meaning 'something (or other)'; in this use it is normally treated as a noun, taking the article: *Zera ikusi dut* 'I saw something'. In formal styles, especially in writing, this same *zera* is often used to fill the focus position just before the verb when the focused item itself is so long it must be placed at the end of the sentence. Example:

- (127) *Sailburuak zera adierazi du kazetarien aurrean:*
 minister.ERG something explain AUX journalists.GEN front.LOC
15.000 lanpostu berri sortuko direla datorren urtean.
 job new create.FUT AUX.that next year.LOC
 'The Minister explained to the assembled journalists that 15,000 new jobs are to be created next year.'

(The intensive demonstrative *hauxe* and the phrase *honako hau* roughly, 'this here' can be used in the same way.) The frequent exclamation *Bai zera!* means 'Get serious!' 'Yeah, sure!' (in the sarcastic American sense).

In eastern varieties, *zer...ere* may be wrapped around the bare stem of a verb to express 'whatever', as in *zer gerta ere* 'whatever happens'. (For the use of *nor ere* for 'whoever' in relative clauses, see section 4.10.3.4.3)

The interrogative *zer* 'what' is used, with the article *-a*, when a word is momentarily forgotten: *Zera ikusi nuen, urtxakurra* 'I saw a, what's it called, an otter'. (Indeed, in some southern varieties, the word has apparently been reanalyzed as a single noun *zera*.) The lost word may never be supplied, as in the classic

- (128) *Zuen zerak gure zerean dira.*
 your what.DET.PL our what.LOC are
 'Your whatsits are in our thingy.'

This *zer* can even be applied to a person, as in *Zu, zera, joan hemendik!* 'Hey, you, what's-your-name, get out of here!'. In addition, *zer* can be used as an adjective expressing a high degree of an unspecified quality, as in *Oso neska zera da* 'She really is a [something] girl', in which the unexpressed quality ('gorgeous', 'fiery', 'big', or whatever) must be inferred from the context; this may be positive or negative. Finally, *zer* may be used in a simply enormous number of derivatives with more or less specific senses: *zeregi* 'too fussy', *zerena* 'snoop, nosy parker', *zerkeria* 'hypocrisy', *zerez betetik* 'furious' (roughly 'full of it'), and many others.

The pronoun *norbera*, from *nor* 'who' plus *bera* 'self', corresponds to the impersonal 'one' in locutions like *norbere herria* 'one's own country'. *Nor* 'who' and the determiner *zein* 'which?' can also function as indefinite pronouns meaning 'each one' in locutions like the following. A genitive expression acts here as a variable linked to the pronoun:

- (129) *Nori berea da zuzenbidea.*
 who.DAT his/hers is right
 'The right thing is to give each one his/her due.'

- (130) a. *Zein bere bidetik dabil.*
 which his way.ABL walks
 'Each one takes his own path.'
 b. *zein bere tokian*
 which his place.LOC
 'each in his own place'

When repeated, *zein* means 'some...others', as in *zein zabalago*, *zein me-harrago* 'some more widely, others more narrowly'. For the use of *zein* as a relative pronoun, see section 4.10.3.

3.1.6.1.5. Reflexives

There are no true reflexive pronouns; instead, reflexive noun phrases are formed by combining the genitive of an intensive personal pronoun with *buru* 'head' and the definite article *-a*. Here are the forms:

Table 56. Reflexive noun phrases

<i>neure burua</i>	'myself'
<i>heure burua</i>	'yourself' (intimate)
<i>bere burua</i>	'himself/herself'
<i>geure burua</i>	'ourselves'
<i>zeure burua</i>	'yourself' (unmarked)
<i>zeuen burua</i>	'yourselves'
<i>zere(n) burua</i>	'themselves'

Some speakers add plural *-k* to the plural reflexives (*geure buruak* 'ourselves'); this was usual in the older language, but today it is less common than the other form. Except when this *-k* is added, a reflexive is always formally non-plural and never triggers plural agreement in the verb:

- (131) *Ispiluan ikusi dugu (*ditugu) geure burua.*
 mirror.LOC see AUX our.INTS head
 'We saw ourselves in the mirror.'

A reflexive noun phrase may never appear in subject position, but may appear in any other position and take case-marking normally, except that it

may not take the genitive case-ending. The ordinary intensive genitives like *neure* are used instead.

Many western speakers use a different reflexive construction, in which the transitive verb is construed intransitively and no reflexive NP is present: *Ispiluan ikusi naiz* 'I saw myself in the mirror'. This second construction is not possible with verbs of emotion, like *maite* **edun* 'love', or with verbs that have different meanings when used transitively and intransitively, like *hil* 'die', 'kill' (see sections 4.1.2.9 and 4.9.2).

3.1.6.1.6. Reciprocals

The most usual reciprocal noun phrase is the invariable *elkar* 'each other, one another'; this has regional variants *alkar* and *elgar*. Such a reciprocal noun phrase may never appear in subject position, but may appear in any other position and take case-marking normally; it is formally non-plural and never triggers plural agreement in the verb:

- (132) *Bilbon ikusiko dugu elkar.*
 Bilbao.LOC see.FUT AUX each.other
 'We'll see each other in Bilbao.'

Many western speakers use instead a different construction, in which the transitive verb is construed intransitively and there is no overt reciprocal NP: *Bilbon ikusiko gara* 'We'll see each other in Bilbao' (4.1.2.9; 4.9.2). Many westerners can also use a combination of these two, with an intransitive verb-form plus *elkar*: *Bilbon ikusiko gara elkar*.

Some speakers have another reciprocal NP, *bata bestea*, literally 'the one the other'. This one can occur in subject position:

- (133) *Ez dakite bata-besteak zer egingo duen.*
 not know one.other.ERG what do.FUT AUX.COMP
 'Neither knows what the other will do.'

The comitative *elkarrekin* 'with one another' is a common way of expressing 'together' (see section 4.9.1).

3.1.7. Proper names

Typically, though not exceptionlessly, a proper name forms a noun phrase all by itself.

3.1.7.1. Personal names

Usually, a personal name forms a noun phrase by itself: *Igone* (a female name), *Xabier* (a male name), *Koldo Mitxelena* (a man's full name). Personal names, of course, invariably take the animate case-forms: *Itxasorengandik* 'from Itxaso' (a female name).

When a personal name is accompanied by a title, the name normally precedes the title. Examples:

<i>Barrutia jauna</i>	'Mr. Barrutia'
<i>Azula andrea</i>	'Mrs. Azula'
<i>Arbelbide jaun kalonjea</i>	'Canon Arbelbide'
<i>eguzki amandrea</i>	'grandmother sun'

The religious titles *Aita* 'father', *Ama* 'mother' and *And(e)re* 'lady', however, precede a surname, and this usage is extended to cases which are not religious:

<i>Aita Villasante</i>	'Father Villasante'
<i>Andre Mari</i>	'the Virgin Mary' (literally, 'the Lady Mary')
<i>Ama Lur</i>	'Mother Earth'

With words for 'Saint', there is variation. The now-obsolete words *Done*, *Don-* (male), *Dona* (female) always preceded a proper name, as in the archaic *Done Paulo* 'Saint Paul' and *Dona Maria* 'Saint Mary'. Very often such names were accompanied by *jaun* 'lord, sir' and *and(e)re* 'lady', as in *Jaundone Paulo* (often written *Iondoni Paulo*) and *Dona Andre Maria*. Today this pattern is confined to place names like *Donostia* 'San Sebastian' (*Sostia* 'Sebastian') and *Donibane* 'St. Jean' (*Iban* 'John'). In modern Basque, the Romance forms of saints' names are imported wholesale, and we find only forms like *San Kristobal* 'Saint Christopher' and *Santa Monika* 'Saint Monica'.

The Aranist neologism *deun* 'saint' is postposed when used, as in *Inazio Deuna* 'Saint Ignace'. This is now rare.

A kinship term also normally precedes an accompanying proper name: *osaba Andoni* 'Uncle Tony'

A personal name may take a genitive: *gure Jon* 'our Jon'. Note that the definite article is impossible here. But the rare and elevated inverted construction *Jon gurea* absolutely requires the article.

A personal name may take a demonstrative or the indefinite article in certain circumstances: *Nor da Igone hori?* 'Who is this Igone (you are talking about)?'; *Behin ezagutu nuen Esther bat* 'I once met a certain Esther'. But the definite article *-a* is not normally possible with an unmodified personal name, though occasional exceptions occur, like *Jesusaren bihotza* 'Jesus's heart', in which *Jesus* exceptionally takes the article.

Some surnames contain what is historically the definite article, like *Barrutia*, *Mitxelena* and *Etxeberria*, but these are now frozen forms, and the final *-a* is never treated as an article.

Kinship terms meaning 'mother', 'father', 'grandmother', 'grandfather', 'aunt' and 'uncle' are commonly treated as proper names when they refer to the speaker's own relatives (or rarely the addressee's relatives). Most of these end in *-a* anyway, but *B izeko* 'aunt' does not; hence *Izekok esan du...* 'Aunt said...' and *Izeko ikusi dut* 'I saw Aunt'.

The word *errege* 'king' was sometimes, though not always, treated as a proper name when referring to the speaker's own king, in the days when the Basques recognized kings. Some writers have attempted to revive this practice to denote the present King of Spain, but today that individual is more commonly referred to as *Erregea*, not as *Errege*. In Bible translations, the title *Faraoi* 'Pharaoh' is usually written without the article.

Names of creatures in folklore and mythology usually take no article if singular: *Basajaun* 'the Old Man of the Woods' (though *Basajauna* also occurs), *Gaueko* (a certain malicious night-spirit), *Sugaar* (a mythical serpent), *Mari* (a semi-divine female figure), *Herensuge* (a sea serpent). But a plural mythological name takes the plural article: *Lamiak* (or *Laminak*) (beautiful but malevolent women with animal feet).

The most usual Basque name for God, *Jaungoikoa* (literally 'the Lord on High') always takes the article. A second name for God, *Jainko* ~ *Jinko*, also usually takes the article, but is sometimes found without it, especially in locutions like *Jainko gure jauna* 'God our lord', *Jainko Aita* 'God the father' and *Jainko Jaun guztiahalduna* 'the omnipotent Lord God', in which the article appears only at the end of the second of two NPs in apposition.

A Basque personal name is commonly given in the usual European manner, given name followed by surname, as in *Mikel Laboa*. Following the usual Spanish practice, Spanish Basques often use two surnames, the fa-

ther's first surname followed by the mother's first surname, as in *Esther Barrutia Azula*. The late 19th-century Basque nationalist Sabino Arana introduced the practice of writing one's surname first, with the ethnonymic suffix *-tar* attached, and so he signed himself *Arana'tar Sabin*. This practice was very prominent among Basque writers during the first two-thirds of the 20th century, but it now appears to be all but dead.

A rare way of citing a personal name, comparable to Romance names containing the particle *de* 'of, from', is by giving the first name followed by an identifier bearing the relational suffix *-ko* followed by the definite article *-a*. The identifier may be either a geographical location or an ordinary surname. For example, the very first Basque writer had the surname *Etxepare*; his name is often cited with the particle *de* fused to it, producing *Beñat Detxepare*, but occasionally he is cited instead as *Beñat Etxeparekoa*. This usage, once frequent, and perhaps a forerunner of true surnames, is today uncommon.

In traditional Basque society, a farmhouse always has a name, and a resident of a house is commonly addressed, and referred to, by the house name. Thus Yvan Labéguerie of Milafranga is addressed by the men of the village as *Bakoitza* 'Unique', the name of his family house, and Alejandro Barrutia of Elorrio is referred to by the people of the town as *Alejandro Patxi Errege* (his house has the unusual name *Patxi Errege* 'King Frank'). The great Basque writer Pedro Axular was born Pedro Daguerre Azpilcueta, and the surname he wrote under is the name of his house, which still stands. Quite often, in naming someone with his/her house name, the relational suffix *-ko* is attached: for example, anyone from the house *Establia* may be named as *Establiakoa*.

Basque surnames are overwhelmingly geographical in nature: they tell where some ancestor of the name-bearer once lived. Examples: *Etxeberri(a)* '(the) new house', *Mendizabal* 'wide mountain', *Elizalde* 'beside the church', *Harotzarena* 'the blacksmith's (place)', *Mitxelena* 'Mike's (place)', *Uharte ~ Ugarte* 'between the waters', *Barrutia* 'the enclosure', *Oyharzabal* 'wide wood', *Uhalde ~ Ugalde ~ Hualde* 'beside the water', *Urrutikoetxea* 'the house in the distance', *Goikoetxea* 'the house in the high place'. Surnames derived from personal characteristics are very rare, though *Zabala* 'the broad one' may be an example, and there are no surnames derived from professions, vocations or positions. In many cases, surnames are doubtless derived from earlier house names. Note that a surname may or may not incorporate the article *-a*: on the whole, the use of the article is more frequent south of the Pyrenees.

Especially on the French side, the particle *de* is not infrequently fused to Basque surnames, producing variants like *Urruti(a) ~ Durruty*.

Given names are of several types. A number of ancient and seemingly native names, often of doubtful origin, are recorded in medieval documents, and these names have recently been revived, such as female *Idoia* and *Irati*. A few Basque names became accepted into Romance use, such as the male name *Xabier* 'Xavier', Spanish *Javier*, and the female Marian names *Arantzazu* (diminutive *Arantxa*) and *Itziar*, from toponyms. For centuries, though, it was usual to confer only Spanish or French names, and this was in modern times often required by law. Many such names, however, acquired distinctly Basque forms, diminutives or equivalents: *Txema* for Spanish *José María*, *Patxi* or *Pantxo(a)* for Spanish *Francisco* or French *François*, *Beñat* for French *Bernard*, *Manex* for French *Jean*, and *Itxaso* for Spanish *María del Mar*.

In the late 19th century, the Basque nationalist Sabino Arana created a large number of Basque equivalents for Spanish names, according to principles of his own devising, and these are now widely used. Examples: *Kepa* 'Peter', *Koldo* 'Louis', *Edurne* (Spanish *Nieves*), *Igone* (Spanish *Ascensión*).

3.1.7.2. Place names

The majority of place names normally take no determiner: *Bilbo* 'Bilbao' (a city), *Lapurdi* (a province), *Ibaizabal* (a river), *Txindoki* (a mountain), *Er-ronkari* (a valley).

Certain place names end in what is historically the article *-a*, and this fact may show up in certain derivatives: *Bizkaia* (a province name) forms the *-ko* phrase *Bizkaiko* and the ethnonymic *Bizkaitar* 'Bizkaian', showing that the final *-a* is historically the article, and the same is true of certain town names like *Azpeitia* and *Azkoitia*. Compare other names, like the province name *Gipuzkoa*, which yields *Gipuzkoako* and *Gipuzkoar*, showing that the final *-a* here is organic, and not the article. In a few names there is fluctuation, as in the city name *Donostia* 'San Sebastian', in which the final *-a* is historically organic, yielding derivatives like *Donostiako*, but many speakers not only use *Donostiko* but even call the city *Donosti*. Similar fluctuation occurs with other town names, like *Azpeiti(a)* and *Azkoiti(a)*. Likewise, *Espainia* 'Spain', with a historically organic *-a*, forms both *Espainiako* and *Espainiko*. In inflection, there is fluctuation, and allative 'to Bizkaia' may be

either *Bizkaira*, with the *-a* treated as the article, or *Bizkaiara*, with the *-a* treated as organic.

A place name may be modified by an adjective, in which case the definite article is usually added: *Bizkaia maitea* '(my) beloved Bizkaia', though *Bizkaia maite* is possible in elevated styles, at least as a vocative.

Place names which are regarded as having a transparent syntactic structure always take the definite article, either singular or plural: *Erresuma Batua* 'the United Kingdom', *Estatu Batuak* 'the United States' (*batu* 'united'), *Bizkaiko Golkoa* 'the Bay of Biscay'. The same is generally true of *Euskal Herria* 'the Basque Country', though forms like *gure Euskal Herri* 'our Basque Country' may be heard in elevated styles.

In a place name containing a generic word like 'street' or 'river', the generic noun follows the proper name:

Oria ibaia 'the river Oria, the Oria River'
Zumalakarregi kalea 'Zumalacarregui Street'
Azkue Ikastola '(the) Azkue School'
Irati oihana 'the forest of Irati'

However, an adjective within a proper name follows, as usual:

Kale Nagusia 'Main Street' (*nagusi* 'principal')

It is not usual to append the word *mendi* 'mountain' to a mountain name, whether or not that name itself includes *mendi* or the word *haitz* 'crag'. Hence mountains have names like *Txindoki*, *Larrun*, *Iguzkimendi*, *Intxorta* and *Udalaitz*. The Pyrenees are simply called *Pirineoak*, as in English (or *Bortuak* 'the Passes' in Zuberoan), though there exists another name, *Auñamendi*, literally 'goat-mountain', a name given originally only to the highest peaks but now sometimes extended to the whole chain.

Not infrequently, the proper component of a place name must take the relational suffix *-ko*, as in *Bizkaiko Golkoa* 'the Bay of Biscay'. This is usual when the proper name is regarded as transferred from another referent; in this example, from the province of Bizkaia (Biscay).

Place names regularly take the variant *-a* of the allative case, rather than the more usual *-ra*: hence, for 'to Zarautz', *Zarautza* is usual, while *Zarautzera* is less usual.

3.1.8. *Appositives*

Basque permits appositives. Unless one component is a proper name or a pronoun, each of the two successive NPs takes its own determiner. Unlike English, Basque prefers to make a proper name the first of the two apposed NPs. Examples:

Table 57. Appositives

<i>Erroma hiria</i>	'the city of Rome' (literally 'Rome the city')
<i>Larrañaga idazlea</i>	'the writer Larrañaga'
<i>Josepe zure anaia</i>	'your brother Joseph' (literally 'Joseph your brother')
<i>Erderismos bere liburuan</i>	'in his book Erderismos'
<i>zu, nere bihotza</i>	'you, my beloved'
<i>liburu hau, Mitxelenaren azkena</i>	'this book, Michelena's last'
<i>Arbelbide jaun kalonjea, Haz-parneko misionesten buruzagia</i>	'Canon Arbelbide, father superior of the missionaries of Hazparne'

Nevertheless, a proper name is occasionally found as the final element in an apposed construction: *nere arreba Juana* 'my sister Juana'.

In vernacular styles, this last construction is now predominant among younger speakers, though formal writing still prefers the first construction. Some speakers permit this last construction without the article, and can say *nere seme Jon* for 'my son John', alongside *nere semea Jon*, with the article.

If the appositive construction requires case-marking, the case-marker may be added to both NPs, or only to the last. The first two examples below illustrate the first pattern, the last two the second:

- (134) *Bilbon, Bizkaiko hiriburuan*
 Bilbo.LOC Biscay.REL capital.LOC
eraiki dute Guggenheim Museoa.
 build AUX Guggenheim museum
 'The Guggenheim Museum has been built in Bilbao, the capital of Bizkaia.'

- (135) *Peruk, atzo aipatu nizun lagunak, andregaia*
 Peru.ERG yest. mention AUX.(COMP) friend.ERG girlfriend
utzi omen du.
 leave reportedly AUX
 'Peter, the friend I mentioned to you yesterday, has reportedly broken up with his girlfriend.'

- (136) *Josepe zure anaiak erran daut.*
 Josepe your brother.ERG tell AUX
 'Your brother Joseph told me.'

- (137) *Axular, gure idazle handiak, idatzi zuen Gero liburua.*
 Axular our writer great.ERG write AUX Gero book
 'Our great writer Axular wrote the book *Gero*.'

In colloquial styles, adjectives may occasionally be found in apposition to the right of the NP (see Goenaga 1978:44). This usually happens when the noun is determined by the indefinite article *bat* 'a, one': *eguraldi bat arras ederra* 'quite beautiful weather', *gizon bat indartsua* 'a strong man' (see Gaminde 1999:284). See also example (1719) in 4.10.3.5.2. Note that in all cases the adjective bears the determiner agreeing in number with the noun.

3.1.9. Nominalized verbs

There is one other important type of noun phrase: a gerund NP. This nominalized verbal form is constructed from a complete non-finite verb phrase, with a lexical verb but no auxiliary verb, by adding to the verb-stem the gerund suffix *-te* or *-tze* followed by the definite article *-a*. The resulting NP can appear in any NP position in a sentence and must take any case-marking appropriate to its grammatical position. See sections 3.5.1.2.1 and 4.10.1.1.2.1 for an account of these nominalizations.

3.1.10. Coordinate noun phrases

Coordination is discussed in detail in section 4.11, but the coordination of noun phrases exhibits some distinctive characteristics, which are described here.

As a general rule, there are two patterns available for coordinating noun phrases. First, each of the conjoined noun phrases may appear complete with its own determiner and case-ending. Examples:

- (138) *Piarresen eta Maddalenen gatik*
 Piarres.GEN and Maddalen.GEN because
 'because of Peter and Madeleine'

- (139) *Mariak eta Xanetak idekitzen dituzte begiak.*
 Maria.ERG and Xanet.ERG open.IMPF AUX eyes
 'Mary and Janet open their eyes.'

- (140) *Lagunez, adiskideez*
 acq.PL.INSTR friend.PL.INSTR
eta etxekoez mintzatu ziren.
 and house.REL.PL.INSTR talk AUX
 'They were talking about acquaintances, friends and family.'

In the second pattern, the determiner and the case-ending appear only once, attached to the entire noun phrase. Examples:

- (141) *gatz ta esnearekin*
 salt and milk.COM
 'with salt and milk'

- (142) *eremu ta basoetan*
 desert and wilderness.PL.LOC
 'in deserts and wildernesses'

- (143) *historiari baino nazio-arteko lege*
 history.DAT than international law
ta politikari dagokion bat
 and politics.DAT pertains one
 'one which pertains to international law and politics rather than to history'

- (144) *Or dator norbait eskopeta ta txakurraz.*
 there comes somebody shotgun and dog.INSTR
 'There comes somebody with a shotgun and a dog.'

Note, however, that it is never possible to place a determiner on each conjunct but a case-ending only on the last: **itsasoa eta mendietan* 'in the sea and the mountains'. In many instances, both patterns are equally acceptable:

- (145) a. [*Pantxikari eta Mireni*] *eman dizkiet liburuak.*
 Pant.DAT and Miren.DAT give AUX books
 'I gave the books to Pantxika and (to) Miren.'

- b. [*Pantxika eta Miren*]*i eman dizkiet liburuak.*
 Pantxika and Miren.DAT

Sometimes, however, only the first pattern is possible. This is generally the case when pronouns and/or demonstratives are conjoined:

- (146) a. *zuri eta niri*
 you.DAT and I.DAT
 'to you and to me'
 b. *[*zu eta ni*]*ri*

- (147) a. *hauek eta horiek*
 'these and those'
 b. *[*hau eta hori*]*ek*

In these examples, the dative case-ending *-(r)i* and the plural ending *-ek* absolutely must be repeated.

The same applies when the demonstratives accompany nouns:

- (148) a. *Gizon honek eta emakume harek egin dute.*
 man this.ERG and woman that.ERG do AUX
 'This man and that woman did it.'
 b. *[*Gizon hau eta emakume har*]*ek egin dute.*

Note, however, the following unusual case.

- (149) [*ni eta ni bezalako asko*]*ren iritziz*
 I and I like.REL many.GEN opinion.INSTR
 'in the opinion of me and of many like me'

Here the genitive ending *-en* occurs only once, on the larger NP formed from *ni* 'I' and *ni bezalako asko* 'many like me'.

Naturally, only the first pattern is possible in the rare cases in which the conjoined NPs bear different case-suffixes:

- (150) *Bost umerekin eta oinez etorri zen Bilbotik.*
 five child.COM and foot.INSTR come AUX Bilbao.ABL
 'She came from Bilbao with five children and on foot.'

Here the conjunction of comitative *bost umerekin* ‘with five children’ and instrumental *oinez* ‘on foot’ can be expressed in no other way.

On the other hand, only the second pattern is possible when the coordinate NP contains an adjective modifying both conjuncts:

- (151) [*emazte ta ume*] *onakaz*
 wife and child good.COM
 ‘with the good women and children’

Here *on* ‘good’ modifies both *emazte* ‘woman’ and *ume* ‘child’. The form *emazteakaz eta ume onakaz* is possible, but means ‘with the women and (with) the good children’.

3.1.11. Non-constituent word-forms

Since certain determiners and all case-markers are suffixes, attached to the end of a complete noun phrase and phonologically bound to what is otherwise the final element, it often happens that a noun phrase ends in something which is a single phonological word and apparently a single grammatical word-form but which is not a syntactic constituent. For example, the sequence *ume txiki* ‘little child’ can take the plural definite article to produce *ume txikiak* ‘(the) little children’, in which the single form *txikiak* is not a constituent: the syntactic structure is [*ume txiki*]ak. The same thing can happen when a case-suffix is added: the noun phrase *zenbait gizon* ‘several men’ can take the ergative case-suffix to produce *zenbait gizonek*, but again *gizonek* is not a constituent here: the syntactic structure is [*zenbait gizon*]ek. The Basque grammarians of the past, trained only in the Latinate word-and-paradigm model of description, frequently misunderstood this point badly, and their grammars often present full paradigms for what are erroneously called “undefined” or “indefinite” (*mugagabe*) forms: *gizon* ‘man’ (“absolute indefinite”), *gizonek* (“ergative indefinite”), and so on. These forms do not really exist: a case-suffix cannot, in general, be added to a bare noun, but only to a full NP with a determiner.

3.2. Case and number inflection of noun phrases

J.I. Hualde

3.2.1. *The nature of nominal inflection*

In noun phrases containing a single noun only the last word of the phrase carries case and number inflection, which is marked by suffixes. The word in the noun phrase inflected for case/number is not necessarily the head noun. If an adjective or another modifier follows the noun the inflectional suffixes will appear on this word. That is, in Basque number and case inflection is a property of noun phrases. In the following examples, we separate the inflectional suffix from the stem with a hyphen for clarity:

Table 58. Nominal inflection

(a)	<i>gizon-ari</i>	'to the man'
	man.DET.DAT	
(b)	<i>gizon gazte-ari</i>	'to the young man'
(c)	<i>gizon gazte hon-i</i>	'to this young man'

More details on the structure of noun phrases are given in section 3.1. In this section, we adopt a form-based approach to the study of the morphology of nominal inflection, without meaning to imply that all the forms listed correspond to grammatical cases or are otherwise syntactically comparable.

3.2.2. *Inflectional suffixes for case and number*

3.2.2.1. Basic morphological paradigms

As indicated above, although case and number inflection in Basque is phrasal in scope, it is morphologically expressed by means of bound forms attached to the last word in the noun phrase.

As the examples above already show, demonstratives are inflected in a somewhat different way from other words. Personal pronouns also show minor idiosyncrasies. Other than this, nominal inflection is completely regular and uniform, in the sense that there is no lexical marking of nouns or adjectives as requiring special forms of the inflectional suffixes or as belonging to different inflectional classes. The number/case inflectional endings are the same for all nouns and adjectives. Regarding the shape of the inflectional endings, a distinction, however, must be made between stems ending in a vowel and stems ending in a consonant. Also among vowel-final stems,

those ending in *-a* present certain morphophonological peculiarities (in many dialects there are further morphophonological complications, see 3.2.6 below). We will first describe the morphophonology of case and number inflection in a systematic way, presenting complete inflectional paradigms. Then, we will examine the morphology and use of each case suffix separately.

Four morphological subparadigms are distinguished. First, indefinite forms are distinguished from definite forms; definite forms, in their turn, may be singular or plural; and within the plural, in addition to the general plural, there is a proximal plural form.

The inflectional paradigm of the word *leku* 'place' is given in table 59 as an example of a nominal stem ending in a nonlow vowel. Again, what we mean by the inflectional paradigm of the word *leku* is the set of forms that this word will take when not followed by any other word within the noun phrase. The labels definite, indefinite, singular and plural as well as the case labels on the left column must be understood as applying to the noun phrase ending in the word given as an example. As explained in section 3.1.1.1, indefinite forms cannot appear by themselves, and, in order to constitute a complete noun phrase, must be accompanied by a numeral, quantifier, indefinite or interrogative determiner (e.g. *zazpi leku* 'seven places', *zenbait lekutan* 'in several places', *edozein lekutara* 'to any place', *zenbat lekurekin?* 'with how many places?')

Nouns/adjectives ending in *-a* lose this vowel when followed by a vowel-initial inflectional suffix. As an example of noun ending in *-a*, the word *hondartza* 'beach, sandy place' is given in table 60.

In Bizkaian and some Gipuzkoan varieties, stem-final /a/ raises to /e/ before the singular article /-a/. The resulting sequence *-ea* has undergone further changes in different western varieties. Thus, for instance, for *alaba* 'daughter', we find the following absolutive singular forms: Arratia *alabea*, Getxo *alabe*, Lekeitio *alabia*, Gernika *alabie*, Ondarroa *alabi*. In a couple of villages on the boundary of the western area where *-a-a* > *-e-a* and the area where *-a-a* > *-a*, forms with *-aa* are found; e.g.: *alabaa* 'the daughter'. In the plural, on the other hand, there is no rising of stem-final /a/ in any dialect. In a few conservative western varieties (Oñati), we find the historical long vowel unchanged in the absolutive plural; e.g.: *alabaak* (vs. singular *alabia* in this dialect), elsewhere the sequence has been reduced: Arratia, Getxo, Lekeitio, etc: *alabak* (so that, e.g., in Leketio ergative singular *alabiek* contrasts with absolutive and ergative plural *alábak*).

In Zuberoan and the extinct Roncalese dialect, the sequence *-a-a* has been reduced, but memory of the historical sequence is accentually pre-

served by attraction of the accent; e.g.: *Z alhába* ‘daughter’, *alhabá* ‘the daughter’ < **alhaba-a*, (vs. *gizúna* ‘the man’), *alhabák* ‘the daughters’ (see section 2.2.4). In Salazarese, an epenthetic *-r-* is inserted in the absolutive singular of stems ending in a low vowel: *alabara* ‘the daughter’.

Table 59. Inflectional paradigm of *leku*, ‘place’

INDEFINITE		DEFINITE		
		SG	PL	
			GENERAL	PROX
ABS	<i>leku</i>	<i>lekua</i>	<i>lekuak</i>	<i>lekuok</i>
ERG	<i>lekuk</i>	<i>lekuak</i>	<i>lekuek</i>	<i>lekuok</i>
DAT	<i>lekuri</i>	<i>lekuari</i>	<i>lekuei</i>	<i>lekuoi</i>
GEN	<i>lekuren</i>	<i>lekuaren</i>	<i>lekuen</i>	<i>lekuon</i>
BEN	<i>lekurentzat</i>	<i>lekuarentzat</i>	<i>lekuentzat</i>	<i>lekuontzat</i>
COM	<i>lekurekin</i>	<i>lekuarekin</i>	<i>lekuekin</i>	<i>lekuokin</i>
INSTR	<i>lekuz</i>	<i>lekuaz</i>	<i>lekuez</i>	<i>lekuoz</i>
PRTT	<i>lekurik</i>			
PRO	<i>lekutzat</i>			
LOC	<i>lekutan</i>	<i>lekuan</i>	<i>leketan</i>	<i>lekuotan</i>
ABL	<i>lekutatik</i>	<i>lekutik</i>	<i>leketatik</i>	<i>lekuotatik</i>
ALL	<i>lekutara</i>	<i>lekura</i>	<i>leketara</i>	<i>lekuotara</i>
DIR	<i>lekutarantz</i>	<i>lekurantz</i>	<i>leketarantz</i>	<i>lekuotarantz</i>
TERM	<i>lekutaraino</i>	<i>lekuraino</i>	<i>leketaraino</i>	<i>lekuotaraino</i>
REL	<i>lekutako</i>	<i>lekuko</i>	<i>leketako</i>	<i>lekuotako</i>

Table 60. Inflectional paradigm of *hondartza*, ‘beach’

INDEFINITE		DEFINITE		
		SG	PL	
			GENERAL	PROX
ABS	<i>hondartza</i>	<i>hondartza</i>	<i>hondartzak</i>	<i>hondartzok</i>
ERG	<i>hondartzak</i>	<i>hondartzak</i>	<i>hondartzek</i>	<i>hondartzok</i>
DAT	<i>hondartzari</i>	<i>hondartzari</i>	<i>hondartzei</i>	<i>hondartzoi</i>
GEN	<i>hondartzaren</i>	<i>hondartzaren</i>	<i>hondartzen</i>	<i>hondartzon</i>
BEN	<i>hondartzarentzat</i>	<i>hondartzarentzat</i>	<i>hondartzentzat</i>	<i>hondartzontzat</i>
COM	<i>hondartzarekin</i>	<i>hondartzarekin</i>	<i>hondartzekin</i>	<i>hondartzokin</i>
INSTR	<i>hondartzaz</i>	<i>hondartzaz</i>	<i>hondartzez</i>	<i>hondartzoz</i>
PRTT	<i>hondartzarik</i>			
PRO	<i>hondartzatzat</i>			
LOC	<i>hondartzatan</i>	<i>hondartzan</i>	<i>hondartzetan</i>	<i>hondartzotan</i>
ABL	<i>hondartzatatik</i>	<i>hondartzatik</i>	<i>hondartzetatik</i>	<i>hondartzotatik</i>
ALL	<i>hondartzatara</i>	<i>hondartzara</i>	<i>hondartzetara</i>	<i>hondartzotara</i>
DIR	<i>hondartzatarantz</i>	<i>hondartzarantz</i>	<i>hondartzetarantz</i>	<i>hondartzotarantz</i>
TERM	<i>Hondartzataraino</i>	<i>hondartzaraino</i>	<i>hondartzetaraino</i>	<i>hondartzotaraino</i>
REL	<i>hondartzatako</i>	<i>hondartzako</i>	<i>hondartzetako</i>	<i>hondartzotako</i>

Table 61. Inflectional paradigm of *azal*, 'skin'

	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE SG	PL GENERAL	PROX
ABS	<i>azal</i>	<i>azala</i>	<i>azalak</i>	<i>azalok</i>
ERG	<i>azalek</i>	<i>azalak</i>	<i>azalek</i>	<i>azalok</i>
DAT	<i>azali</i>	<i>azalari</i>	<i>azalei</i>	<i>azaloi</i>
GEN	<i>azalen</i>	<i>azalaren</i>	<i>azalen</i>	<i>azalon</i>
BEN	<i>azalentzat</i>	<i>azalarentzat</i>	<i>azalentzat</i>	<i>azalontzat</i>
COM	<i>azalekin</i>	<i>azalarekin</i>	<i>azalekin</i>	<i>azalokin</i>
INSTR	<i>azalez</i>	<i>azalaz</i>	<i>azalez</i>	<i>azaloz</i>
PRTT	<i>azalik</i>			
PRO	<i>azaltzat</i>			
LOC	<i>azaletan</i>	<i>azalean</i>	<i>azaletan</i>	<i>azalotan</i>
ABL	<i>azaletatik</i>	<i>azaletik</i>	<i>azaletatik</i>	<i>azalotatik</i>
ALL	<i>azaletara</i>	<i>azalera</i>	<i>azaletara</i>	<i>azalotara</i>
DIR	<i>azaletarantz</i>	<i>azalerantz</i>	<i>azaletarantz</i>	<i>azalotarantz</i>
TERM	<i>azaletaraino</i>	<i>azaleraino</i>	<i>azaletaraino</i>	<i>azalotaraino</i>
REL	<i>azaletako</i>	<i>azaleko</i>	<i>azaletako</i>	<i>azalotako</i>

The inflectional paradigm of noun phrase-final nouns and adjectives ending in a consonant is illustrated with *azal* 'skin, surface'.

3.2.2.2. Epenthetic segments in nominal inflection

Several differences between vowel-final and consonant-final stems are to be noted concerning the shape of the inflectional endings. (These are illustrated in the tables above.)

An epenthetic vowel *-e-* appears after the stem to break consonant sequences with consonant-final stems in the following cases:

Table 62. Epenthetic vowel *-e-*

(a) Ergative indefinite	<i>leku-k</i> but <i>azal-e-k</i>
(b) Instrumental indefinite	<i>leku-z</i> but <i>azal-e-z</i>
(c) Locative indefinite	<i>leku-tan</i> but <i>azal-e-tan</i>
(d) Ablative indefinite	<i>leku-tatik</i> but <i>azal-e-tatik</i>
(e) Allative indefinite	<i>leku-tara</i> but <i>azal-e-tara</i> (cf. also DIR and TERM)
(f) Relational indefinite	<i>leku-tako</i> but <i>azal-e-tako</i>
(g) Ablative singular	<i>leku-tik</i> but <i>azal-e-tik</i>
(h) Allative singular	<i>leku-ra</i> but <i>azal-e-ra</i> (cf. also DIR and TERM)
(i) Relational singular	<i>leku-ko</i> but <i>azal-e-ko</i>

An exception is the prolative, where a consonant sequence across morpheme boundaries is tolerated: *leku-tzat*, *azal-tzat*.

On the other hand, some suffixes present an *-r-* in the indefinite with vowel-final but not with consonant-final stems:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) Partitive | <i>leku-r-ik</i> but <i>azal-ik</i> |
| (b) Genitive indefinite | <i>leku-r-en</i> but <i>azal-en</i> |

In these suffixes the *-r-* can be taken to be an epenthetic consonant separating the final vowel of the stem from the case ending.

Somewhat surprisingly, in the locative singular, which takes the vowel-initial suffix *-an*, an epenthetic vowel *-e-* is used with consonant-final stems but not with vowel-final stems: *leku-an* but *azal-e-an*. The reason for this unexpected allomorphy must be that at some historical point this was a consonant initial suffix *-*Can*: **leku-Can*, **azal-e-Can*.

Unlike the situation with noun phrases, there is no epenthesis when the ablative and relational suffixes attach to consonant-final time and place adverbs; e.g.: *gaurtik* 'from today', *gaurko* 'of today', *hortik* 'from there', *horko* 'of there'. The initial consonant of these suffixes voices after /n/ and /l/ in this context: *oraindik* 'still', *oraingo* 'of now', *lehendik* 'from before', *hemengo* 'of here'. Notice, for instance, the contrast between the adverb *egun* 'today' and the noun *egun* 'day' in the application of epenthesis: *egungo* 'of today', *eguneko* 'of the day'. As mentioned below, with proper names ending in a consonant there is dialectal variation regarding the application of epenthesis: *Eibartik* ~ *Eibarretik*, *Irundik* ~ *Irunetik*. The older forms appear to be the ones without epenthetic *-e-*.

3.2.2.3. Other alternations and irregularities

The morphophonology of singular and plural forms is much more complex in many local dialects than in the standard language, because of the operation of a number of phonological rules or sound changes affecting vowel sequences (see section 2.1.5). Consider, for instance, the examples in table 63 from the Bizkaian dialect spoken in Ondarroa, with nouns ending in consonant (preceded by nonhigh vowel and by high vowel), and in the vowels *-o*, *-e*, *-i* and *-a* (absolute singular).

In addition, in some local dialects there are items that show irregularities in how the vowel sequences that arise in definite forms are treated. In many dialects, monosyllabic stems are irregular in this way. For instance, in the

Bizkaian variety of Lekeitio, *e*-final stems form their absolutive singular in *-ia*, as in *etxe* 'house', *etxia* 'the house' (absolutive singular), but monosyllabic *ke* 'smoke' gives *keia* [keja] 'the smoke' (not **kia*). Similarly, in Zuberoan we find *éskü* 'hand', *eskía* 'the hand', as the regular pattern, but monosyllabic *sü* 'fire' inflects as *süia* [syja] 'the fire'. Some of these morphophonological irregularities reflect historical differences that have been neutralized in final position. In the case of stems ending in a falling diphthong, we often find two classes in many western dialects. Thus in the Bizkaian dialect of Getxo we find, for instance, *úrdai* 'ham', *úrdaie* 'the ham', but *patroi* 'boss' (< **patroe*), *patroia* 'the boss', without vowel rising. Cf. also Ondarroa, *úrdai* 'ham', *urdáixe* 'the ham', but *patrói* 'boss, the boss' (both indefinite and singular). That is, whereas *úrdai* inflects in the same way as stems ending in *-i*, *patroi* (< Rom *patrone*) inflects like an *-e*-final stem.

Table 63. Ondarroa: ABS phrases

INDEFINITE	SG	PL
<i>lau gíxon</i> 'four men'	<i>gixóna</i> 'the man'	<i>gixónak</i> 'the men'
<i>lau lágun</i> 'four friends'	<i>lagúne</i> 'the friend'	<i>lagúnak</i> 'the friends'
<i>lau báso</i> 'four forests'	<i>basú</i> 'the forest'	<i>básuk</i> 'the forests'
<i>lau étxe</i> 'four houses'	<i>etxí</i> 'the house'	<i>étxik</i> 'the houses'
<i>lau méndi</i> 'four mountains'	<i>mendíxe</i> 'the mountain'	<i>mendíxak</i> 'the mountains'
<i>lau néska</i> 'four girls'	<i>neskí</i> 'the girl'	<i>néskak</i> 'the girls'

3.2.2.4. Animate local case endings

In the local cases of noun phrases referring to animates, a formative *-gan-* occurs before the local suffix and generally after the genitive ending, although in the singular this suffix can also attach to the absolutive form:

Table 64. Inflectional paradigm of *mutil*, 'boy'

	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE		
		SG	PL	
			GENERAL	PROX
LOC	<i>mutilengan</i>	<i>mutila(ren)gan</i>	<i>mutilengan</i>	<i>mutilongan</i>
ABL	<i>mutilengandik</i>	<i>mutila(ren)gandik</i>	<i>mutilengandik</i>	<i>mutilongandik</i>
ALL	<i>mutilengana</i>	<i>mutila(ren)gana</i>	<i>mutilengana</i>	<i>mutilongana</i>
DIR	<i>mutilenganantz</i>	<i>mutila(ren)ganantz</i>	<i>mutilenganantz</i>	<i>mutilonganantz</i>
TERM	<i>mutilenganaino</i>	<i>mutila(ren)ganaino</i>	<i>mutilenganaino</i>	<i>mutilonganaino</i>

Consequently with the fact that inflection is phrasal in scope, the use of these forms does not depend on the noun being the form that receives the inflection. For instance, in *mutil lodiarengana* 'to the fat boy', where the inflected word is the adjective, an animate ending is used because the referent is animate.

Local cases of animate forms are alternatively formed with the postposition *baita* after the genitive in eastern usage: *mutilaren baitan* 'on/in the boy', *mutilaren baitara* 'to the boy'.

3.2.3. Proper nouns

Proper nouns or names take the same endings as indefinite noun phrases in the nonlocal cases; e.g., ergative: *Peru-k*, *Jon-ek*; dative: *Peru-ri*, *Jon-i*. In the local cases and with the relational, the suffix is added directly without the infix *-ta-*. As examples, three town names are given in Table 65, *Bilbo*, *Eibar* and *Irun*.

In the ablative and relational of proper names ending in a consonant, *-e*-epenthesis is optional. When the name ends in *-n* or *-l*, forms without epenthesis and with voicing of the suffix-initial consonant are preferred in the standard language, but both alternatives are found in local dialects:

ABL *Irun-dik*, *Irun-etik* *Usurbil-dik*, *Usurbil-etik* *Paris-tik*, *Paris-etik*
REL *Irun-go*, *Irun-eko* *Usurbil-go*, *Usurbil-eko* *Paris-ko*, *Paris-eko*

Table 65. Inflectional paradigm of *Bilbo*, *Eibar* and *Irun*

	<i>Bilbo</i>	<i>Eibar</i>	<i>Irun</i>
ABS	<i>Bilbok</i>	<i>Eibarrek</i>	<i>Irunek</i>
ERG	<i>Bilboki</i>	<i>Eibarri</i>	<i>Iruni</i>
DAT	<i>Bilborekin</i>	<i>Eibarren</i>	<i>Irunen</i>
GEN	<i>Bilborentzat</i>	<i>Eibarrentzat</i>	<i>Irunentzat</i>
BEN	<i>Bilborekin</i>	<i>Eibarrekin</i>	<i>Irunekin</i>
COM	<i>Bilboz</i>	<i>Eibarrez</i>	<i>Irunez</i>
INSTR	<i>Bilborik</i>	<i>Eibarrik</i>	<i>Irunik</i>
PARTT	<i>Bilbotzat</i>	<i>Eibartzat</i>	<i>Iruntzat</i>
PRO	<i>Bilbon</i>	<i>Eibarren</i>	<i>Irunen</i>
LOC	<i>Bilbotik</i>	<i>Eibartik (Eibarretik)</i>	<i>Irundik (Irunetik)</i>
ABL	<i>Bilbora</i>	<i>Eibarrera (Eibarra)</i>	<i>Irunera (Iruna)</i>
ALL	<i>Bilborantz</i>	<i>Eibarrerantz</i>	<i>Irunerantz</i>
DIR	<i>Bilboraino</i>	<i>Eibarreraino</i>	<i>Iruneraino</i>
TERM	<i>Bilboko</i>	<i>Eibarko (Eibarreko)</i>	<i>Irungo (Iruneko)</i>
REL			

In addition, the allative of names of towns ending in a consonant may be marked as simply *-a* instead of *-era*. Allative: *Irun-era*, *Irun-a*; *Paris-era*, *Paris-a*; *Elgoibarr-era*, *Elgoibarr-a*; *Gasteiz-era*, *Gasteiz-a*.

In older stages of the language, proper names occasionally received singular inflection.

3.2.4. Demonstratives

In the demonstratives we find stem allomorphy:

Table 66. *hau* 'this'

	SG	PL
ABS	<i>hau</i>	<i>hauek</i>
ERG	<i>honek</i>	<i>hauek</i>
DAT	<i>honi</i>	<i>hauei</i>
GEN	<i>honen</i>	<i>hauen</i>
BEN	<i>honentzat</i>	<i>hauentzat</i>
COM	<i>honekin</i>	<i>hauekin</i>
INSTR	<i>honetaz</i>	<i>hauetaz</i>
LOC	<i>honetan</i>	<i>hauetan</i>
ABL	<i>honetatik</i>	<i>hauetatik</i>
ALL	<i>honetara</i>	<i>hauetara</i>
DIR	<i>honetarantz</i>	<i>hauetarantz</i>
TERM	<i>honetaraino</i>	<i>hauetaraino</i>
REL	<i>honetako</i>	<i>hauetako</i>

Table 67. *hori* 'that' and *hura* 'that over there'

	SG	PL	SG	PL
ABS	<i>hori</i>	<i>horiek</i>	<i>hura</i>	<i>haiek</i>
ERG	<i>horrek</i>	<i>horiek</i>	<i>har(e)k</i>	<i>haiek</i>
DAT	<i>horri</i>	<i>horiei</i>	<i>hari</i>	<i>haiei</i>
GEN	<i>horren</i>	<i>horien</i>	<i>haren</i>	<i>haien</i>
BEN	<i>horrentzat</i>	<i>horientzat</i>	<i>harentzat</i>	<i>haientzat</i>
COM	<i>horrekin</i>	<i>horiekin</i>	<i>harekin</i>	<i>haiekin</i>
INSTR	<i>horretaz</i>	<i>horietaz</i>	<i>hartaz</i>	<i>haietaz</i>
LOC	<i>horretan</i>	<i>horietan</i>	<i>hartan</i>	<i>haietan</i>
ABL	<i>horretatik</i>	<i>horietatik</i>	<i>hartatik</i>	<i>haietatik</i>
ALL	<i>horretara</i>	<i>horietara</i>	<i>hartara</i>	<i>haietara</i>
DIR	<i>horretarantz</i>	<i>horietarantz</i>	<i>hartarantz</i>	<i>haietarantz</i>
TERM	<i>horretaraino</i>	<i>horietaraino</i>	<i>hartaraino</i>	<i>haietaraino</i>
REL	<i>horretako</i>	<i>horietako</i>	<i>hartako</i>	<i>haietako</i>

In Bizkaian the stems (*h*)*on*- ‘this’ and (*h*)*orr*- ‘that’ are used in all forms except in the absolutive singular. Generally there is an accentual difference between singular and plural demonstratives in Bizkaian dialects; e.g.: *honék* ‘this, ERG’ vs. *hónek* ‘these, ABS and ERG’, *honerí* ‘to this’ vs. *hóneri* ‘to these’, *hórrek* ‘this, ERG’ vs. *horrék* ‘these, ABS and ERG’, etc., among other possibilities depending on the local variety. Also in Bizkaian, instead of *hura* ‘that over there’, (*h*)*a* is used in the absolutive singular.

3.2.5. Personal pronouns

The genitive form of the personal pronouns has the ending *-re*, instead of *-en* (with the exception of the second person plural pronoun *zuek*, which historically is more recent, and has a genitive *zuen*). Other than this, personal pronouns inflect in the same manner as indefinite noun phrases:

Table 68. Personal pronouns

	ni ‘I’	hi ‘thou’	gu ‘we’	zu ‘you’	zuek ‘you-PL’
ABS	<i>ni</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>zuek</i>
ERG	<i>nik</i>	<i>hik</i>	<i>guk</i>	<i>zuk</i>	<i>zuek</i>
DAT	<i>niri, eni</i>	<i>hiri</i>	<i>guri</i>	<i>zuri</i>	<i>zuei</i>
GEN	<i>nire, ene</i>	<i>hire</i>	<i>gure</i>	<i>zure</i>	<i>zuen</i>
BEN	<i>niretzat</i>	<i>hiretzat</i>	<i>guretzat</i>	<i>zuretzat</i>	<i>zuentzat</i>
COM	<i>nirekin</i>	<i>hirekin</i>	<i>gurekin</i>	<i>zurekin</i>	<i>zuekin</i>
INSTR	<i>nitaz</i>	<i>hitaz</i>	<i>gutaz</i>	<i>zutaz</i>	<i>zuetaz</i>
LOC	<i>niregan</i>	<i>hiregan</i>	<i>guregan</i>	<i>zuregan</i>	<i>zuengan</i>
ABL	<i>niregandik</i>	<i>hiregandik</i>	<i>guregandik</i>	<i>zuregandik</i>	<i>zuengandik</i>
ALL	<i>niregana</i>	<i>hiregana</i>	<i>guregana</i>	<i>zuregana</i>	<i>zuengana</i>

As with nouns, the affix *gan* of local cases may be attached directly to the absolutive form (*nigan* ~ *niregan*, etc.).

3.2.6. Functions and dialectal variants of inflectional suffixes

Absolutive. This case is morphologically unmarked. The endings *-a* (singular), *-ak* (plural) and *-ok* (proximal plural) in the tables above in 3.2.2.1 are the definite articles, for whose distribution see section 3.1.2.2.

Absolutive noun phrases (morphologically unmarked) play several distinct syntactic functions. First of all, the direct object is in the absolutive case (it may also take partitive inflection, see below):

- (152) *Zakurr-a ikusi du.*
 dog-DET see AUX
 'S/he has seen the dog.'

The absolutive is also the case of the subject of most intransitive predicates (but some intransitive verbs require arguments in the ergative case, see below):

- (153) a. *Zakurr-a etorri da.*
 dog-DET come AUX
 'The dog has come.'
- b. *Gizon-a dator.*
 man-DET is.coming
 'The man is coming.'

In the progressive construction with *ari* (see 3.5.5.1.1) both subject and direct object appear in the absolutive in transitive constructions:

- (154) *Nire lagun-a eskutitz-a idazten ari da.*
 my friend-DET letter-DET write *ari* AUX
 'My friend is writing the letter.'

In copulative sentences both subject and nominal predicate are in the absolutive:

- (155) *Nire lagun-a gure herri-ko alkate-a da.*
 my friend-DET our town-REL mayor-DET is
 'My friend is the mayor of our town.'

Vocatives are also in the absolutive (non-case-marked) form, either with or without the article (somewhat idiosyncratically): *mutil!* 'boy!', *gizon-a!* 'man!', *bai, jaun-a!* 'yes, sir!', *adiskide(a)!* 'friend!', *aspaldiko!* 'old friend!', *jaun-andre-ok!* 'ladies and gentlemen!'.

Ergative. All ergative noun phrases end in *-k*. In standard Basque, absolutive plural and ergative singular forms are identical (*-ak* ending), while the ergative plural ending is *-ek*. This reflects the situation in eastern dialects. In many central and western dialects all three forms are identical. In other western varieties, however, there is an accentual difference between singular

and plural, the plural being accentually marked (see section 2.2.1). In the Gernika area of Bizkaia, for instance, we find unaccented *gixonak* 'the man, ergative singular' vs. accented *gixónak* 'the men, absolutive or ergative plural'. Similarly, in some Gipuzkoan areas: *gixónak* 'the man, ergative singular' contrasts with *gízonak* 'the men, absolutive or ergative plural'.

The ergative is the case of transitive subjects:

- (156) *Gizon-a-k zakurr-a ikusi du.*
 man-DET-ERG dog-DET see AUX
 'The man has seen the dog.'

- (157) *Nire lagun-a-k eskutitz-a idatziko du.*
 my friend-DET-ERG letter-DET write.FUT AUX
 'My friend will write the letter.'

Some intransitive verbs (unergatives) take transitive morphology, including the subject in the ergative case (see 4.1.4):

- (158) *Presidente-a-k dimititu du.*
 president-DET-ERG resign AUX
 'The president has resigned.'

Dative. The standard forms of the dative suffixes are indefinite *-(r)i*, singular *-ari* and plural *-ei*. In northeastern dialects the dative plural has the suffix *-er*; e.g.: *gizoner* 'to the men' (standard *gizonei*). In many western and central varieties the dative singular and plural have the same ending, but as noted above, in some of these varieties there is a contrast in accentuation between the singular and indefinite on the one hand and the plural, on the other. For instance, in the Gernika area of Bizkaia, the contrast is unaccented *gixonari* 'to the man', *lau gixoneri* 'to four men', vs. accented *gixónari* 'to the men', *lau gixónari* 'to the four men'; and in some Gipuzkoan areas, we have *gizónai* 'to the man' vs. *gízonai* 'to the men'.

The dative is the case of the indirect object:

- (159) *Mikel-ek andre-a-ri eman dio diru-a.*
 M.ERG lady-DET-DAT give AUX money-DET
 'Mikel gave the money to the lady.'

- (160) *Ama-ri egia esan behar zaio.*
 mother-DAT truth.DET say must AUX
 'One should tell the truth to (one's) mother.'

With directional verbs, dative and allative may be nearly equivalent:

- (161) a. *Mutil-ei hurbildu zitzaien.*
 boy-PL.DAT approach AUX
 'They approached the boys.'
- b. *Mutil-engana hurbildu ziren.*
 boy-PL.ALL approach AUX
 'They approached the boys.'

The dative is also used with phrases conveying a sense of affectedness or interest. This affectedness use of the dative can be close to conveying possession:

- (162) *Seme-a joan zaio Amerik-etara Mikel-i.*
 son-DAT go AUX America-PL.ALL Mikel-DAT
 'Mikel's son went to America.'
 (lit. 'The son went to America to Mikel.')

- (163) *Ume-a-ri moztu zioten ile-a.*
 child-DAT-DAT cut AUX hair-DAT
 'They cut the child's hair.'

Some verbs require an 'experiencer' argument in the dative case:

- (164) *Ondo etorri zait ni-ri.*
 well come AUX me-DAT
 'It has been good for me'
- (165) *Zure lagun-a-ri asko gustatzen zaio txokolate-a.*
 your friend-DAT-DAT much like.IMPF AUX chocolate-DAT
 'Your friend likes chocolate a lot.'

For more details on the use of dative phrases, see section 4.1.

Genitive. The genitive forms given in the tables above are noun modifiers and cannot appear by themselves; e.g. *lagunaren liburua* ‘the friend’s book’; but they can be modifiers of headless noun phrases and take further inflection; e.g.: *lagunarena* ‘the one of the friend’, *lagunarenak* ‘the ones of the friend’, *lagunarenari* ‘to the one of the friend’. In the standard language described here, the genitive suffixes are indefinite *-(r)en*, singular *-aren*, plural *-en*. Notice that with consonant-final stems the distinction between indefinite and plural is neutralized: *lau katuren buztanak* ‘the tails of four cats’ vs. *lau katuen buztanak* ‘the tails of the four cats’, but *lau gizonen buruak* ‘the heads of (the) four men’. In some western varieties singular and plural forms are only distinguished accentually; e.g.: Gernika *gixonan etzie* ‘the house of the man’ vs. *gixónan etzie* ‘the house of the men’; in some Gipuzkoan varieties we find *gizónan etxia* ‘the house of the man’ vs. *gízonan etxia* ‘the house of the men’. (In dialects with an accentual contrast, indefinite and plural forms are not neutralized since the indefinite is accentually unmarked: Gernika *lau gixonen burúek* ‘the heads of four men’ vs. *lau gixónen burúek* ‘the heads of the four men’.) There are also dialects where there is no singular/plural distinction in the genitive.

As in other languages, the genitive, besides its central meaning of indicating the possessor (*gizonaren etxea* ‘the house of the man’), can also indicate authorship (*Picassoren “Guernica”* ‘Picasso’s “Guernica”’) and other kinds of relations not involving possession (*Jonen irudia* ‘Jon’s picture’). However, genitive relations involving location take *-ko* and not the genitive, see 3.1.4.1-3.1.4.2: *mendiko etxea* ‘the house of/on the mountain’, *etxeko andrea* ‘the lady of the house’.

In eastern dialects the direct object takes the genitive case in certain nominalized embedded clauses (see section 4.10.1.2.2.2.1).

Benefactive. The benefactive is based on the genitive plus the suffix *-zat*. When followed by the relational suffix *-ko*, the whole ending becomes *-tzako*; e.g.: *gure lagunarentzako liburua* ‘the book for our friend’; *gure lagunarentzakoak* ‘the ones for our friend’. In some varieties *-tzako* or *-dako* (Z *-tako*) is used as the basic benefactive ending; e.g.: *liburua lagunendako da* ‘the book is for the friend’:

- (166) *Ogí-a gūnín gū-k kabal-éntako.*
 wheat-DET had we-ERG animals-PL.BEN
 ‘Wheat, we had for the animals.’
 [Zuberoan, from recorded conversation]

Comitative. Like the benefactive, the comitative or sociative is also based on the genitive, but with deletion of the nasal before the ending *-kin*. Eastern dialects have variants *-ki* and *-kila*; e.g.: R *ainguriéki* ‘with the angels’, *ar-resékila* ‘with the sheep’. In Bizkaian, *-gaz* is used instead, added to absolute forms, e.g.: *mutilágaz* ‘with the boy’, *lau lagunégaz* ‘with four friends’. In the plural, *-ak + -gaz > -kaz*; e.g.: B *mutilakaz* ‘with the boys’, *lau lagunekaz* ‘with the four friends’. In western dialects, the instrumental has been lost in productive usage and the comitative is used in its place to express instrument or means.

Instrumental. The instrumental case carries the endings indefinite *-z*, singular *-az* and plural *-ez*. In some dialects the plural is *-etaz*, instead. In High Navarrese, the final consonant in the instrumental is *-s*: HN *eskuas* ‘with the hand’ (standard *eskuaz*). The instrumental indicates instrument or means: *giltzaz ireki dugu atea* ‘we have opened the door with the key’, *trenez etorri gara* ‘we have come by train’, *oinez* ‘by foot’; matter: *zilarrez egin dugu* ‘we have made it with silver’, *zilarrezko eleztuna* ‘a silver ring’; and topic: *morfologiaz hitzegin genuen* ‘we spoke about morphology’. It is also used in some simple time expressions: *goizez* ‘early in the morning’, *garaiz* ‘on time’, *egunaz zerbait alegatzen naiz*, *gabaz beti penetan* ‘during the day I become somewhat happy, at night, always in pain’ (folk song) and with names of languages: *euskaraz (egin)* ‘(to speak) in Basque’, *ingelesez* ‘in English’. In both of these usages, the instrumental is usually replaced by the locative in more complex expressions: *gaur goizean* ‘today in the morning’, *hizkuntza honetan (egin)* ‘(to speak) in this language’.

As mentioned above, in Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan areas, the comitative is used instead of the instrumental in its central meanings: *giltzarekin ireki dugu atea* ‘we have opened the door with the key’, *eskuekin egin dugu* ‘we have made it with our hands’, although residual use of the instrumental is maintained in these dialects in other instances.

Some verbs take complements in the instrumental: *ahaztu naiz liburuaz* ‘I have forgotten the book’ (see section 4.1.7.1).

The instrumental is also used in some idiomatic expressions: *buruz ikasi* ‘to learn by heart (lit. by head)’, *etxez etxe* ‘from house to house’ (see 3.8.6, 3.8.8). Some postpositions also require a complement in the instrumental: *mugaz bestalde* ‘on the other side of the border’, *horretaz gain* ‘in addition to that’, *horretaz aparte* ‘aside from that’ (see 3.3).

Prolative. The prolative suffix is *-tzat*, added directly to the stem. Prolative phrases only occur as complements of a few verbs such as *hartu* ‘to take’,

eduki 'to have', and *eman* 'to give': *italianotzat hartu ninduten* 'they took me for an Italian' (cf. Sp *me tomaron por italiano*), *ontzat eman zuten* 'they considered it good' (cf. Sp *lo dieron por bueno*), *laguntzat dauzkate* 'they consider them friends' (cf. Sp *los tienen por amigos*).

Partitive. From the point of view of its syntactic distribution, the partitive is a subtype of absolutive inflection. Partitive-marked noun phrases occur as direct object and intransitive subject in polarity contexts such as negative, interrogative or conditional sentences: *ez dut zakurrik ikusi* 'I haven't seen any dogs', *zakurrik ikusi duzu?* 'have you seen any dogs?' *zakurrik ikusten baduzu, esan* 'if you see any dogs, say so'. Other uses of the partitive are described in section 3.1.2.4.

Local cases. The local cases form a morphological subparadigm characterized by the presence of *-eta-* in the plural (*-ota-* in the proximal plural) and *-ta-* in indefinite forms, whereas in singular forms the local endings *-an* 'in, on, at', *-ra* 'to' and *-tik* 'from' attach directly to the stem.

The locative *-an* expresses 'place where' in general: *gure etxean* 'in our house', *mahaian* 'on, in the table', *lanean* 'at work', *mendi horietan* 'in, on those mountains'. What appears to be an older indefinite form of the locative suffix, *-n*, is found in some expressions. Thus, in Zuberoan *etxen* 'at home' is distinguished from *etxean* 'in the house'. Very likely, the imperfective participle suffix *-(z)en* is in its origin a locative-inflected form of the nominalization in *-(z)e* (see section 3.5.1.2.1).

The ablative has two main basic meanings 'place from' and 'place through': *menditik dator* 's/he is coming from the mountain', *leihotik sartu gara* 'we have entered through the window'. As ablative suffix, besides *-tik* we find *-ti* in many areas. The ablative plural has a variant *-etarik* in eastern dialects. In Bizkaian dialects that have preserved accentual contrasts in inflected forms, the ablative is accentually marked, which often indicates a more recent incorporation as an inflectional suffix (see section 1.2.2.). For possible historical connections with the derivational suffix *-ti* (as in, e.g., *gezurti* 'liar') and with the partitive *-(r)ik*, see Lafon (1948). A variant *-rik* is general in certain frozen expression such as *etxerik etxe* 'from house to house' and has a wider use in certain dialects. Old Bizkaian had a different ablative in *-rean*; e.g.: *zerurean* 'from the sky', *esku onerean* 'from a good hand'.

In the allative, 'place to', besides *-ra* we find *-rat* (*-lat*, *-alat*) in eastern dialects. In some of these dialects these two forms convey different semantic nuances, but other speakers use them indistinctively (see Lafitte 1944:60).

The directional *-rantz* 'towards' and terminative *-raino* 'up to' forms are both semantically and morphologically based on the allative. In the directional, besides *-rantz* we find *-rontz* and *-runtz* in Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan dialects. Ricardo Gómez (p.c.) has suggested that all three dialectal variants derived from different contractions of an older **-ra untz*, where *untz* would be a postposition related to the noun *untzi* 'vessel'. As for the terminative ending, it appears to derive from the fusion of the allative with a postposition *gino* which is still found in some Bizkaian varieties: *azken adarretara gino* 'up to the last branches'. In Old Bizkaian this postposition also appears with absolutive complements: RS 81 *ynurria guino lagun gura / hasta la hormiga dessea cõpañía* 'even the ant wants company'.

The allative plus the relational suffix *-ko*, besides to noun modifiers (destinative), gives rise to final complements whose meaning can be close to that of the benefactive, with the difference that it is used only with inanimates: *ona da osasunarako* 'it is good for (your) health', *haginetarako* 'for the teeth', *lanerako* 'for work', *nire gusturako*, *ez da oso ona* 'for my taste, it is not very good', *denetarako balio du* 'it is good for everything' (cf. *denentzat balio du* 'it is good for everyone', with benefactive inflection on *den* 'all'). Phrases in *-rako* can thus either be destinative nominal modifiers or final complements of the verb phrase. Compare: *etxerako bidea* 'the road to the house', where *etxerako* 'to the house' modifies *bidea* 'the road', and *etxerako erosi dut* 'I have bought it for the house'. Nonfinite subordinate clauses with a final function take *-t(z)eko*, not *-t(z)erako*: *burua freskatzeko izugarri on da* 'for refreshing the head, it is awfully good' (Andrés Mitxelena) (see section 4.10.1.2.2.1).

In addition to their place meaning, the local suffixes are also used to express time relations: *egunetik egunera* 'from day to day'. The locative expresses 'time when': *goizean* 'in the morning', *hurrengo egunean* 'the next day', *larunbatetan* 'on Saturdays', *pare bat egunetan* 'in a couple of days'.

Noun phrases bearing local suffixes can also function as manner complements: *era zuzenean* 'in a direct way', *frantses modura* 'in the French way'. The use of particular local suffixes is idiomatic in some adverbial expressions: *gogotik* 'earnestly', *bihotzetik* 'from the heart', *normalean* 'normally', *zuzenean* 'directly', *gustura* 'willingly', *batera* 'together', *antzera* 'in a similar way'.

Relational. See section 3.1.4.2.

3.3. Postpositions

J.I. Hualde

3.3.1. Locational nouns

There are a number of locational nouns which occur after a noun phrase either inflected in the genitive or uninflected. These include: *aurre* 'front', *aitzin* 'front' (eastern), *atze* 'back', *gibel* 'back' (eastern), *gain* 'top', *behe* 'bottom', *azpi* 'bottom', *ondo* 'side', *alde* 'side', *albo* 'side' and *arte* 'between, among'. The locational noun itself may be inflected in any of the local cases. Examples:

Table 69. Locational nouns

<i>zubi(aren) aurrean</i>	'in front of the bridge'
<i>gure aurretik</i>	'from in the front of us'
<i>lagunen atzetik</i>	'from the back of the friends, following the friends'
<i>etxe(aren) atzean</i>	'in the back of the house'
<i>mahai(aren) gainean</i>	'on top of the table'
<i>mahai(aren) gainetik</i>	'from on top of the table'
<i>aulki(aren) azpian</i>	'under the chair'
<i>aulki(aren) azpira</i>	'(to) under the table'
<i>aulki(aren) azpitik</i>	'from under the table'
<i>zuhaitz(aren) ondoan</i>	'next to the tree'
<i>eliza(ren) ondotik</i>	'from next to the church'
<i>lagun(en) artean</i>	'among friends'
<i>gure artetik</i>	'from among us'

The genitive is usually required with animate nouns (*Jon*[en] aurrean* 'in front of Jon'), and also with nouns followed by other elements, such as demonstratives, indefinite determiners, adjectives, etc.:

etxe bat(en) aurrean* 'in front of a house'
etxe handi(aren) atzean* 'in the back of the big house'
*aulki horren/*hori azpian* 'under that chair'

A detailed description of locational nouns and related expressions can be found in de Rijk (1990).

3.3.2. Invariable postpositions

More properly classifiable as postpositions are invariable forms which take a complement phrase in a specific case, giving rise to an adverbial expression, such as the following:

(a) With uninflected complements: *bezala* 'like, as', *eske* 'asking for'.

<i>guraso bezala</i>	'as a parent' (cf. <i>gurasoak bezala</i> 'like the parents')
<i>lan eske</i>	'asking for work'

Bezala is also used in comparisons of equality, see section 4.10.4.

(b) With genitive complements: *kontra* 'against', *aurka* 'against', *alde* 'in favor of', *zain* 'waiting for', *bidez* 'by means of'. *Bila* 'looking for', *gisa* 'like, as', and *truk(e)* 'in exchange for' can take either genitive or uninflected complements.

<i>etsaien kontra</i>	'against the enemies'
<i>Euskal Herriaren alde</i>	'in favor of the Basque Country'
<i>mutilaren zain</i>	'waiting for the boy'
<i>poesiaren bidez</i>	'by means of poetry'
<i>sustrai bila</i>	'looking for roots'
<i>lagunaren bila</i>	'looking for the friend'
<i>adibide on gisa</i>	'as a good example'
<i>satorraren gisa</i>	'like a mole'
<i>hire arimaren truke</i>	'in exchange for thy soul'
<i>diru truk</i>	'in exchange for money'

Some of these elements have other non-postpositional functions. Thus, *alde* is also a noun meaning 'side', *gisa* (from Sp *guisa*, ultimately of Germanic origin) is also a noun meaning 'manner' and *truke* (also a loan) is 'exchange'. *Bidez* is the indefinite instrumental of *bide* 'path, way'. *Bila* and *zain* are also verbal roots: *bila(tu)* 'to look for' and *zain(du)* 'to watch', respectively.

(c) With either absolutive or genitive complements: *-gatik* ~ B *-gaitik* 'because of' (< **gai-tik* 'from the matter'). This is the only one of these postpositional elements that is written attached to the preceding word, and it is indeed sometimes considered an inflectional suffix.

gizona(ren)gatik 'because of the man'
gizonengatik ~ gizonakgaitik 'because of the men'

(d) With partitive complements: *gabe* 'without'. It may also take uninflected complements.

diru(rik) gabe 'without money'

(e) With dative complements: *begira* 'looking at', *esker* 'thanks to', *buruz* 'towards; about'.

mendiari begira 'looking at the mountain'
zuri esker 'thanks to you'

In eastern dialects, dative noun phrases followed by *buruz*, the instrumental form of *buru* 'head', are used as locative expressions with the meaning 'towards'; e.g.: *mendiari buruz* 'towards the mountain' (probably based on a Romance model, cf. Catalan *cap a la muntanya*). In modern standard Basque, this same construction is used to express aboutness: *fonetika akustikoari buruz* 'about acoustic phonetics', *fonetikari buruzko liburu bat* 'a book about phonetics'. To express aboutness western dialects traditionally employ *gainean* 'on top of' with a genitive complement: *fonetikaren gainean* 'about phonetics', but this construction has lost favor because of its perceived origin as a calque from Spanish (*sobre fonética*).

(f) With instrumental and/or ablative complements: *gain* 'in addition to, on top of' and *bestalde* 'on the other side' take instrumental complements; *kanpo*, *at* and *landa* all 'outside of, besides, except' take either instrumental or ablative complements.

musikaz gain 'in addition to music'
lekuz kanpo 'out of place'
hemendik kanpo/landa/at 'out of here'
gutaz landa 'except for us'
mugaz bestalde 'on the other side of the border'

Kanpo (< Sp *campo* 'field') is also a noun meaning 'outside': *zoaz kanpora!* 'get out!'; *landa* is 'field'. As for *at*, it may be derived from *ate* 'door'.

(g)With locative complements: *zehar* ‘throughout, across’, *barrena* ‘throughout, across; towards’.

munduan zehar ‘throughout the world’
Frantzian barrena ‘towards France’

3.4. Adverbs

J.I. Hualde

3.4.1. Time adverbs

Some examples of time adverbs are the following: *gaur* ‘today’ (< **gau haur* ‘this night’), eastern *egun* ‘today’, *bihar* ‘tomorrow’, *etzi* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *etzidamu* ‘two days after tomorrow’, *atzo* ‘yesterday’, *herenegun* ‘the day before yesterday’ (< *heren* ‘third’ + *egun* ‘day’), *orain* ‘now’ (eastern *orai*), *lehen* ‘before’, *gero* ‘later’, *orduan* ‘then’ (< locative of *ordu* ‘hour’), *oraindik* ‘still’, *beti* ‘always’, *maiz* ‘often’, *bart* ‘last night’, *behin* ‘once’, *iaz* ‘last year’, *aurten* ‘this year’, *geurtz* ‘next year’, *aspaldi* ‘a long time ago’, *berandu* ‘late’.

From a formal point of view we can note two differences between true time adverbs, including those listed above, and time nouns such as *goiz* ‘morning’, *arratsalde* ‘evening’, *gau* ‘night’, *egun* ‘day’, etc., which can appear in phrases functioning as time adjuncts: 1) When used to indicate ‘time at which’, time adverbs do not take any inflection, whereas noun phrases take locative inflection, and 2) Time adverbs can take the relational marker and also allative and ablative inflection, but, unlike noun phrases, without ever taking epenthetical vowels to break the consonant sequences that arise in some of these cases (see section 3.2.2.2). Compare the following examples:

Adverb: *gaur* ‘today’

gaur etorriko dira ‘they will come today’
gaur-ko egoera ‘today’s situation’
gaur-tik biharrera ‘from today to tomorrow’

Noun: *goiz* ‘morning’

goiz-ean etorriko dira ‘they will come in the morning’
goiz-e-ko egoera ‘the morning situation’
goiz-e-tik arratsaldera ‘from morning to afternoon’

Some adverbs, nevertheless, have their origin in an inflected noun. An example is *garaiz* 'early, on time', from *garai* 'season, time' with instrumental inflection (but cf. *berandu* 'late'). A similar case is that of frequency adverbs based on the indefinite locative form of a quantifier: *askotan* 'often, many times' (*asko* 'much, many'), *gutxitan* ~ *guttitan* 'seldom, few times' (*gutxi* ~ *gutti* 'few'), *gehiagotan* 'more times' (*gehiago* 'more').

With many time adverbs, an ending *-danik* is also used in the ablative, besides *-tik*: *gaurdanik* 'since today', *atzodanik* 'since yesterday', *bihardanik* 'since tomorrow', *betidanik* 'since always' (see de Rijk 1995a for this ending).

Some words are both adverbs and nouns, inflecting differently according to their function. So, for instance, *goiz* besides being the noun 'morning', is also the adverb 'early', (cf. *goiz etorriko dira* 'they will arrive early') and *egun*, which in eastern dialects is the adverb 'today', is also the noun 'day' in all dialects (cf. *egungo egunean* 'on the day of today'; notice the different results of adding the relational suffix *-ko* to the adverb and to the noun: *egungo eguneko egoera* 'the situation on the day of today').

The time interrogative *noiz* 'when' is based on one of the two question-word roots, */no-/* (see, 3.1.6.1.3). It possesses the ablative forms *noiztik*, *noizik* and *noizdanik* 'since when', as dialectal variants. The allative *noizera* is used in the expression *noizetik noizera* 'from time to time'. The locative *noizean* is likewise used only in the idiomatic expression *noizean behin* 'from time to time' and dialectal variants. From the same root derives *inoiz* 'ever' (eastern *nehoiz*) used in polarity contexts (mostly interrogative and negative sentences; 3.1.2.4): *inoiz ikusi duzu?* 'have you ever seen it?', *ez dut inoiz ikusi* 'I have never seen it'. With the same meaning, but with a somewhat more emphatic value, we also find *sekula(n)* 'ever' (< Lat *saecula*). Both *inoiz* and *sekula* can be followed by *ere* 'also' for greater emphasis: *inoiz ere* ~ *sekula ere ez dut ikusi* 'I have never ever seen it'.

'Until' is expressed with *arte* (dialectal variants: *artio*, *artino*): *bihar arte* 'until tomorrow', *gero arte* 'until later', *orain arte* 'until now', *nahi duzun arte* 'until you want (to meet again)'. Noun phrases which are complements of *arte* generally take allative inflection: *hurrengora arte* 'until next time', *astelehenera arte* 'until Monday'. Nevertheless, *arte* can also take uninflected noun phrases and, with hours and certain other expressions, the absolutive is used: *astelehen arte* 'until Monday', *hamarrak arte* 'until ten o'clock'. For the use of *arte* in subordination, e.g. *ikusi arte* 'until seeing it', *ikusten zaitudan arte* 'until I see you', see 4.10.2.1.2.4.

To express 'within a period of time' western dialects employ *barru*, lit. 'inside' with uninflected phrases, and eastern dialects employ *buruan*, lit. 'in the head' with genitive phrases: western *lau egun barru* ~ eastern *lau egunen buruan* 'within four days'.

Some idiomatic time expressions: *noizean behin*, B *lantzean behin*, B *lantzean lantzean*, all 'once in a while', *behin eta berriz* 'often, over and over', *sekula santan* 'never ever', *lehen bait lehen* (also written *lehenbailehen*) 'as soon as possible', *lehengo egunean* 'the other day', *bat-batean* (also written *bapatean*) 'suddenly'.

3.4.2. Place adverbs

There are three basic place adverbs: *hemen/hon-* 'here', *hor* 'there' (near hearer), and *han* 'over there', corresponding to the three demonstratives *hau(r)/hon-* 'this', *hori* 'that', *hura/ha-* 'that over there' (see section 3.1.2.3.1).

The etymological connection with the demonstratives is clear. The form *hemen* 'here', which is at first sight less obviously related to *hau* 'this', has the eastern (Zuberoan) dialectal variant *heben*, which more clearly suggests **hau-en* as its origin.

Table 70. Place adverbs

LOC	<i>hemen</i>	<i>hor</i>	<i>han</i>
ABL	<i>hemendik</i>	<i>hortik</i>	<i>handik</i>
ALL	<i>hona</i>	<i>horra</i>	<i>hara</i>
DIR	<i>honantz</i>	<i>horrantz</i>	<i>harantz</i>
TERM	<i>honaino</i>	<i>horraino</i>	<i>haraino</i>

The relational suffix *-ko* can be added to any of the forms above: *hemengo*, *horko*, *hango*, *hemendikako*, *hortikako*, *handikako*, *honako*, *horrako*, *harako*, *honanzko*, *horrantzko*, *harantzko*, *honainoko*, *horrainoko*, *harainoko*. The forms *hemengotar* 'native of this place', *horkotar* 'native of that place', *hangotar* 'native of that place' are formed with the derivational suffix *-tar*.

Like the demonstratives (see section 3.1.2.3.2), the place adverbs have intensive forms involving the suffix *-xe* (*-txe* after a consonant): *hementxe* 'right here', *hortxe*, *hantxe*. The intensive suffix *-xe* may follow or precede the ablative suffix: *hemendixe* ~ *hementxetik* 'from right here', *hortixe* ~ *hortxetik*, *handixe* ~ *hantxetik*; it always follows allative inflection: *honaxe*, *horraxe*, *haraxe*. Notice that *-xe* also follows the relational: *hemengoxe* 'of

right here', *horkoxe etxea* 'the house right there', *honakoxe bidea* 'the road to right here'.

The pronoun *bera* 'he himself, she herself, it itself' (see 3.1.6.1.1) with local suffixes gives rise to intensive place adverbs: *bertan* 'in this/that very place' (LOC), *bertara* (ALL), *bertatik* (ABL). These forms can be used either alone or following the other place adverbs: *hemen bertan*, *hementxe bertan* 'right here, in this very place', *hor bertan* 'right there', *hemendik bertatik* 'from right here, from this very place'. In Bizkaian, proximal forms based on *berto-* are used when the reference is 'place near the speaker or hearer': *hortxe bertan* 'right there', *bertokoa da* 's/he is from this/that very place', *bertoko produktoak* 'local products', *bertotik* 'from that same place'.

3.4.3. Manner adverbs

There are three manner adverbs derived from the demonstratives with the suffix *-la*: (*-lan* in some Bizkaian areas) *honela* 'in this manner', *horrela* 'in that manner', *hala* 'in that manner'. Both *honela* and *horrela* are often shortened as *hola*. This suffix also appears in forms like *bestela* 'in a different manner' (*beste* 'other'). There is a corresponding question word *nola* 'how' (B *zeal[n]*). See 4.10.1.1.1 for the use of this suffix in subordination.

As discussed in 3.7, in eastern dialects and in the standard language, the suffix *-ki* can be freely added to adjectives to create adverbs: *sendo* 'strong', *sendoki* 'strongly'; *triste* 'sad', *tristeki* 'sadly', *filosofiko* 'philosophical', *filosofikoki* 'philosophically'. A few adverbs in *-ki*, however, have been lexicalized with a special meaning: *poli(a)* 'pretty', *poliki* 'slowly'; *eder* 'beautiful', *ederki* 'very well'. As mentioned in 3.7, for a handful of adverbs western dialects present forms in *-to* (*-do*) corresponding to eastern forms in *-ki*: *edertoederki* 'very well', *ondolongi* 'well', *hobeto/hobeki* 'better'. The geographical distribution of the forms in *-to* is not the same for all of them. Thus, *ondo* extends much further to the east than *ederto*. For a more extensive discussion of the use of the adverbs and their diachronic origin, see de Rijk (1995b).

Another important adverbial suffix which gives rise to manner adverbs is *-ka* whose general meaning is 'in a repeated way': *musuka* 'kissing', *aginka* 'biting' (*agin* 'tooth'), *eskuka* 'hitting with hands', see section 3.7.4 for more examples and for other adverbial suffixes.

Noun phrases with instrumental inflection generally have a manner adverbial function: *oinez dator* 's/he is coming on foot', *eskuaz apurtu du* 's/he has broken it with his/her hand'. Some manner adverbs derive from lo-

cal noun phrases: *ustekabean* 'accidentally' (< *uste* 'opinion' + *gabe* 'without' + locative), *gustora* 'with pleasure' (cf. Sp *a gusto*), *gogotik* 'eagerly' (lit. from the soul).'

A number of adverbs take the ending *-(r)ik* (identical to the partitive suffix): *bakarrik* 'only; alone', *azkenik* 'finally', *bigarrenik* 'secondly'. More frequently forms in *-(r)ik* are predicative adjectives, rather than true adverbials: *pozik nago* 'I am happy', *pozik egingo nuke* 'I would do it gladly' (*poz* 'happiness'); *bilutsik etorri dira eskolara* 'they have come to school naked', *isilik hago!* 'be quiet!', *isilik gelditu ziren* 'they remained silent' (*isil* 'silent, quiet'); *geldirik* 'still, without moving' (*geldi[tu]* 'to stop').

Uninflected adjectives may also be used as adverbs, often reduplicated: *garbi ikusten dut* 'I see it clear(ly)', *labur labur esango dut* 'I will say it very briefly (lit. short-short)', *arin-arin egin dute* 'they have done it very fast', *zorrotz jokatu du* 's/he has played wisely (lit. sharp)'. Some of these adjectival adverbs form a collocation with specific verbs, and sound strange with other predicates (??*zorrotz analizatu* 'to analyze wisely').

3.4.4. Proposition-level adverbs and adverbial expressions

Proposition-level adverbial expressions express the attitude or opinion of the speaker towards the proposition contained in the sentence. Morphologically they may have different shapes. A number of them derive from instrumental phrases: *menturaz* 'perhaps' (< Sp *por ventura*), *itxuraz* 'seemingly', *antza denez* 'as it seems', *nire ustez* 'in my opinion', *dirudienez* 'as it seems' (*dirudi* 'it seems' + complementizer + INSTR), *tamalez* 'unfortunately', *zorrienez* 'fortunately' (*zori* 'luck' + *on* 'good' + INSTR), *zoritxarrez* 'unfortunately'. Based on **agi* with locative inflection we find *agian* 'perhaps' and *agi danean* 'perhaps'. The expression *beharbada* 'perhaps' derives transparently from the sentence *behar bada* 'if there is need'.

These expressions occupy a marginal position in the sentence, initial, final or parenthetical. With the same function and similar meanings we also find, however, a number of particles which appear immediately preceding a conjugated verb: *ote* 'perhaps', *omen* 'apparently', etc. These are studied in section 3.5.7.

3.4.5. Comparison of adverbs

Some adverbs can take comparative morphology: *urrun* 'far', *urrunago* 'farther', *urrunen* 'farthest', *urrunegi* 'too far'; *poliki* 'slowly', *polikiago* 'more slowly', *polikien(ik)* 'most slowly', *polikiegi* 'too slowly'; *maiz* 'often', *maizago* 'more often', *maizen(ik)* 'most often', *maizegi* 'too often'. For the structure of comparative sentences, see 4.10.4.

3.5. Verbs

J.I. Hualde (3.5.1-3.5.3), B. Oyharçabal (3.5.4) and J. Ortiz de Urbina (3.5.5-3.5.7)

Verbs in Basque can be synthetic, consisting of a single word (e.g. *noa* 'I am going', *dakit* 'I know it'), or analytical, consisting of a participial form and an auxiliary (e.g. *joaten naiz* 'I go', *jakingo dut* 'I will know it'). Analytical verbs are usually called periphrastic in the Basque grammatical tradition. These are distinguished here from true periphrases, which involve verbs other than the general auxiliaries (e.g. *ikasten ari naiz* 'I am learning', *ikastera noa* 'I am going to learn', B *joaten dakit* 'I often go', etc.), see 3.5.5.

Other than the intransitive and transitive auxiliaries, which can also be used as main verbs with the meanings of 'to be' and 'to have', respectively, only a handful of verbs possess synthetic forms. Of the 60 or so verbs that could be conjugated synthetically in the 16th century in some tenses (Lafon 1944), only about a dozen are still conjugated in this manner today in the written standard, and this number is still smaller in local varieties and in colloquial standard usage. From the examples in the preceding paragraph we see that the verbs *joan* 'go' and *jakin* 'know' are among those few verbs that are synthetically conjugated in some tenses, whereas *ikasi* 'learn' belongs to the great majority of verbs without any synthetic finite forms.

Typically, thus, Basque verb expressions contain a participle and a conjugated auxiliary, since, for the vast majority of verbs, all forms are analytical and even those verbs that have synthetic forms use these only in some tenses. Participles carry aspectual (and, in part, tense) information, whereas auxiliaries convey information about argument structure, tense and mood. Four participial forms are used: the perfective participle (e.g. *erori* 'fall', *saldu* 'sell'), the imperfective participle (*erortzen*, *saltzen*), the prospective or future participle (*eroriko*, *salduko*) and the verb radical (*eror*, *sal*). These nonfinite forms are combined with conjugated auxiliaries (transitive or in-

transitive) to give rise to the different basic tenses, aspects and moods. This is illustrated in the following examples. The verb *eror(i)* 'fall' appears in the examples combined with three forms of the intransitive auxiliary, *naiz*, *nintzen*, which when used independently have the meaning of 'I am' and 'I was, I used to be', respectively, and the present subjunctive form *nadin* '(that) I be'. The auxiliaries used with *sal(du)* 'sell' in the examples are *dut* 'I have it', *nuen* 'I had, I used to have it' and the subjunctive *dezadan* '(that) I have it':

Table 71. *erori* 'fall' and *sal(du)*, 'sell'

<i>erori naiz</i>	'I have fallen'	<i>saldu dut</i>	'I have sold it'
<i>erori nintzen</i>	'I fell'	<i>saldu nuen</i>	'I sold it'
<i>erortzen naiz</i>	'I fall'	<i>saltzen dut</i>	'I sell it'
<i>erortzen nintzen</i>	'I used to fall'	<i>saltzen nuen</i>	'I used to sell it'
<i>eroriko naiz</i>	'I will fall'	<i>salduko dut</i>	'I will sell it'
<i>eroriko nintzen</i>	'I would fall'	<i>salduko nuen</i>	'I would sell it'
<i>eror nadin</i>	'so that I fall (SUBJ)'	<i>sal dezadan</i>	'so that I sell it (SUBJ)'

In the following three subsections, the morphology of the participles and other nonfinite forms will be presented first (3.5.1), followed by the forms of the intransitive and transitive auxiliaries and currently used synthetic verbs (3.5.2). The structure and meaning of the basic analytical forms is studied in section 3.5.3.

Note about the glosses: All third person singular agreement morphemes on verbs may correspond indistinctively to English 'he', 'she' or 'it'.

3.5.1. *Nonfinite forms*

J.I. Hualde

3.5.1.1. Nonfinite forms used in analytical verbal expressions

3.5.1.1.1. Perfective participle

(a)Form. The perfective participle is the basic form of the verb, from which all other forms can be derived. The perfective participle of most verbs has the ending *-tu*, which has the allomorph *-du* after a nasal or lateral (e.g.: *geratu* 'remain', *hartu* 'take', *kendu* 'take away', *saldu* 'sell'). This suffix is the only one that is productively used in the adaptation of borrowings (e.g.: *kantatu* 'sing', *kontrolatu* 'control'). All verbs derived from nouns and ad-

jectives also take *-tu* in their perfective participle (e.g. *gorri* 'red', *gorritu* 'reddened', see section 3.7). Although in all likelihood it was borrowed from Latin (but see Trask 1995), a number of nonderived native verbs take this suffix (e.g.: *kendu* 'take away', *sartu* 'enter', *hartu* 'take'). In a few cases a form in *-tu* is found dialectally in competition with an older form with another ending, e.g.: *irakurri* ~ *L irakurtu* 'read', *bidali* ~ *bialdu* 'send', *izan* ~ *izandu* ~ *izatu* 'be'.

A much smaller class of verbs, (almost) all of them native, take the suffix *-i* in the perfective participle. Most of them have a fossilized prefix *e-* (which has become *i-* in some cases, especially when the following syllable contains a high vowel, and *j-* immediately before a vowel), e.g.: *etorri* 'come', *ekarri* 'bring', *erosi* 'buy', *erori* 'fall', *egosi* 'boil', *eritzi* 'opine, consider', *arazi* (or *erazi*) 'cause', *eutsi* 'hold', *ibili* 'walk about', *ipini* 'put', *ikusi* 'see', *igurtzi* 'rub', *itzuli* 'turn, return', *ikasi* 'learn', *irabazi* 'win', *igarri* 'guess', *jantzi* 'dress', *jausi* 'fall'. In those verbs of this group with synthetic forms (such as *etorr[i]* 'come'), the initial segment is eliminated in conjugated forms (e.g.: *na-tor* 'I am coming'). Without this initial element, we find only a few examples of participles in *-i* such as *hasi* 'start', *hazi* 'grow', *hezi* 'tame, educate', *hautsi* 'break' (< *hauts* 'dust') and *utzi* 'leave'. It is likely that at some point in the history of the language all verbs formed their perfective participle with the suffix *-i*.

The suffixes *-tu* and *-i* are the only perfect participle suffixes. Nevertheless, some verbs do not take any suffix in the perfect participle. Among them, especially important are those ending in *-n*. The status of *-n* as a suffix or as part to the root is ambiguous. This consonant is preserved in the radical form (see next section), but it is suppressed in the imperfective participle; e.g.: *eman* 'give, radical and perfective participle', *ematen* 'imperfective participle'. Final *-n* is also deleted in finite forms for those verbs in this class possessing them; e.g.: *joan* 'go', *doa* 'he goes'. Most *n*-final verbs, like those that bear the suffix *-i*, also have the old prefix *e-* (and *i-*, *j-* variants) in their nonfinite forms: *eman* 'give', *eraman* 'take, carry', *esan* ~ *erran* 'say', *etzan* 'lay', *edan* 'drink', *entzun* 'hear', *egin* 'make, do', *ekin* 'insist', *jakin* 'know', *jan* 'eat', *joan* 'go'. In verbs such as *izan* 'be', *iraun* 'last' and *irakin* 'boil' the initial *i-* was originally part of the root and not a prefix since it appears in their finite forms (cf. *na-iz* 'I am', *d-irau* 'it lasts', *d-iraki* 'it boils' vs. *e-raman* 'bring' / *da-rama* 'he brings', *i-bil-i* 'go about' / *da-bil* 'he goes').

Most other verbs that do not take a suffix in the perfective participle end in *-o*: *jo* 'hit', *jaio* 'be born', *ito* 'drown', *eho* 'grind', *igo* ~ *igon* ~ *igan* 'go up, climb', *igaro* ~ *iragan* 'pass'. Exceptions not falling into any of the

mentioned categories are *hil* 'die', *erre* 'burn', verbs derived from the allative form of a noun such as *atera* 'take out' (< *ate-ra* 'door, ALL'), and a few borrowings such as *bota* 'throw' and *gorde* 'keep'.

(b) Functions. Besides its use in analytical verb expressions accompanied by an auxiliary, the perfective participle has several other usages without an auxiliary. The perfective participle may be used without an auxiliary in the following cases:

1. In most dialects, the perfective participle is the citation form of verbs; e.g.: *how do you say 'to see' in Basque?* *ikusi* (but in some eastern dialects the radical is used as citation form and in yet other eastern dialects a nominalization with the determiner has this function, e.g. *ikustea* lit. 'the seeing').
2. In western dialects the participle can be used without an auxiliary in commands: *etorri!* 'come!', *barkatu* 'sorry' (in eastern dialects the radical is employed).
3. The perfective participle may be used without an auxiliary in indirect questions in western dialects:

(167) *Ez dakit zer ekarr-i.*
 not know what bring-PRF
 'I don't know what to bring.'

4. The perfective participle is used with some postpositions; e.g.: *ikusi gabe* 'without seeing', *ikusi ondoren* 'after seeing it', *erosi baino lehen* 'before buying it', *bukatu arte* 'until finishing', *lana bukatu ahala (etorriko gara)* 'as soon as the work is finished (we will come)'.
5. The perfective participle is used without an auxiliary in sayings; e.g.: *zer ikusi, hura ikasi* 'what you see is what you learn' (lit. 'what see, that learn'), and also in elliptical exclamative expressions with emphatic *baietz* 'yes!' and *ezez* 'no!':

(168) *baietz berandu etorr-i*
 yes late come-PRF
 'for sure X come late'
 (i.e. 'it is certain that I/you/he/etc. will come/have come late')

6. The perfective participle can function as an adjective, being able to take nominal inflection and also comparative suffixes:

- (169) a. *gizon ikas-i-a*
 man learn-PRF-DET
 'a learned man'
- b. *gauzarik entzun-en-a*
 thing.PRTT hear-PRF-SUP-DET
 'the most often.heard thing'
- c. *gauza jakin-a*
 thing know-PRF-DET
 'a known thing'
- d. *okela erre-a*
 meat burn-PRF-DET
 'broiled meat'

7. In eastern dialects, a participial phrase can premodify a noun, forming a tenseless relative clause. In all dialects, the participle may bear nominal inflection directly, functioning then as a sort of headless relative clause: *Parisen ikusia* 'what (I/you/etc) saw in Paris', *gaizki esanak* 'the things that were said wrongly'.
8. The participle of some verbs can function as a noun: *jana* 'the food', *edana* 'the drink', *irabaziak* 'the earnings', *begiratu bat* 'a look', *joan-etorri bat* 'a round trip' (lit. 'go-come'). The use of participles as both adjectives and nouns is further discussed in section 4.10.1.2.1.2.

3.5.1.1.2. Radical

The radical is created by subtracting the ending *-tu* (*-du*) or *-i* from the perfective participle. Exceptionally, the radical corresponding to *lotu* 'cut, perfective', *ezagutu* 'know', *oroitu* 'remember' and a few other verbs is *lot*, *ezagut*, *oroit*; that is, only the final *-u* is deleted, and not the whole syllable *-tu* (thus avoiding homophony with *lo* 'sleep' in the case of the first of these verbs). The radical may end either in a vowel or in a coronal segment. The radical of *ebaki* 'cut', *eduki* 'have, contain', *jaiki* 'get up', etc., with a velar preceding the final vowel, is identical to the perfective participle (but the *-i* is deleted in the finite forms of *eduki*—the only verb in this group with finite forms—e.g.: *daduka* 'he has it'). Perfective participle and radical are also identical for *itxi* 'close' (the only verb with a palatal before *-i*). There are no examples with a labial in this position, e.g.: ***edubi*, ***edumi*. If the perfective participle does not end in *-i* or *-tu*, perfect participle and radical are always identical.

Although in 16th century texts the radical in combination with an auxiliary is used to create a past perfective indicative, this form is confined to the subjunctive, the imperative and the potential in the modern standard language. The Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan dialects have gone further in eliminating the use of the radical, having replaced it by the perfective participle everywhere. These dialects retain only residual use of radical forms in a few fixed expressions such as *hor konpon* 'figure it out', lit. 'fix it there!' (Sp *jahí te las arregles!*) (cf. *konpon[du]* 'fix'). In eastern dialects, the radical, besides being used in subjunctive, imperative and potential analytical forms, has a number of uses without an auxiliary (see Lafitte 1944, chapter 22 and Trask 1995:214-215).

3.5.1.1.3. Future participle

With most verbs the future or prospective participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ko* to the perfective participle. Thus, for instance, the prospective participle of *ekarr(i)* 'bring' is *ekarriko* and the prospective participle of *kanta(tu)* 'sing' is *kantatuko*. The exception are verbs whose perfective participle and radical ends in a nasal. These verbs take the allomorph *-go* in Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan, but the rather different suffix *-en* in other dialects; e.g.: PRF *eman*, FUT *emango* ~ *emanen*; PRF *joan*, FUT *joango* ~ *joanen*; PRF *izan*, FUT *izango* ~ *izanen*. Both forms are used in standard Basque. In some eastern dialects *-en* is used in the future participle of all verbs (e.g.: *kantat-uren*). Only one verb ends in a lateral in its perfective participle form, *hil* 'die; kill'. The prospective participle of *hil* is *hilgo* or *hilko* in Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan and *hilen* in other dialects. In the standard language, both *hilen* and *hilko* are used. The suffixes *-ko* and *-en* are homophonous, respectively, with the relational suffix and the genitive suffix (cf., e.g.: *mendi-ko etxea* 'the house of the mountain', *lau gizon-en etxea* 'the house of four men'). Most likely there is a historical connection (cf., e.g. *ekarriko* ~ *ekarriren dut* 'I will bring it' and Sp *traer he* > *traeré*, *he de traer*).

3.5.1.1.4. Imperfective participle

The imperfective participle takes the suffix *-tzen* ~ *-ten* attached to the verb root or radical. Of the two allomorphs of the suffix, *-tzen* is the general one, *-ten* having a more restricted distribution. The allomorph *-ten* is used in two cases in the standard language (the distribution is different in some western

varieties, cf., for instance, Hualde et al. 1994:113-114 for the variety of Lekeitio):

(a) With verbs whose radical/perfective participle ends in *-n*. With these verbs, the final *-n* is deleted before the suffix *-ten*; e.g.: *eman*, *ematen* 'give PRF/IMPF', *esan*, *esaten* 'say', *entzun*, *entzuten* 'hear', *joan*, *joaten* 'go'. In eastern dialects, as well as residually in some Bizkaian areas, some of these verbs present a root-final *-i* in the imperfective; e.g.: *emaiten*, *joaiten*. As Trask (1990) argues, this alternation can be understood if we assume forms such as **emani*, **emaniten* for an older stage.

(b) With verbs whose perfective participle takes *-tu* or *-i* and whose radical ends in a sibilant fricative or affricate; e.g.: *erosi*, *erosten* 'buy PRF/IMPF', *hazi*, *hazten* 'grow', *piztu*, *pizten* 'light, turn on', *eutsi*, *eusten* 'hold', *erakutsi*, *erakusten* 'show', *utzi*, *uzten* 'leave', and also *itxi*, *ixten* 'close'. In this case, the use of *-ten* instead of *-tzen* can be considered a case of dissimilation. Notice also that if the root ends in an affricate, this segment becomes a fricative before the imperfective suffix.

In all other cases, the allomorph *-tzen* is used, including those verbs whose root ends in *-n* but take one of the suffixes *-du* or *-i* in their perfective form.

As mentioned above, in verbs ending in *-ki* or *-gi*, such as *ebaki* 'cut', *eduki* 'have, contain' the final *-i* is not deleted. If this vowel were deleted the result would be an illicit consonant sequence *-ktz-* (**ebaktzen*).

The distribution of the allomorphs of the imperfective suffix is illustrated in table 72, where the other three forms discussed in the preceding subsections are also given for comparison.

Diachronically, the imperfective participle appears to derive from a locative form of the verbal noun, to be discussed in the following section.

Table 72. The distribution of the allomorphs of the imperfective suffix (part 1 of 2)

PRF	RADICAL	IMP	FUT	
Radical-final <i>-n</i> , no perf. suffix				
<i>edan</i>	<i>edan</i>	<i>edaten</i>	<i>edanen</i> , <i>edango</i>	'drink'
<i>joan</i>	<i>joan</i>	<i>joaten</i>	<i>joanen</i> , <i>joango</i>	'go'
Radical-final sibilant				
<i>irabazi</i>	<i>irabaz</i>	<i>irabazten</i>	<i>irabaziko</i>	'win'
<i>egosi</i>	<i>egos</i>	<i>egosten</i>	<i>egosiko</i>	'boil'
<i>irakatsi</i>	<i>irakats</i>	<i>irakasten</i>	<i>irakatsiko</i>	'teach'

Table 72. The distribution of allomorphs of the imperfective suffix (part 2 of 2)

PRF	RADICAL	IMP	FUT	
<i>-n + -du or -i</i>				
<i>kendu</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>kentzen</i>	<i>kenduko</i>	'take away'
<i>ipini</i>	<i>ipin</i>	<i>ipintzen</i>	<i>ipiniko</i>	'put'
Other radical-final C				
<i>erori</i>	<i>eror</i>	<i>erortzen</i>	<i>eroriko</i>	'fall'
<i>ekarri</i>	<i>ekar</i>	<i>ekartzen</i>	<i>ekarriko</i>	'bring'
<i>saldu</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>saltzen</i>	<i>salduko</i>	'sell'
<i>hil</i>	<i>hil</i>	<i>hiltzen</i>	<i>hilen, hilko</i>	'die'
Radical-final V				
<i>kantatu</i>	<i>kanta</i>	<i>kantatzen</i>	<i>kantatuko</i>	'sing'
<i>jaio</i>	<i>jaio</i>	<i>jaiotzen</i>	<i>jaioko</i>	'be born'
<i>erre</i>	<i>erre</i>	<i>erretzen</i>	<i>erreko</i>	'burn'
<i>ebaki</i>	<i>ebaki</i>	<i>ebakitzen</i>	<i>ebakiko</i>	'cut'

3.5.1.2. Other nonfinite forms

3.5.1.2.1. Verbal noun

A verbal noun is formed with the suffix *-tze ~ -te* attached to the radical. The rules for the distribution of the two allomorphs are the same as for the imperfective suffix *-tzen ~ -ten*. The form in *-tze ~ -te* has the morphological and syntactic properties of a singular noun and can be inflected as such. Thus, for instance, from *ekarr(i)* 'bring', *ikus(i)* 'see' and *egin* 'do, make' we obtain the verbal nouns *ekartze*, *ikuste* and *egite*, respectively, which are inflected in table 73.

Some examples of sentences containing verbal nouns:

- (170) *Zu hemen ikus-te-a-k harritzen nau.*
 you here see.NOM.DET.ERG surprise.IMPV AUX
 'Seeing you here surprises me.'

- (171) *Ez daukat hori egi-te-rik.*
 not I.have that do.NOM.PRTT
 'I cannot do that.'

- (172) *Hauek dira goizik etor-tze-a-ren abantailak.*
 these are early come.NOM.DET.GEN advantages
 'These are the advantages of coming early.'

Table 73. *ekarr(i)* 'bring', *ikus(i)* 'see' and *egin* 'do, make'

	<i>ekarr(i)</i>	<i>ikus(i)</i>	<i>egin</i>
ABS	<i>ekartzea</i>	<i>ikustea</i>	<i>egitea</i>
ERG	<i>ekartzeak</i>	<i>ikusteak</i>	<i>egiteak</i>
DAT	<i>ekartzeari</i>	<i>ikusteari</i>	<i>egiteari</i>
GEN	<i>ekartzearen</i>	<i>ikustearen</i>	<i>egitearen</i>
PRTT	<i>ekartzerik</i>	<i>ikusterik</i>	<i>egiterik</i>
LOC	<i>ekartzean</i>	<i>ikustean</i>	<i>egitean</i>
ALL	<i>ekartzera</i>	<i>ikustera</i>	<i>egitera</i>
ABL	<i>ekartzetik</i>	<i>ikustetik</i>	<i>egitetik</i>
REL	<i>ekartzeko</i>	<i>ikusteko</i>	<i>egiteko</i>

The relational form *-t(z)eko* is used in purpose clauses and indirect commands (see sections 4.10.1.2.2.1 and 4.10.2.2.1.2):

- (173) *Diru hau zapatak eros-te-ko da.*
 money this shoes buy-NOM-REL is
 'This money is to buy shoes.'

- (174) *Aitak esan digu hemen geldi-tze-ko.*
 father say AUX here stay-NOM-REL
 'Father has told us to stay here.'

There is a form in *-t(z)ekotan* or *-t(z)ekoan* which is used in time and proviso clauses; e.g.: *ikustekotan* 'on seeing it; in the case of seeing it' (see section 4.10.2.2.1.2). Other forms based on the verbal noun in *-t(z)e* are:

(a) *-t(z)earren* used in final clauses; e.g.:

- (175) *Zu ikus-te-arren etorri dira.*
 you see-NOM-arren come AUX
 'They have come with the purpose of seeing you.'

(b) *-t(z)ear* 'about to'; e.g.:

- (176) *Zaraitzuera hil-tze-ar dago.*
 Zaraitzu.dialect die-NOM-ar is
 'The Zaraitzu dialect is about to die.'

(c) *-t(z)eke* 'without'; e.g.:

- (177) *Lana buka-tze-ke irten dira.*
 work finish-NOM-ke leave AUX
 'They have left without finishing the work.'

3.5.1.2.2. Predicative participle

The suffix *-ta* (*-da* after a lateral or nasal) and the partitive/adverbial *-(r)ik* are added to the perfective participle in predicative and adverbial expressions; e.g.:

<i>apur(tu)</i> 'break'	<i>apurtuta ~ apurturik</i>	'broken'
<i>etorr(i)</i> 'come'	<i>etorrira ~ etorririk</i>	'come, arrived'
<i>esan</i> 'say'	<i>esanda ~ esanik</i>	'said'

- (178) *Leihoa apur-tu-ta ~ apur-tu-rik dago.*
 window break-PRF-PTCP ~ break-PRF-PTCP is
 'The window is broken.'

- (179) *Gauzak nola dauden ikus-i-ta ~ ikus-i-rik, banoa.*
 things how are.COMP see-PRF-PTCP ~ see-PRF-PTCP ba.I.leave
 'Having seen how things are, I am leaving.'

- (180) *Esan behar nuena esanda dago.*
 say must AUX.(COMP.) DET say.PRF.PTCP is
 'What I had to say has been said.'

Both forms in *-ta ~ -da* and *-(r)ik* can receive the relational suffix *-ko*, which allows them to be used as noun modifiers and to receive nominal inflection (see 3.1.4.2 [i]); e.g.:

<i>apur-tu-ta-ko / apur-tu-rik-o kristala</i>	'the broken glass'
<i>apur-tu-ta-ko-a / apur-tu-rik-o-a</i>	'the broken one'
<i>apur-tu-ta-ko-a-ri / apur-tu-rik-o-a-ri</i>	'the broken one, DAT'
<i>esa-n-da-ko / esa-n-ik-o gauzak</i>	'the things that have been said'
<i>esa-n-da-ko-a-k / esa-n-ik-o-ak</i>	'the ones that have been said'

3.5.2. Finite forms

The structure of finite verb forms in Basque is rather complex. In 3.5.2.1. we present the main affixes that appear in finite forms (agreement markers, pluralizers, dative marker and past/subjunctive suffix). In the following subsections, the finite forms of the intransitive auxiliary, which as an independent verb is *izan* 'be', are presented first (3.5.2.2). Then, the finite forms of the transitive auxiliary, which by itself has the value of 'have', are shown and discussed (3.5.2.3). The main finite forms of other intransitive and transitive verbs that are in current usage are examined in 3.5.2.4.

The simplest forms of intransitive verbs are monovalent and mark agreement with the subject. Intransitive verbs can also have bivalent forms marking agreement with an absolutive argument and a dative argument. Finite transitive verb forms are minimally bivalent, marking agreement with an ergative argument (the subject of the clause) and an absolutive argument (the direct object). In addition, there are trivalent forms that add agreement with a dative argument. The "allocutive conjugation", which adds morphological encoding for the addressee to forms where this is not an argument of the verb, is discussed in section 3.5.2.5.

Verbal morphology, particularly the morphology of the auxiliaries, is perhaps the area where the greatest amount of dialectal variation is found in Basque. The forms that are presented here are those that have been chosen in standard Basque among competing dialectal variants. Essentially, the standard forms adopted by the Basque Academy represent a compromise between the Gipuzkoan and the Lapurdian literary traditions. Given the amount of dialectal diversity in this area, here it is not possible to make more than occasional reference to dialectal variation. For details on dialectal forms, the reader is referred to Bonaparte 1991 [1869], which provides comparative tables of verb forms for the major Basque dialects, and to the multi-volume survey of auxiliary forms in local dialects in Yrizar (1981, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1992d, 1997).

3.5.2.1. The structure of finite forms

3.5.2.1.1. Agreement markers

Finite forms, besides being marked for tense and mood, carry agreement features with up to three arguments: subject, direct object and indirect object. In addition, in the so-called allocutive conjugation, they may show a

sort of agreement with a non-argument addressee. All of this results in very rich verbal morphology. However, as mentioned, besides the auxiliaries, only a handful of verbs possess finite forms (and, then, only in a few tenses).

Note that Basque has two second person singular forms: a second person familiar (2f), *hi* 'thou', and a pragmatically unmarked second person singular, *zu* 'you-SG' (2s). In all the tables in this book, the form for *zu* 'you-SG' is listed after the first person plural form. The reason for this is that originally *zu* was a second person plural and this is still evident in verbal morphology. Historically, after *zu* acquired a singular value, a new second person plural form was created, *zuek* 'you-PL'. The forms for *zuek* 'you-PL' (2p) are listed immediately after those for *zu* 'you-SG' (2s). In the second person familiar a gender distinction is made when the argument is encoded by a suffix, but not when it is encoded by a prefix. In the tables, 2F.F = second person singular familiar, feminine (female addressee), whereas 2F.M corresponds to the forms used with nonfemale addressees given familiar treatment.

Intransitive forms may carry agreement with a single argument, the subject of the clause, or with two arguments: the subject and the indirect object (leaving aside allocutivity). In intransitive forms, the absolutive argument is marked by a prefix and dative arguments, if present, are marked by suffixes. The basic shapes of agreement affixes in intransitive forms are found in the following table.

Table 74. Agreement affixes in intransitive forms

	ABS	DAT
1S	<i>n-</i>	<i>-da-l -t</i>
2F.M	<i>h-</i>	<i>-a-l-k</i>
2F.F	<i>h-</i>	<i>-na-l-n</i>
3S	<i>d-, z-, l-, b-</i>	<i>-o</i>
1P	<i>g-</i>	<i>-gu</i>
2S	<i>z-</i>	<i>-zu</i>
2P	<i>z-</i>	<i>-zue</i>
3P	<i>d-, z-, l-, b-</i>	<i>-e</i>

As an example consider the monovalent present indicative paradigm of *etorr(i)* 'come, arrive'.

Table 75. *etorr(i)* - present indicative (part 1 of 2)

1S	(<i>ni</i>)	<i>nator</i>	'I come' ('I am coming')
2SF	(<i>hi</i>)	<i>hator</i>	'thou comest'
3S	(<i>hura</i>)	<i>dator</i>	's/he/it comes'

Table 75. *etorr(i)* - present indicative (part 2 of 2)

1P	(gu)	<i>gatoz</i>	'we come'
2S	(zu)	<i>zatoz</i>	'you-SG come'
2P	(zuek)	<i>zatozte</i>	'you-PL come'
3P	(haiek)	<i>datoz</i>	'they come'

In the third person, we find four different prefixes in table 74. These are used in different paradigms. The prefix *d-* is used in present forms, *z-* in past forms, *l-* in hypothetical forms and *b-* in third person imperatives; e.g.: *dator* 'it/he/she comes, is coming', *zatorren* 'it/he/she came', *ba-letor* 'if it/he/she came', *betor* 'may it/he/she come'. Most likely, historically these third person prefixes were something other than agreement markers (see Gómez & Sainz 1995) and even for the present-day language other analyses that do not treat these prefixes as agreement markers are possible. There are no gender or animacy distinctions in the third person. That is, in all instances a third person singular argument could be translated as English *she* (*her*), *he* (*him*), or *it*, although, for simplicity, this will not be explicitly noted in all glossed forms.

From the monovalent forms of *etorr(i)* given above, bivalent forms are derived by adding the corresponding dative agreement suffixes after the dative pre-suffix *-ki-*, as in the following examples:

nator-ki-zu 'I come to you-SG'
hatorkigu 'thou comest to us'
datorkizue 'he comes to you-PL'
gatozkizue 'we come to you-PL'

In transitive forms, a remarkable fact is that the ergative argument (the subject) is indexed by suffixes in some tenses but by prefixes in others. Moreover, the ergative prefixes are identical to the absolutive agreement markers of other paradigms. That is, transitive and intransitive subjects receive the same verbal encoding in some tenses but very different encodings in other tenses. For instance, in both intransitive *nator* 'I am coming' and transitive *nekarren* 'I brought it' the prefix *n-* indicates a first person singular subject, but the same argument is indexed with a suffix *-t* in the present tense transitive form *dakart* 'I am bringing it'. Ergative prefixes are used in transitive (bivalent or trivalent) past and conditional forms in which the absolutive argument is a third person. In all present forms as well as in past and conditional forms which include a first or second person absolutive argument, the ergative is marked by a suffix. This phenomenon is known as "ergative displacement" (Laka 1993a).

We will use the term “transitive pattern A” to refer to forms where the ergative argument is indexed by a suffix and the term “transitive pattern B” to refer to forms where the ergative argument is indexed by a prefix.

Table 76. Agreement affixes in bivalent pattern A transitive forms (ergative suffixes)

	ABS	ERG
1S	<i>n-</i>	<i>-t/-da</i>
2F.M	<i>h-</i>	<i>-k/-a-</i>
2F.F	<i>h-</i>	<i>-n/-na-</i>
3S	<i>d-, b</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
1P	<i>g-</i>	<i>-gu</i>
2S	<i>z-</i>	<i>-zu</i>
2P	<i>z-</i>	<i>-zue</i>
3P	<i>d-, b</i>	<i>-te</i>

This pattern of agreement can be illustrated with the present indicative of *ekarr(i)* ‘bring’. In the following paradigm the direct object is a third person singular (prefix *d*):

Table 77. ekarr(i) - present tense

1S	(<i>nik</i>)	<i>dakart</i>	‘I bring it’ (cf. <i>dakarda-la</i> ‘that I bring it’)
2SF	(<i>hik</i>)	<i>dakark</i>	‘thou (male) bringest it’
		<i>dakarna</i>	‘thou (fem.) bringest it’
3S	(<i>hark</i>)	<i>dakar</i>	‘s/he/it brings it’
1P	(<i>guk</i>)	<i>dakargu</i>	‘we bring it’
2S	(<i>zuk</i>)	<i>dakarzu</i>	‘you-SG bring it’
2P	(<i>zuek</i>)	<i>dakarzue</i>	‘you-PL bring it’
3P	(<i>haiek</i>)	<i>dakarte</i>	‘they bring it’

Consider also the following examples, where the direct object is first person singular (prefix *n-*):

nakar ‘he brings me’
nakarzu ‘you bring me’

Additional examples with other verbs: *n-a-u-zu* ‘you have me’, *z-a-it-u-t* ‘I have you’, *d-a-rama-t* ‘I take it/him/her’, *n-a-rama* ‘s/he/it takes me’, *n-a-rama-zu* ‘you take me’.

In pattern A trivalent forms, dative suffixes precede ergative suffixes. In trivalent forms the absolutive argument (the direct object) is necessarily a third person. Except for the third person, dative and ergative suffixes have the same basic shape:

Table 78. Agreement affixes in trivalent pattern A transitive forms (ergative suffixes)

ABS		DAT	ERG
1S		-t/-da	-t /-da-
2F.M		-k/-a-	-k/-a-
2F.F		-n/-na-	-n/-na-
3S	d-, b-	-o	-Ø
1P		-gu	-gu
2S		-zu	-zu
2P		-zue	-zue
3P	d-, b-	-e	-te

Using the present indicative of *ekarr(i)* as an illustration:

<i>dakar-ki-zu-t</i>	'I bring it to you'
<i>dakar-ki-da-zu</i>	'you-SG bring it to me'
<i>dakar-ki-gu-zue</i>	'you-PL bring it to us'
<i>dakar-ki-o-te</i>	'they bring it to him'

Additional trivalent examples with other verbs (notice that the dative pre-suffix is not always present): *d-i-da-zu* 'you have it to me', *d-i-zu-t* 'I have it to you'; *d-a-rama-zu-t* 'I am carrying it to you'.

In transitive pattern B, the absolutive must be a third person, which is left unmarked. If there is a dative argument it is indexed by a suffix:

Table 79. Agreement affixes in transitive pattern B forms (ergative prefixes)

	ERG	DAT
1S	n-	-t/-da-
2F.M	h-	-k/-a-
2F.F	h-	-n/-na-
3S	z-, l-	-o
1P	g-	-gu
2S	z-	-zu
2P	z-	-zue
3P	z-, l-,	-e

We can illustrate transitive agreement pattern B with the past tense of *ekarr(i)*. Notice, on the one hand, the difference with the encoding of the subject in the present tense of the same verb, given above, and, on the other, the similarity in the encoding of the subject in this paradigm and in the in-transitive examples we have already seen:

Table 80. *ekarr(i)* - past tense

1S	(<i>nik</i>)	<i>nekarren</i>	'I brought it'
2SF	(<i>hik</i>)	<i>hekarren</i>	'thou brought it'
3S	(<i>hark</i>)	<i>zekarren</i>	's/he/it brought it'
1P	(<i>guk</i>)	<i>genekarren</i>	'we brought it'
2S	(<i>zuk</i>)	<i>zenekarren</i>	'you-SG brought it'
2P	(<i>zuek</i>)	<i>zenekarten</i>	'you-PL brought it'
3P	(<i>haiek</i>)	<i>zekarten</i>	'they brought it'

The contrast between the two transitive agreement patterns is illustrated in the following examples where the first person singular ergative affix (suffix *-t/-da-* vs. prefix *n-*) is separated from the rest of the form with a hyphen for clarity:

Table 81. Transitive agreement patterns

Pattern A	vs.	Pattern B
<i>du-t</i> 'I have it'		<i>n-uen</i> 'I had it'
<i>dizu-t</i> 'I have it to you'		<i>n-izun</i> 'I had it to you'
<i>daki-t</i> 'I know it'		<i>n-ekien</i> 'I knew it'

As mentioned, pattern A is employed regardless of tense when the direct object is a first or second person. Thus we have a subject suffix in both *zaitu-t* 'I have you' and *zintu-da-n* 'I had you', for instance.

3.5.2.1.2. Other affixes

(a) Dative pre-suffix *-i-*, *-ki-*. Most forms containing a dative suffix also carry another affix *-i-* or *-ki-* which may appear immediately before the dative suffix or may instead precede the verb root; e.g.: *nator-ki-zu* 'I am coming to you', (*eman*) *d-i-eza-da-zu-n* 'so you may (give) it to me'. In trivalent forms of **edun* 'have' the dative vowel *-i-* replaces the root *-u-*; e.g.: *d-u-t* 'I have it', *d-i-zu-t* 'I have it to you'. Both *-i-* and *-ki-* may historically derive from a single form **-gi-*, with deletion of the consonant in intervocalic position (as argued in Trask 1995), cf., e.g., *zait* 'it is to me' and *zaizkit* 'they are to me'.

(b) Pluralizers. Inflected forms may contain different types of pluralizers. To begin with, all forms containing a second person plural argument bear a pluralizer *-e*, *-te*, which distinguishes this form from the corresponding form for a second person singular argument. This is regardless of whether this argu-

ment is marked as a prefix or as a suffix; e.g. *zara* 'you-SG are', *zarete* 'you-PL are'; *bazenu* 'if you-SG had it', *bazenute* 'if you-PL had it'.

To mark an absolutive argument as plural, a number of different suffixes are used. In the case of a third person argument, the pluralizer is often the only difference between singular and plural. As mentioned, forms for a second person singular nonfamiliar argument carry a pluralizer even though nowadays their meaning is strictly singular:

Table 82. Plural suffixes

-z	<i>doa</i>	'it/he/she is going'	<i>doa-z</i>	'they are going'
	<i>noa</i>	'I am going'	<i>goa-z</i>	'we are going'
-z-	<i>daukagu</i>	'we have it'	<i>dau-z-kagu</i>	'we have them'
-zki-	<i>diogu</i>	'we have it to him/her'	<i>di-zki-ogu</i>	'we have them to him/her'
	<i>dakigu</i>	'we know it'	<i>daki-zki-gu</i>	'we know them'
-tza	<i>dabil</i>	'it/he/she is walking'	<i>dabil-tza</i>	'they are walking'
	<i>nabil</i>	'I am walking'	<i>gabil-tza</i>	'we are walking'
	<i>daramagu</i>	'we are carrying it'	<i>darama-tza-gu</i>	'we are carrying them'
-it-	<i>dugu</i>	'we have it'	<i>d-it-ugu</i>	'we have them'
			<i>za-it-ugu</i>	'we have you'
	<i>nau</i>	'it/he/she has me'	<i>ga-it-u</i>	'it/he/she has us'
-de	<i>nago</i>	'I am (here...)'	<i>gau-de</i>	'we are (here...)'

As suggested immediately above, historically *-zki-* most likely represents the fusion of the pluralizer *-z-* with the dative affix **-gi-*. The third person plural ergative suffix *-te* may also be related to the pluralizer *-(t)e-* which can also modify ergative arguments; if so, the third person ergative markers would be zero both in the singular and in the plural.

In Bizkaian, *-z* has been generalized, replacing all other pluralizers; e.g.: *daukaguz* 'we have them', *dabi(l)z* 'they are walking', *daroaguz* 'we are carrying them', *doguz* 'we have them', *gaittuz* 'he has us' (with double plural), *deutsaguz* 'we have them to him', *dakiguz* 'we know them' (compare with the corresponding standard forms above).

In transitive pattern B (see previous section), where the formally absolutive prefix actually stands for the ergative argument, absolutive plural objects are still marked by the pluralizer: *n-eukan* 'I had it' vs. *n-eu-z-kan* 'I had them'; *z-ekarren* 'he brought it', *z-ekar-tza-n* ~ *z-ekar-zki-en* 'he brought them'.

(c) The *-(e)n* suffix. This suffix has two distinct functions in verb paradigms: past marker and subjunctive marker. That is, all past forms and all subjunctive forms carry the suffix *-(e)n*. This ending is suppressed before the com-

plementizer *-(e)la* 'that'; e.g.: *nintzen* 'I was', *nintzela* 'that I was'; *eror nadin* 'so I may fall', *eror nadila* 'that I may fall'. This suffix is identical to the complementizer *-(e)n* (see 4.10.2.1.2), and, in the case of subjunctive verbal forms, it might actually be possible to identify them.

(d)-*ke* ~ *-te* ~ *-teke*. This suffix is used in all potential and conditional apodosis forms; e.g.: *ikusiko nuke* 'I would see it', *ikus dezaket* 'I can see it'; *letorke* 'he would come'. In some eastern dialects as well as in a slightly archaic usage in standard Basque, this suffix can also be added to present indicative forms to convey a meaning of possibility or futurity; e.g.: *ikusiko dut* 'I will see it', *ikusiko duket* 'perhaps I will see it'; *dator* 'he is coming', *datorke* 'he will come, may come'; *dakigu* 'we know it', *dakikegu* 'we will know, may know it'.

A more systematic presentation of the basic structure of finite forms is given in section 3.5.3.

3.5.2.2. Intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be'

The verb *izan* 'be', which also functions as intransitive auxiliary, appears to represent the historical fusion of two verbs, *izan* 'be' and **edin* 'become'. Nowadays the forms of *izan* are used in the indicative and those of **edin* in the subjunctive, imperative and potential. However, in 16th century texts, **edin* was used together with the radical of the verb in verbal expressions in main clauses with perfective past value; e.g.: *eror zedin* 'he fell' (in the present-day language this is a past subjunctive expression 'so that he might fall'). We find a parallel situation regarding the transitive auxiliary. The stage attested in the 16th century, which we cannot discuss here, is rather more complex and might represent a remnant of an older situation where there was a morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs affecting all verbs with finite forms (see Lafon 1944, Txillardeggi 1978).

3.5.2.2.1. Indicative

(a) Present and past indicative monovalent forms

In the following table present (or, perhaps more accurately, nonpast) and past indicative forms of *izan* are presented side-by-side:

Table 83. Non-past and past indicative forms of *izan*

		present ind.		past ind.	
1S	<i>ni</i>	<i>naiz</i>	'I am'	<i>nintzen</i>	'I was'
2SF	<i>hi</i>	<i>haiz</i>	'thou art'	<i>hintzen</i>	'thou wert'
3S	<i>hura</i>	<i>da</i>	's/he it is'	<i>zen</i>	's/he it was'
1P	<i>gu</i>	<i>gara</i>	'we are'	<i>ginen</i>	'we were'
2S	<i>zu</i>	<i>zara</i>	'you-SG are'	<i>zinen</i>	'you-SG were'
2P	<i>zuek</i>	<i>zarete</i>	'you-PL are'	<i>zineten</i>	'you-PL were'
3P	<i>haiek</i>	<i>dira</i>	'they are'	<i>ziren</i>	'they were'

When used by itself as a main verb, the past has an imperfective value; e.g.: *gaztea nintzen* 'I was, used to be young, Sp *era joven*, Fr *j'étais jeune*' (cf. *gaztea izan nintzen* 'Sp *fui joven*, Fr *je fus jeune*'). As auxiliaries, both the present and the past indicative can combine with the perfective, imperfective and future or prospective participle to give rise to the basic indicative forms (e.g.: *gertatu da* 'it has happened', *gertatzen da* 'it happens', *gertatuko da* 'it will happen', *gertatu zen* 'it happened', *gertatzen zen* 'it used to happen, it was happening', *gertatuko zen* 'it would happen', see section 3.5.4)

The forms of the verb 'to be' are especially irregular, as in many other languages. In addition, in the 1P and 2S forms of the present a number of variants are found: B, L *gara* ~ *gare*, *zara* ~ *zare*, LN, Z *gira* ~ *gire*, *zira* ~ *zire* G *gera*, *zera*. Given these variants, one could perhaps propose regular first and second person proto-forms containing the root *iza* from *izan*: **na-iza* 'I am', **ha-iza* 'thou art', **ga-iza-e* 'we are', **za-iza-e* 'you are'. The problem with this reconstruction is that a change *z* > *r* would be required in the plural forms for which there is no other evidence in the language.

(b) Present and past indicative bivalent forms

Bivalent intransitive forms carry a dative marker. In table 84 the forms for a third person (singular and plural) absolutive argument are given. The first two columns are for the present and the third and fourth columns are past forms.

The first person singular agreement suffix *-t* has the allomorph *-da-* when followed by another suffix, whether it marks dative agreement as in the forms above, or ergative case, in transitive forms (that is, historically, *-da* > *-t* word finally). The first second singular familiar masculine agreement suffix is *-k* word-finally and *-a-* when followed by another suffix (< **ga*), whereas the corresponding feminine suffix alternates between *-n* and *-na-*.

Notice that for second person singular familiar dative arguments two forms are given. The second one, labeled 2SF.F, corresponds to a human fe-

male dative argument; e.g.: *zain* 's/he/it is to thee, woman', whereas the other one, 2SF.M (e.g. *zaik* 's/he/it is to thee'), is used when the dative argument is human male or is nonhuman (i.e. an animal, regardless of sex, or a personified thing).

Table 84. Bivalent intransitive (ABS/DAT) present and past indicative forms for a 3rd person
ABS argument

	3S ABS	3P ABS	3S ABS	3P ABS
DAT	present ind.		past ind.	
1S	<i>zait</i>	<i>zaizkit</i>	<i>zitzaidan</i>	<i>zitzaizkidan</i>
2SF.M	<i>zaik</i>	<i>zaizkik</i>	<i>zitzaian</i>	<i>zitzaizkian</i>
2SF.F	<i>zain</i>	<i>zaizkin</i>	<i>zitzainan</i>	<i>zitzaizkinan</i>
3S	<i>zaio</i>	<i>zaizkio</i>	<i>zitzaion</i>	<i>zitzaizkion</i>
1P	<i>zaigu</i>	<i>zaizkigu</i>	<i>zitzaigun</i>	<i>zitzaizkigun</i>
2S	<i>zaizu</i>	<i>zaizkizu</i>	<i>zitzaizun</i>	<i>zitzaizkizun</i>
2P	<i>zaizue</i>	<i>zaizkizue</i>	<i>zitzaizuen</i>	<i>zitzaizkizuen</i>
3P	<i>zaie</i>	<i>zaizkie</i>	<i>zitzaien</i>	<i>zitzaizkien</i>

Glosses: *zait* 's/he/it is to me', *zaizkit* 'they are to me', *zitzaidan* 's/he/it was to me', *zitzaizkidan* 'they were to me'.

The dative agreement suffix is preceded by an *-i-*. In some Navarrese areas, bivalent intransitive forms of the type *dakit* 's/he/it is to me' (= *zait*) are found, which more transparently represent the addition of a dative marker, preceded by *-ki-*, to the form *da* 's/he/it is': /da-ki-t/. The initial *z-* of the standard forms may derive from a historical palatalization, assuming a repetition of the *-i-* pre-dative marker: **d-i-a-gi-t* > *zait* (older **d-i-a-gi-da*). In Bizkaian, forms of the type *jat* are found, probably from **d-i-a-t*.

Past forms in this paradigm, in addition to the final suffix *-n*, which characterizes all past (and subjunctive) forms in Basque, carry a prefix *zit-*. The forms in the second and fourth column, for a third person plural absolutive argument, differ from the corresponding forms for a singular third person absolutive argument in that they carry a pluralizer *-zki-*: *zai-zki-t*, *zit-zai-zki-da-n*. In Bizkaian, the pluralizer *-z* is used instead. e.g.: B *jat* 'it is to me' (= standard *zait*), B *jataz* 'they are to me' (= *zaizkit*), B *jatan* 'it was to me' (= *zitzaidan*), B *jatazan* 'they were to me' (= *zitzaizkidan*).

Bivalent intransitive forms are most commonly used with verbs of movement, as well as with verbs of the class represented by *gustatu* 'like' (cf. Sp *gustar*), *iruditu* 'seem', etc.: *gizon bat etorri zait* 'a man has come to me', *Peru joan zaigu* 'Peru has left us', *zapatak gustatzen zaizkit* 'I like (the) shoes', Sp 'me gustan los zapatos'.

There are also bivalent ABS/DAT forms for first and second person arguments (e.g. *natzaio* 'I am to him/her', *zatzaizkit* 'you are to me'), although

they are not common and most speakers do not employ them at all, using instead constructions with a benefactive or a directional argument instead of the dative.

Table 85. Bivalent intransitive (ABS/DAT) present indicative forms for a 1st and 2nd person ABS argument (rare)

	I	thou	we	you-SG	you-PL
to me		<i>hatzait</i>		<i>zatzaizkit</i>	<i>zatzaizkidate</i>
to thee	<i>natzaik/-n</i>		<i>gatzazkik/-n</i>		
to him/her/it	<i>natzaio</i>	<i>hatzaio</i>	<i>gatzazkio</i>	<i>zatzaizkio</i>	<i>zatzaizkiote</i>
to us		<i>hatzaigu</i>		<i>zatzaizkigu</i>	<i>zatzaizkigute</i>
to you-SG	<i>natzaizu</i>		<i>gatzazkizu</i>		
to you-PL	<i>natzaizue</i>		<i>gatzazkizue</i>		
to them	<i>natzaie</i>	<i>hatzaie</i>	<i>gatzazkie</i>	<i>zatzaizkie</i>	<i>zatzaizkiete</i>

Glosses: *natzaio* 'I am to him/her', *gatzazkizu* 'we are to you-SG'. As an auxiliary: *joan natzaio* 'I have gone to him/her', *irudituz gatzazkizu* 'we have seemed to you'.

The corresponding past forms, most of which are very rare in current oral usage, are the following:

Table 86. Bivalent intransitive (ABS/DAT) past indicative forms for a 1st and 2nd person ABS argument (very rare)

	I	thou	we	you-SG	you-PL
to me		<i>hintzaidan</i>		<i>zintzaizkidan</i>	<i>zintzaizki-daten</i>
to thee	<i>nintzai(n)an</i>		<i>gintzaizki(n)an</i>		
to him/her/it	<i>nintzaion</i>	<i>hintzaion</i>	<i>gintzaizkion</i>	<i>zintzaizkion</i>	<i>zintzaiz-kioten</i>
to us		<i>hintzaigun</i>		<i>zintzaizkigun</i>	<i>zintzaiz-kiguten</i>
to you-SG	<i>nintzaizun</i>		<i>gintzaizkizun</i>		
to you-PL	<i>nintzaizuen</i>		<i>gintzaizkizuen</i>		
to them	<i>nintzaien</i>	<i>hintzaien</i>	<i>gintzaizkien</i>	<i>zintzaizkien</i>	<i>zintzaiz-kieten</i>

Glosses: *nintzaion* 'I was to him/her' (*hurbildu nintzaion* 'I approached him/her'), *gintzaizkien* 'we were to them' (*etorri gintzaizkien* 'we came to them').

Here and elsewhere, in forms for a second person familiar argument, the *n* in parenthesis is used in the form corresponding to a female addressee.

3.5.2.2.2. Conditional

(a) Conditional monovalent forms

The protasis forms are always used with the prefix *ba-* 'if'. In conditional nonpast (as well as hypothetical potential) forms, a third person absolutive argument takes a prefix *l-* instead of the *d-* that appears in the present and the *z-* of past forms, including past apodosis. (For the historical origin of these prefixes, see Gómez & Sainz 1995).

Table 87. Conditional monovalent forms

	Protasis	Apodosis present	past
1S	<i>banintz</i>	<i>nintzateke</i>	<i>nintzatekeen</i>
2SF	<i>bahintz</i>	<i>hintzateke</i>	<i>hintzatekeen</i>
3S	<i>balitz</i>	<i>litzateke</i>	<i>zatekeen</i>
1P	<i>bagina</i>	<i>ginateke</i>	<i>ginatekeen</i>
2S	<i>bazina</i>	<i>zinateke</i>	<i>zinatekeen</i>
2P	<i>bazinete</i>	<i>zinatekete</i>	<i>zinateketen</i>
3P	<i>balira</i>	<i>lirateke</i>	<i>ziratekeen</i>

Glosses: *balira* 'if they were', *lirateke* 'they would be', *ziratekeen* 'they would have been'; *etorriko balira* 'if they came', *etorriko lirateke* 'they would come', *etorri ziratekeen* 'they would have come'.

(b) Conditional bivalent forms

Absolutive-dative bivalent forms for a third person absolutive argument have the same basic morphological structure as the corresponding indicative forms seen above (3.5.2.2.1.b), with the addition of the prefix *lit-*:

Table 88. Conditional bivalent forms for a 3rd person ABS argument

	Protasis ABS 3s	Apodosis	Protasis ABS 3p	Apodosis
DAT				
1S	<i>balitzait</i>	<i>litzaidake</i>	<i>balitzaizkit</i>	<i>litzaizkidake</i>
2SF.M	<i>balitzaik</i>	<i>litzaiake</i>	<i>balitzaizkik</i>	<i>litzaizkiake</i>
2SF.F	<i>balitzain</i>	<i>litzainake</i>	<i>balitzaizkin</i>	<i>litzaizkinake</i>
3S	<i>balitzaio</i>	<i>litzaioke</i>	<i>balitzaizkio</i>	<i>litzaizkioke</i>
1P	<i>balitzaigu</i>	<i>litzauguke</i>	<i>balitzaizkigu</i>	<i>litzaizkiguke</i>
2S	<i>balitzaizu</i>	<i>litzauzuke</i>	<i>balitzaizkizu</i>	<i>litzaizkizuke</i>
2P	<i>balitzaizue</i>	<i>litzauzueke</i>	<i>balitzaizkizue</i>	<i>litzaizkizueke</i>
3P	<i>balitzaie</i>	<i>litzaieke</i>	<i>balitzaizkie</i>	<i>litzaizkieke</i>

Past tense apodoses are formed attaching the past tense suffix *-en* and using *z-* rather than *l-* as third person absolutive marker: *litzaidake* → *zitzaidakeen*.

It is possible to create absolutive-dative bivalent forms for first and second person absolutive arguments, along the same morphological lines as for the past indicative; e.g.: *banintzaio* 'if I were to him/her' (*hurbilduko ba-*

nintzaio ‘if I were to approach him’), *nintzaioke* ‘I would be to him/her’ (cf. *nintzaion* ‘I was to him/her’); *bagintzaizkizu* ‘if we were to you-SG’; *gintzaizkizuke* ‘we would be to you-SG’ (cf. *gintzaizkizun* ‘we were to you-SG’). These forms are not normal in every-day speech.

3.5.2.2.3. Potential

Potential forms include the potential affix *-ke*, and seem to be based on a different root (**edin*).

(a) Potential monovalent forms

When used as an auxiliary, potential forms combine with the radical in the standard language: *hurbil daiteke* ‘he can approach’, *etor gintezkeen* ‘we could have come’.

Table 89. POT monovalent forms

	Present	Past	Hypothetical
1S	<i>naiteke</i>	<i>ninteekeen</i>	<i>ninteeke</i>
2SF	<i>haiteke</i>	<i>hinteekeen</i>	<i>hinteeke</i>
3S	<i>daiteke</i>	<i>zitekeen</i>	<i>liteke</i>
1P	<i>gaitezke</i>	<i>gintezkeen</i>	<i>gintezke</i>
2S	<i>zaitezke</i>	<i>zintezkeen</i>	<i>zintezke</i>
2P	<i>zaitezket</i>	<i>zintezketen</i>	<i>zintezket</i>
3P	<i>daitezke</i>	<i>zitezketen</i>	<i>litezke</i>

Glosses: *daiteke* ‘it/he/she can be’, *zitekeen* ‘it/he/she could (have) be(en), was able to be’, *liteke* ‘it/he/she could potentially be’

(b) Potential absolutive-dative bivalent forms

Intransitive bivalent potential forms are not frequent in present-day colloquial usage, but may be found in more formal registers. We give first forms for a 3rd person singular absolutive argument in table 90, turning later to less common forms with first and second absolutive agreement:

Corresponding forms for a third person plural absolutive argument are created inserting the pluralizer *-zki-* after the *-ki-* formative; e.g.: *dakizkidake* ‘they can be to me’, *zekizkidakeen* ‘they could have been to me’, *lekizkidake* ‘they could potentially be to me’.

Again, it is possible to have other combinations of arguments (with a first or second person absolutive argument), but these are not commonly used (see table 91).

Table 90. Bivalent POT forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument

	Present	Past	Hypothetical
1S	<i>dakidake</i>	<i>zekidakeen</i>	<i>lekidake</i>
2SF.M	<i>dakiake</i>	<i>zekiakeen</i>	<i>lekiake</i>
2SF.F	<i>dakinake</i>	<i>zekinakeen</i>	<i>lekinake</i>
3S	<i>dakioke</i>	<i>zekiokeen</i>	<i>lekioke</i>
1P	<i>dakiguke</i>	<i>zekigukeen</i>	<i>lekiguke</i>
2S	<i>dakizuke</i>	<i>zekizukeen</i>	<i>lekizuke</i>
2P	<i>dakizueke</i>	<i>zekizuekeen</i>	<i>lekizueke</i>
3P	<i>dakieke</i>	<i>zekiekeen</i>	<i>lekieke</i>

Glosses: *dakidake* 'it/he/she can be to me', *lekioke* 'it/he/she could potentially be to him/her'; *hurbil dakidake* 'it/she/he can approach me', *joan lekizuke* 'it/she/he could go to you'.

Table 91. Present POT 1/2 ABS/DAT bivalent forms (very rare)

	I	thou	we	you-SG	you-PL
to me		<i>hakidake</i>		<i>zakizkidake</i>	<i>zakizkidakete</i>
to thee	<i>naki(n)ake</i>		<i>gakizki(n)ake</i>		
to him	<i>nakioke</i>	<i>hakioke</i>	<i>gakizkioke</i>	<i>zakizkioke</i>	<i>zakizkiokete</i>
to us		<i>hakiguke</i>		<i>zakizkiguke</i>	<i>zakizkigukete</i>
to you-SG	<i>nakizuke</i>		<i>gakizkizuke</i>		
to you-PL	<i>nakizueke</i>		<i>gakizkizueke</i>		
to them	<i>nakieke</i>	<i>hakieke</i>	<i>gakizkieke</i>	<i>zakizkieke</i>	<i>zakizkiekete</i>

Table 92. Hypothetical POT 1/2 ABS/DAT bivalent forms (very rare)

	I	thou	we	you-SG	you-PL
to me		<i>henkidake</i>		<i>zenkizkidake</i>	<i>zenkizkidakete</i>
to thee	<i>nenki(n)ake</i>		<i>genkizki(n)ake</i>		
to him	<i>nenkioke</i>	<i>henkioke</i>	<i>genkizkioke</i>	<i>zenkizkioke</i>	<i>zenkizkiokete</i>
to us		<i>henkiguke</i>		<i>zenkizkiguke</i>	<i>zenkizkigukete</i>
to you-SG	<i>nenkizuke</i>		<i>genkizkizuke</i>		
to you-PL	<i>nenkizueke</i>		<i>genkizkizueke</i>		
to them	<i>nenkieke</i>	<i>henkieke</i>	<i>genkizkieke</i>	<i>zenkizkieke</i>	<i>zenkizkiekete</i>

The past bivalent potential forms for a nonthird person absolutive argument can be constructed from the corresponding hypothetical forms by the addition of the past ending *-en*.

3.5.2.2.4. Subjunctive

Subjunctive forms are based on **edin*. Both present and past subjunctive forms take the suffix *-n*. There is a hypothetical/conditional subjunctive paradigm, morphologically related to the past, without final *-n* (and with *l-* instead of *z-* in the third person) but these forms are not at all common, even

in formal registers. When used as an auxiliary, the accompanying lexical verb appears in the radical form in the standard language.

Table 93. Subjunctive monovalent forms

	Present	Past	Hypothetical (very rare)
1S	<i>nadin</i>	<i>nendin</i>	<i>banendi</i>
2SF	<i>hadin</i>	<i>hendin</i>	<i>bahendi</i>
3S	<i>dadin</i>	<i>zedin</i>	<i>baledi</i>
1P	<i>gaitezen</i>	<i>gintezzen</i>	<i>bagintez</i>
2S	<i>zaitezen</i>	<i>zintezzen</i>	<i>bazintez</i>
2P	<i>zaitezten</i>	<i>zintezten</i>	<i>bazintezte</i>
3P	<i>daitezen</i>	<i>zitezen</i>	<i>balitez</i>

Table 94. Subjunctive bivalent ABS-dative forms for a 3rd person ABS argument

	ABS 3S	ABS 3P	ABS 3S	ABS 3P
DAT	Present SUBJ.		Past SUBJ.	
1S	<i>dakidan</i>	<i>dakizkidan</i>	<i>zekidan</i>	<i>zekizkidan</i>
2SF.M	<i>dakian</i>	<i>dakizkian</i>	<i>zekian</i>	<i>zekizkian</i>
2SF.F	<i>dakinan</i>	<i>dakizkinan</i>	<i>zekinan</i>	<i>zekizkinan</i>
3S	<i>dakion</i>	<i>dakizkion</i>	<i>zekion</i>	<i>zekizkion</i>
1P	<i>dakigun</i>	<i>dakizkigun</i>	<i>zekigun</i>	<i>zekizkigun</i>
2S	<i>dakizun</i>	<i>dakizkizun</i>	<i>zekizun</i>	<i>zekizkizun</i>
2P	<i>dakizuen</i>	<i>dakizkizuen</i>	<i>zekizuen</i>	<i>zekizkizuen</i>
3P	<i>dakien</i>	<i>dakizkien</i>	<i>zekien</i>	<i>zekizkien</i>

Table 95. present subjunctive 1/2 ABS-dative bivalent forms (very rare)

	I	thou	we	you-SG	you-PL
to me		<i>hakidan</i>		<i>zakizkidan</i>	<i>zakizkidaten</i>
to thee	<i>naki(n)an</i>		<i>gakizki(n)an</i>		
to him	<i>nakion</i>	<i>hakion</i>	<i>gakizkion</i>	<i>zakizkion</i>	<i>zakizkioten</i>
to us		<i>hakigun</i>		<i>zakizkigun</i>	<i>zakizkiguten</i>
to you-SG	<i>nakizun</i>		<i>gakizkizun</i>		
to you-PL	<i>nakizuen</i>		<i>gakizkizuen</i>		
to them	<i>nakien</i>	<i>hakien</i>	<i>gakizkien</i>	<i>zakizkien</i>	<i>zakizkieten</i>

Absolutive-dative bivalent forms for a first or second person absolutive argument are, again, rather infrequent. Only a minority of present-day speakers would recognize them. They have the same basic structure as the corresponding potential forms, without the potential suffix *-ke* and with *-n*:

Table 96. Past subjunctive 1/2 ABS-dative bivalent forms (*very rare*)

	I	thou	we	you-SG	you-PL
to me		<i>henkidan</i>		<i>zenkizkidan</i>	<i>zenkizkidaten</i>
to thee	<i>nenki(n)an</i>		<i>genkizki(n)an</i>		
to him	<i>nenkion</i>	<i>henkion</i>	<i>genkizkion</i>	<i>zenkizkion</i>	<i>zenkizkioten</i>
to us		<i>henkigun</i>		<i>zenkizkigun</i>	<i>zenkizkiguten</i>
to you-SG	<i>nenkizun</i>		<i>genkizkizun</i>		
to you-PL	<i>nenkizuen</i>		<i>genkizkizuen</i>		
to them	<i>nenkien</i>	<i>henkien</i>	<i>genkizkien</i>	<i>zenkizkien</i>	<i>zenkizkieten</i>

Examples: *hurbil nakion* 'so I may approach him/her/it', *zakizkidan* 'so you may be to me', *etor zakizkidan* 'so you may come to me'

3.5.2.2.5. Imperative

There are morphologically distinct imperative forms not only for a second person subject but also for a third person (jussive):

(a) Monovalent imperative forms

Table 97. Monovalent imperative forms

2SF	<i>hadi</i>
3S	<i>bedi</i>
2S	<i>zaitez</i>
2P	<i>zaitezte</i>
3P	<i>bitez</i>

Examples: *etor hadi* 'come (thou)!', *etor bedi* 'may it/he/she come', *etor zaitez* 'come (you)!', *hurbil zaitezte* 'approach (you-PL)!', *etor bitez* 'let them come!', *hala bedi* 'may it be so'.

(b) Bivalent absolutive/dative imperative forms (mostly rare)

Table 98. Bivalent ABS/dative imperative forms

	thou	s/he/it	you-SG	you-PL	they
to me	<i>hakit</i>	<i>bekit</i>	<i>zakizkit</i>	<i>zakizkidate</i>	<i>bekizkit</i>
to thee		<i>bekik/bekin</i>			<i>bekizkik/-n</i>
to him	<i>hakio</i>	<i>bekio</i>	<i>zakizkio</i>	<i>zakizkiote</i>	<i>bekizkio</i>
to us	<i>hakigu</i>	<i>bekigu</i>	<i>zakizkigu</i>	<i>zakizkigute</i>	<i>bekizkigu</i>
to you-SG		<i>bekizu</i>			<i>bekizkizu</i>
to you-PL		<i>bekizue</i>			<i>bekizkizue</i>
to them	<i>hakie</i>	<i>bekie</i>	<i>zakizkie</i>	<i>zakizkiete</i>	<i>bekizkie</i>

The only ones of these forms that have some currency in modern usage are those for a third person subject, and even these have a certain literary or formal flavor. Perhaps the most common occurrence is in the expression *zilegi bekit* ‘may it be allowed to me’. Other forms occur in sayings, e.g.: *Bakio, aparta hakio* ‘Bakio, get away from it’, but only a minority of present-day speakers would use them actively.

3.5.2.3. Transitive auxiliary **edun*/**ezan* ‘have’

The indicative forms of the transitive auxiliary morphologically belong to a verb whose participle is reconstructed as **edun* (e.g.: *dut* ‘I have it’) and the subjunctive (imperative and potential) forms belong to the also reconstructed verb **ezan* (e.g.: *dezadan* ‘so that I have it’). When used as only verb, the transitive auxiliary functions as the verb ‘have’; e.g. *hartu dut* ‘I have taken it’, *dirua dut* ‘I have the money’. In western dialects, nevertheless, the use of **edun* as a main verb has lost much ground and is usually replaced by *eduki*; e.g.: *dirua daukat* ‘I have money’. Neither **edun* nor **ezan* has participial forms, hence the stars. Instead, with the value of ‘have’, in eastern dialects, *uk(h)an* is used as a participle (e.g.: *dirua ukhanen dut* ‘I will have the money’); in the central area, the participial forms of *izan* are employed both as ‘be’ and as ‘have’ (e.g.: G *dirua izango det* ‘I will have the money’) and in western regions *eduki* takes this function (e.g. B *dirua e[d]ukiko dot*). The forms based on **ezan* cannot be used as main verbs; e.g.: ***dirua dezaket*, cf. *dirua uk(h)an ~ izan ~ e(d)uki dezaket* ‘I can have money’.

The transitive auxiliary **edun*/**ezan* possesses bivalent ABS/ERG and, trivalent absolutive-dative-ergative forms, the latter only for a third person absolutive argument.

3.5.2.3.1. Indicative

First we list the bivalent transitive (ABS/ERG) present and past indicative forms for a 3rd person absolutive argument. In the present, the ergative argument (the subject) is encoded by a suffix, in the past by a prefix (see section 3.5.2.1.1. above on “ergative displacement”):

Table 99. Bivalent transitive (ABS/ERG) present and past indicative forms for a 3rd person
ABS argument

ERG	ABS 3s Present	ABS 3p	ABS 3s Past	ABS 3p
1S	<i>dut</i>	<i>ditut</i>	<i>nuen</i>	<i>nituen</i>
2SF.M	<i>duk</i>	<i>dituk</i>	<i>huen</i>	<i>hituen</i>
2SF	<i>dun</i>	<i>ditun</i>	<i>huen</i>	<i>hituen</i>
3S	<i>du</i>	<i>ditu</i>	<i>zuen</i>	<i>zituen</i>
1P	<i>dugu</i>	<i>ditugu</i>	<i>genuen</i>	<i>genituen</i>
2S	<i>duzu</i>	<i>dituzu</i>	<i>zenuen</i>	<i>zenituen</i>
2P	<i>duzue</i>	<i>dituzue</i>	<i>zenuten</i>	<i>zenituzten</i>
3P	<i>dute</i>	<i>dituzte</i>	<i>zuten</i>	<i>zituzten</i>

Glosses: *dut* 'I have it', *ditut* 'I have them', *nuen* 'I had it', *nituen* 'I had them'.

(Notice the extra plural marker *-z-* before the plural subject marker *-te* in forms for a plural object: *d-u-te/d-it-u-z-te*, *zen-u-te-n/zen-it-u-z-te-n*.)

The present indicative forms of **edun* are traditionally used as one of the major isoglosses in dialectal classifications. The standard forms given above are used in Lapurdian and Navarrese areas. The Gipuzkoan paradigm has the vowel *-e-* in first and second person forms: *det*, *dek*, *den*, *du*, *degu*, *dezu*, *dezute*, *dute*. In Bizkaian, on the other hand, we find *-o-* in first and second person forms and *-au* in the third person: *dot*, *dok*, *don(a)*, *dau*, *dogu*, *dozu*, *dozue*, *dabe* (< *dau-e*). To account for this variation an original paradigm in *-a(d)u-* can be postulated; e.g.: **daduda* > *dot*, *dut*, *det* 'I have it', **dadu* > *dau*, *du* 's/he, it has it', **dadugu* > *dogu*, *dugu*, *degu* 'we have it' (see Gómez & Sainz 1995 and references therein).

Bivalent absolutive/ergative present and past forms for a first or second person absolutive argument are given in tables 100 and 101. Notice that both in present and past forms the ergative argument is marked by suffixes, whereas the prefixes refer to the absolutive argument (see 2.5.2.1.1).

As shown, in the past forms there is an affix *-ind-/int-* directly after the absolutive prefix. The dental stop is historically part of the root of **e-du-n*. The contrast between *-ind-* in forms with a singular absolutive argument (e.g.: *ninduen* 's/he/it had me') and *-int-* in etymologically plural forms (e.g. *zintudan* 'I had you') must be due to the historical presence of the pluralizer *-it-* in the second group of forms, as can be deduced by comparison with the corresponding present forms; e.g.: *za-it-u-t* 'I have you' vs. *zin-t-u-da-n* 'I had you' < **zin-it-du-da-n*).

The "ergative displacement" phenomenon is apparent when we compare, for instance, *ikusi nauzu* 'you have seen me', where the first person singular prefix *n-* is marking the absolutive argument (the direct object), with *ikusi*

nuen 'I saw it', where the same prefix *n-* marks an ergative first person singular (the subject).

Table 100. Bivalent ABS/ERG present indicative forms for a 1st or 2nd ABS argument

	me	thee	us	you-SG	you-PL
I		<i>haut</i>		<i>zaitut</i>	<i>zaituztet</i>
thou	<i>nauk/naun</i>		<i>gaituk/gaitun</i>		
s/he/it	<i>nau</i>	<i>hau</i>	<i>gaitu</i>	<i>zaitu</i>	<i>zaituzte</i>
we		<i>haugu</i>		<i>zaitugu</i>	<i>zaituztegu</i>
you-SG	<i>nauzu</i>		<i>gaituzu</i>		
you-PL	<i>nauzue</i>		<i>gaituzue</i>		
they	<i>naute</i>	<i>haute</i>	<i>gaituzte</i>	<i>zaituzte</i>	<i>zaituztete</i>

Glosses: *nau* 's/he/it has me', *gaituzu* 'you-SG have us'

Examples: *ikusi nau* 's/he has seen me', *maite zaitut* 'I love you', *ikusi gaituzu* 'you have seen us'

Table 101. Bivalent ABS/ERG past indicative forms for a 1st or 2nd ABS argument

	me	thee	us	you-SG	you-PL
I		<i>hindudan</i>		<i>zintudan</i>	<i>zintuztedan</i>
thou	<i>nindu(n)an</i>		<i>gintu(n)an</i>		
s/he/it	<i>ninduen</i>	<i>hinduen</i>	<i>gintuen</i>	<i>zintuen</i>	<i>zintuzten</i>
we		<i>hindugun</i>		<i>zintugun</i>	<i>zintuztegun</i>
you-SG	<i>ninduzun</i>		<i>gintuzun</i>		
you-PL	<i>ninduzuen</i>		<i>gintuzuen</i>		
they	<i>ninduten</i>	<i>hinduten</i>	<i>gintuzten</i>	<i>zintuzten</i>	<i>zintuzteten</i>

Glosses: *ninduen* 's/he/it had me', *gintuzun* 'you-SG had us'

Examples: *ikusi zintudan* 'I saw you', *maite ninduten* 'they loved me'

In addition to bivalent ABS/ERG forms, there are trivalent absolutive-dative-ergative forms for a third person absolutive singular or plural argument. In 16th century texts by the writer Joanes Leizarrague (Leizarraga) we find a few examples of trivalent forms where the absolutive is not a third person; e.g.: *liuratu arauté* 'they have delivered thee to me', *reconciliatu vkan garauzquic* 'he has reconciled us to thee' (see Lafon [1944: I, 397-399]), and Azkue (1923-25:573) cites examples of the type *zuk ni berari eroan neut-sazu* 'you have taken me to him', but it is not clear if these forms were ever spontaneously used.

In present tense trivalent forms a vowel *-i-*, linked to the dative, appears instead of the root vowel *-u-*. The dative agreement marker precedes the ergative marker. The third person markers for a dative argument are singular *-o* and plural *-e*; e.g.: *eman d-i-o-gu* 'we have given it to him/her', *eman d-i-e-gu* 'we have given it to them'. For first and second persons, dative and ergative suffixes have the same shape and the correct interpretation of a given

form crucially depends on the order to the agreement markers (dative before ergative); e.g.: *eman d-i-gu-zu* 'you have given it to us', *eman d-i-zu-gu* 'we have given it to you'.

Table 102. Trivalent ABS-dative-ergative present indicative forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument

	to me	to thee	to him/her	to us	to you- SG	to you- PL	to them
I		<i>di(n)at</i>	<i>diot</i>		<i>dizut</i>	<i>dizuet</i>	<i>diet</i>
thou	<i>didak/-n</i>		<i>diok/-n</i>	<i>diguk/-n</i>			<i>diekl/-n</i>
s/he/it	<i>dit</i>	<i>dik/-n</i>	<i>dio</i>	<i>digu</i>	<i>dizu</i>	<i>dizue</i>	<i>die</i>
we		<i>di(n)agu</i>	<i>diogu</i>		<i>dizugu</i>	<i>dizuegu</i>	<i>diegu</i>
you-SG	<i>didazu</i>		<i>diozu</i>	<i>diguzu</i>			<i>diezu</i>
you-PL	<i>didazue</i>		<i>diozue</i>	<i>diguzue</i>			<i>diezue</i>
they	<i>didate</i>	<i>di(n)ate</i>	<i>diote</i>	<i>digute</i>	<i>dizute</i>	<i>dizute</i>	<i>diete</i>

When the absolutive argument is plural the pluralizing affix *-zki-* is added directly after *di-* in all forms; e.g.: *diot* 'I have it to him', *di-zki-ot* 'I have them to him'; *dizut/dizkizut* 'I have it/them to you' *diguzu/dizkiguzu* 'you have it/them to us', etc.

Table 103. Trivalent ABS-dative-ergative past indicative forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument

	to me	to thee	to him/her	to us	to you- SG	to you- PL	to them
I		<i>ni(n)an</i>	<i>nion</i>		<i>nizun</i>	<i>nizuen</i>	<i>nien</i>
thou	<i>hidan</i>		<i>hion</i>	<i>higun</i>			<i>hien</i>
s/he/it	<i>zidan</i>	<i>zi(n)an</i>	<i>zion</i>	<i>zigun</i>	<i>zizun</i>	<i>zizuen</i>	<i>zien</i>
we		<i>geni(n)an</i>	<i>genion</i>		<i>genizun</i>	<i>genizuen</i>	<i>genien</i>
you-SG	<i>zenidan</i>		<i>zenion</i>	<i>zenigun</i>			<i>zenien</i>
you-PL	<i>zenidaten</i>		<i>zenioten</i>	<i>zeniguten</i>			<i>zenieten</i>
they	<i>zidaten</i>	<i>zi(n)aten</i>	<i>zioten</i>	<i>ziguten</i>	<i>zizuten</i>	<i>zizueten</i>	<i>zieten</i>

When the absolutive argument is plural, the pluralizer *-zki-* is added after the *-i-* in all forms; e.g.: *nion* 'I had it to him/her', *ni-zki-on* 'I had them to him/her'; *zidan* 's/he had it to me', *zi-zki-dan* 's/he had them to me'; *zizuten* 'they had it to you', *zi-zki-zuten* 'they had them to you', *genien* 'we had it to them', *geni-zki-en* 'we had them to them'.

3.5.2.3.2. Conditional

(a) Protasis

Table 104. Bivalent ABS/ERG forms for a 3rd person ABS argument

	ABS 3s	ABS 3p	
1S	<i>banu</i>	<i>banitu</i>	'if I had it' / 'if I had them'
2SF	<i>bahu</i>	<i>bahitu</i>	'if thou hadst it/them'
3S	<i>balu</i>	<i>balitu</i>	'if s/he had it/them'
1P	<i>bagenu</i>	<i>bagenitu</i>	'if we had it/them'
2S	<i>bazenu</i>	<i>bazenitu</i>	'if you-SG had it/them'
2P	<i>bazenute</i>	<i>bazenituzte</i>	'if you-PL had it/them'
3P	<i>balute</i>	<i>balituzke</i>	'if they had it/them'

Examples: *ikusiko banu* 'if I saw it', *erosiko bazenitu* 'if you bought them'.

As noted in section 3.5.1.2 for the intransitive auxiliary, these forms are identical to the corresponding past indicative forms without the past ending *-en*, with the exception of the third person forms, which take the prefix *l-* instead of *z-*.

Table 105. Bivalent ABS/ERG conditional protasis forms for a 1st or 2nd ABS argument

	me	thee	us	you-SG	you-PL
I		<i>bahindut</i>		<i>bazintut</i>	<i>bazintutzet</i>
thou	<i>baninduk/-n</i>		<i>bagintuk/-n</i>		
s/he/it	<i>banindu</i>	<i>bahindu</i>	<i>bagintu</i>	<i>bazintu</i>	<i>bazintuzte</i>
we		<i>bahindugu</i>		<i>bazintugu</i>	<i>bazintuztegu</i>
you-SG	<i>baninduzu</i>		<i>bagintuzu</i>		
you-PL	<i>baninduzue</i>		<i>bagintuzue</i>		
they	<i>banindute</i>	<i>bahindute</i>	<i>bagintuzte</i>	<i>bazintuzte</i>	<i>bazintuztete</i>

Glosses: *bazintut* 'if I had you', *bagintuzu* 'if you-SG had us'

Examples: *ikusiko baninduzue* 'if you-PL saw us / were to see us'

The pluralization of the third person absolutive argument is signaled by *-zki-*; e.g.: *emango bazenizkigu* 'if you-SG gave them to us', *esango banizkie* 'if I said them to them', *ekarriko balizkidate* 'if they brought them to me' (see table 106).

(b) Apodosis

In the apodosis the suffix *-ke* is added following the root, before any subject suffixes, and before the pluralizer *-te*, as seen in table 107.

Table 106. Trivalent ABS-dative-ergative conditional protasis forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument

	to me	to thee	to him/her	to us
I		<i>banikl-n</i>	<i>banio</i>	
thou	<i>bahit</i>		<i>bahio</i>	<i>bahigu</i>
s/he/it	<i>balit</i>	<i>balikl-n</i>	<i>balio</i>	<i>baligu</i>
we		<i>bagenikl-n</i>	<i>bagenio</i>	
you-SG	<i>bazenit</i>		<i>bazenio</i>	<i>bazenigu</i>
you-PL	<i>ba-zenidate</i>		<i>bazeniote</i>	<i>ba-zenigute</i>
they	<i>balidate</i>	<i>bali(n)ate</i>	<i>baliote</i>	<i>baligute</i>

	to you-SG	to you-PL	to them
I	<i>banizu</i>	<i>banizue</i>	<i>banie</i>
thou			<i>bahie</i>
s/he/it	<i>balizu</i>	<i>balizue</i>	<i>balie</i>
we	<i>bagenizu</i>	<i>ba-genizue</i>	<i>bagenie</i>
you-sg			<i>bazenie</i>
you-pl			<i>bazeniete</i>
they	<i>balizute</i>	<i>balizuete</i>	<i>baliete</i>

Examples: *emango bazenigu* 'if you-SG gave it to us', *esango banie* 'if I said it to them'

Table 107. Bivalent ABS/ERG forms for a 3rd person ABS argument

	ABS 3S		ABS 3P	
	Hypothetical	Past	Hypothetical	Past
1S	<i>nuke</i>	<i>nukeen</i>	<i>nituzke</i>	<i>nituzkeen</i>
2SF	<i>huke</i>	<i>hukeen</i>	<i>hituzke</i>	<i>hituzkeen</i>
3S	<i>luke</i>	<i>zukeen</i>	<i>lituzke</i>	<i>zituzkeen</i>
1P	<i>genuke</i>	<i>genukeen</i>	<i>genituzke</i>	<i>genituzkeen</i>
2S	<i>zenuke</i>	<i>zenukeen</i>	<i>zenituzke</i>	<i>zenituzkeen</i>
2P	<i>zenukete</i>	<i>zenuketen</i>	<i>zenituzkete</i>	<i>zenituzketen</i>
3P	<i>lukete</i>	<i>zuketen</i>	<i>lituzkete</i>	<i>zituzketen</i>

The past conditional apodosis forms can be derived from the past indicative by adding the suffix *-ke* before the past ending *-en*; e.g.: *nuen* 'I had it', *nu-ke-en* 'I would have had it'. Notice that, as just mentioned, *-ke* goes before plural *-te*: *zuten* 'they had it', *zu-ke-ten* 'they would have had it'; *zenuten* 'you-PL had it', *zenu-ke-ten* 'you-PL would have had it'. The hypothetical conditional forms differ from the past ones in that they do not have the past tense suffix *-en* and, in forms for a third person subject, the prefix *l-* is used instead of *z-*, as in the protasis.

Other bivalent and trivalent apodosis forms are also, for the most part, directly derivable from past indicative forms by using the procedures out-

lined in the preceding paragraph. Only hypothetical apodosis forms will be illustrated:

Table 108. Bivalent ABS/ERG hypothetical apodosis forms for a 1st or 2nd ABS argument

	me	thee	us	you-SG	you-PL
I		<i>hinduket</i>		<i>zintuzket</i>	<i>zintuzketet</i>
thou	<i>nindukek/-n</i>		<i>gintuzkek/-n</i>		
s/he/it	<i>ninduke</i>	<i>hinduke</i>	<i>gintuzke</i>	<i>zintuzke</i>	<i>zintuzkete</i>
we		<i>hindukegu</i>		<i>zintuzkegu</i>	<i>zintuzketegu</i>
you-SG	<i>nindukezu</i>		<i>gintuzkezu</i>		
you-PL	<i>nindukezue</i>		<i>gintuzkezue</i>		
they	<i>nindukete</i>	<i>hindukete</i>	<i>gintuzkete</i>	<i>zintuzkete</i>	<i>zintuzketete</i>

Examples: *ikusiko nindukezu* 'you-SG would see me'; *ezagutuko gintuzkezue* 'you-PL would recognize us'; *maitatuko zintuzket* 'I would love you-SG'. Past apodosis: *ikusiko nindukezun* 'you-SG would have seen me', *maitatuko zintuzkedan* 'I would have loved you-SG'

(Notice the presence of the consonant -z- before -ke in forms for a first person plural and a second person singular direct object. This consonant does not appear in the corresponding past indicative and protesis forms; cf., e.g.: *gintu-zu-n*, *ba-gintu-zu*, but *gintu-z-ke-zu*).

Table 109. Trivalent ABS-dative-ergative hypothetical apodosis forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument (part 1 of 2)

	to me	to thee	to him/her	to us
I		<i>ni(n)ake</i>	<i>nioke</i>	
thou	<i>hidake</i>		<i>hioke</i>	<i>higuke</i>
s/he/it	<i>lidake</i>	<i>li(n)ake</i>	<i>lioke</i>	<i>liguke</i>
we		<i>geni(n)ake</i>	<i>genioke</i>	
you-SG	<i>zenidake</i>		<i>zenioke</i>	<i>zeniguke</i>
you-PL	<i>zenidakete</i>		<i>zeniokete</i>	<i>zenigukete</i>
they	<i>lidakete</i>	<i>li(n)akete</i>	<i>liokete</i>	<i>ligukete</i>

Table 110. Trivalent ABS-dative-ergative hypothetical apodosis forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument (part 2 of 2)

	to you-SG	to you-PL	to them
I	<i>nizuke</i>	<i>nizukeke</i>	<i>nieke</i>
thou			<i>hieke</i>
s/he/it	<i>lizuke</i>	<i>lizukeke</i>	<i>lieke</i>
we	<i>genizuke</i>	<i>genizukeke</i>	<i>genieke</i>
you-sg			<i>zenieke</i>
you-pl			<i>zeniekete</i>
they	<i>lizukete</i>	<i>lizukekete</i>	<i>liekete</i>

(See examples next page.)

Examples: *jakingo banu*, *esango nizuke* 'if I knew it, I would tell you-sg'; *ekarriko balit*, *emango nizuke* 'if he brought it to me, I would give it to you-pl'; *emango balizkie*, *ordainduko lizkiokete* 'if he gave them to them, they would pay them to him'; *eramango lizuke* 'he would bring it to you-sg'. Past apodosi: *ez niokeen esango* 'I wouldn't have said it to him'; *eramango zizukeen* 'he would have brought it to you-sg'

Pluralization of the direct object is marked by *-zki*.

3.5.2.3.3. Potential

As we saw with the intransitive auxiliary, the potential mood includes three paradigms: present potential, past potential and hypothetical potential. In the potential the root *-u-* (of **edun*) found in the indicative and conditional is replaced by *-(e)za-* plus the potential/conditional suffix *-ke*.

Table 111. Bivalent transitive (ABS/ERG) present and past POT forms for a 3rd person ABS argument

	Present potential ABS 3s/ABS 3p	Past potential ABS 3s /ABS 3p	Hypothetical potential ABS 3s/ABS 3p
1S	<i>dezaket/ditzaket</i>	<i>nezakeen/nitzakeen</i>	<i>nezake/nitzake</i>
2SF.M	<i>dezakek/ditzakek</i>	<i>hezakeen/hitzakeen</i>	<i>hezake/hitzake</i>
2SF.F	<i>dezaken/ditzaken</i>		
3S	<i>dezake/ditzake</i>	<i>zezakeen/zitzakeen</i>	<i>lezake/litzake</i>
1P	<i>dezakegu/ditzakegu</i>	<i>genezakeen/genitzakeen</i>	<i>genezake/genitzake</i>
2S	<i>dezakezu/ditzakezu</i>	<i>zenezakeen/zenitzakeen</i>	<i>zenezake/zenitzake</i>
2P	<i>dezakezu/ditzakezue</i>	<i>zenezaketen/zenitzaketen</i>	<i>zenezaketel/zenitzakete</i>
3P	<i>dezaketel/ditzaketen</i>	<i>zezaketen/zitzaketen</i>	<i>lezaketel/litzakete</i>

Examples: *ikus dezaket* 'I can see it', *ikus nezakeen* 'I could see it (in the past), I was able to see it', *ikus nezake* 'I could see it (hypothetical), I would be able to see it'; *ikus dezake* 's/he can see it', *ikus zezakeen* 's/he was able to see it', *ikus lezake* 's/he would be able to see it'.

As can be seen, present, past and hypothetical potential forms have the same structure as the corresponding present and past indicative and conditional paradigms, but with *-(e)za-ke* instead of the root *-u-*; e.g.: *d-u-gu* 'we have it', *d-ezake-gu* 'we can V it'; *dit-u-gu* 'we have them', *dit-zake-gu* 'we can V them'; *gen-u-en* 'we had it', *gen-ezake-en* 'we could V them'; *l-u-ke* 'he would V it', *l-eza-ke* 'he could V it'. Other bivalent potential form show the same relation to the corresponding indicative forms (with minor adjustments).

Eastern dialects use a root *-iro-* instead of *-eza-*; e.g.: *d-iro-ke-gu* 'we can V it'. Bizkaian employs *e(g)in* 'do' as the root of potential, as well as subjunctive and imperative, forms; e.g.: *daikegu* 'we can V it'.

Some bivalent forms for a nonthird person absolutive argument and trivalent forms have some currency. The tendency in colloquial Basque, however, is to use periphrastic constructions with indicative forms instead of the potential for less frequent combinations of arguments.

Table 112. Bivalent ABS/ERG present POT forms for a 1st or 2nd ABS argument

	me	thee	us	you-sg	you-pl
I		<i>hazaket</i>		<i>zaitzaket</i>	<i>zaitzaketet</i>
thou	<i>nazakek/-n</i>		<i>gaitzakek/-n</i>		
s/he/it	<i>nazake</i>	<i>hazake</i>	<i>gaitzake</i>	<i>zaitzake</i>	<i>zaitzakete</i>
we		<i>hazakegu</i>		<i>zaitzakegu</i>	<i>zaitzaketegu</i>
you-sg	<i>nazakezu</i>		<i>gaitzakezu</i>		
you-pl	<i>nazakezue</i>		<i>gaitzakezue</i>		
they	<i>nazakete</i>	<i>hazakete</i>	<i>gaitzakete</i>	<i>zaitzakete</i>	<i>zaitzaketete</i>

Examples: *ikus nazakezue* 'you-PL can see me', *eraman zaitzaket* 'I can take you-SG'

Table 113. Bivalent ABS/ERG past POT forms for a 1st or 2nd ABS argument (very rare)

	me	thee	us	you-sg	you-pl
I		<i>hintzakedan</i>		<i>zintzakedan</i>	<i>zintzaketedan</i>
thou	<i>nintzake(n)an</i>		<i>gintzake(n)an</i>		
s/he/it	<i>nintzakeen</i>	<i>hintzakeen</i>	<i>gintzakeen</i>	<i>zintzakeen</i>	<i>zintzaketen</i>
we		<i>hintzakegun</i>		<i>zintzakegun</i>	<i>zintzaketegun</i>
you-sg	<i>nintzakezun</i>		<i>gintzakezun</i>		
you-pl	<i>nintzakezuen</i>		<i>gintzakezuen</i>		
they	<i>nintzaketen</i>	<i>hintzaketen</i>	<i>gintzaketen</i>	<i>zintzaketen</i>	<i>zintzaketeten</i>

Again, hypothetical forms follow the past pattern, but without the final suffix *-(e)n*.

In trivalent present potential forms the root *-eza-* follows the dative marker *-i-*, and the conditional/potential suffix *-ke* is added between the dative and the ergative agreement suffixes; e.g.: *eman di-eza-gu-ke-zu* 'you can give it to us' cf. the corresponding present indicative *eman di-gu-zu* 'you have given it to us'. When the dative argument is a third person the dative marker *-i-* is repeated before the dative agreement marker; e.g.: *eman di-eza-io-ke-gu* 'we can give it to him/her'. The complete present potential trivalent paradigm is shown in the following table.

Table 114. Trivalent ABS/DAT/ERG present POT forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument

	to me	to thee	to him/her
I		<i>diezaaket/diezanaket</i>	<i>diezaioket</i>
thou	<i>diezadak/-n</i>		<i>diezaiokekl/-n</i>
s/he/it	<i>diezadake</i>	<i>diezaake/diezanake</i>	<i>diezaioke</i>
we		<i>dieza(n)akegu</i>	<i>diezaiokegu</i>
you-sg	<i>diezadakezu</i>		<i>diezaiokezu</i>
you-pl	<i>diezadakezue</i>		<i>diezaiokezue</i>
they	<i>diezadakete</i>	<i>dieza(n)akete</i>	<i>diezaiokete</i>

	to us	to you-SG	to you-PL	to them
I		<i>diezazuket</i>	<i>diezazueket</i>	<i>diezaieket</i>
thou	<i>diezagukekl/-n</i>			<i>diezaiekekl/-n</i>
s/he/it	<i>diezaguke</i>	<i>diezazuke</i>	<i>diezazueke</i>	<i>diezaieke</i>
we		<i>diezazukegu</i>	<i>diezazuekegu</i>	<i>diezaiekegu</i>
you-sg	<i>diezagukezu</i>			<i>diezaiekezu</i>
you-pl	<i>diezagukezue</i>			<i>diezaiekezue</i>
they	<i>diezagukete</i>	<i>diezazukete</i>	<i>diezazuekete</i>	<i>diezaiekete</i>

Examples: *eman diezazuket* 'I can give it to you-SG', *ekar diezazkizukegu* 'we can bring them to you-SG'.

Table 115. Trivalent ABS/DAT/ERG past POT forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument (rare)

	to me	to thee	to him/her
I		<i>nieza(n)akeen</i>	<i>niezaiokeen</i>
thou	<i>hiezadakeen</i>		<i>hiezaiookeen</i>
s/he/it	<i>ziezadakeen</i>	<i>zieza(n)akeen</i>	<i>ziezaiokeen</i>
we		<i>genieza(n)akeen</i>	<i>geniezaiookeen</i>
you-sg	<i>zeniezadakeen</i>		<i>zeniezaiookeen</i>
you-pl	<i>zeniezadaketen</i>		<i>zeniezaioketen</i>
they	<i>ziezadaketen</i>	<i>zieza(n)aketen</i>	<i>ziezaioketen</i>

	to us	to you-sg	to you-pl	to them
I		<i>niezazukeen</i>	<i>niezazuekeen</i>	<i>niezaiekeen</i>
thou	<i>hiezagukeen</i>			<i>hiezaiiekeen</i>
s/he/it	<i>ziezagukeen</i>	<i>ziezazukeen</i>	<i>ziezazuekeen</i>	<i>ziezaiekeen</i>
we		<i>geniezazukeen</i>	<i>geniezazuekeen</i>	<i>geniezaiiekeen</i>
you-sg	<i>zeniezagukeen</i>			<i>zeniezaiiekeen</i>
you-pl	<i>zeniezaguketen</i>			<i>zeniezaiieketen</i>
they	<i>ziezaguketen</i>	<i>ziezazuketen</i>	<i>ziezazueketen</i>	<i>ziezaieketen</i>

In forms for a third person plural absolutive argument, the plural suffix *-zki-* is added after the root.

In past (and hypothetical) potential trivalent forms, all agreement affixes precede the suffix *-ke*.

3.5.2.3.4. Subjunctive

Like the potential, the subjunctive paradigm of the transitive auxiliary is based on the root of **ezan*. The subjunctive can be morphologically derived from the potential by subtraction of the potential suffix *-ke* and, in the present, addition of *-n*. In addition to a present and a past subjunctive there is a hypothetical subjunctive paradigm, but the latter is extremely rare in present-day Basque:

Table 116. Subjunctive

	Present subjunctive	Past subjunctive	Hypoth. subj. (very rare)
	ABS 3S/ABS 3P	ABS 3S/ABS 3P	ABS 3S/ABS 3P
1S	<i>dezadan/ditzadan</i>	<i>nezan/nitzan</i>	<i>baneza/banitza</i>
2SF	<i>deza(n)an/ditza(n)an</i>	<i>hezan/hitzan</i>	<i>baheza/bahitza</i>
3S	<i>dezan/ditzan</i>	<i>zezan/zitzan</i>	<i>baleza/balitza</i>
1P	<i>dezagun/ditzagun</i>	<i>genezan/genitzan</i>	<i>bagenezal/bagenitza</i>
2S	<i>dezazun/ditzazun</i>	<i>zenezan/zenitzan</i>	<i>bazenezal/bazenitza</i>
2P	<i>dezazuen/ditzazuen</i>	<i>zenezaten/zenitzaten</i>	<i>bazenezatel/bazenitzate</i>
3P	<i>dezaten/ditzaten</i>	<i>zezaten/zitzaten</i>	<i>balezatel/balitzate</i>

Examples: *egin dezadan* 'so I may do it', *esan dezagun* 'let us say it; so that we may say it', *ekar genitzan* 'so that we might bring them', *ekar bazeneza* 'if you were to bring it' (very rare).

First person plural present subjunctive forms may be used as exhortatives; e.g.: *kanta dezagun* 'let us sing!'.

Like in the potential, Bizkaian varieties use *e(g)in* instead of **ezan* in the subjunctive; e.g.: *esan daigun* 'let us say it' (< **da-gi-gu-n*).

Table 117. Bivalent ABS/ERG present subjunctive forms for a 1st or 2nd ABS argument

	me	thee	us	you-sg	you-pl
I		<i>hazadan</i>		<i>zaitzadan</i>	<i>zaitzatedan</i>
thou	<i>naza(n)an</i>		<i>gaitza(n)an</i>		
s/he/it	<i>nazan</i>	<i>hazan</i>	<i>gaitzan</i>	<i>zaitzan</i>	<i>zaitzaten</i>
we		<i>hazagun</i>		<i>zaitzagun</i>	<i>zaitzategun</i>
you-sg	<i>nazazun</i>		<i>gaitzazun</i>		
you-pl	<i>nazazuen</i>		<i>gaitzazuen</i>		
they	<i>nazaten</i>	<i>hazaten</i>	<i>gaitzaten</i>	<i>zaitzaten</i>	<i>zaitzateten</i>

Examples: *ikus nazazuen* 'so that you-pl may see me', *eraman zaitzadan* 'so that I may take you-sg'.

The past subjunctive trivalent paradigm is identical to the corresponding potential forms (given above) minus the suffix *-ke*; e.g.: *ekar zeniezaguketen* 'you-PL could bring it to us', *ekar zeniezaguten* 'so that you-PL might bring

it to us'. Neither paradigm is very frequent. Instead of the potential a periphrastic construction with *ahal* 'be able' and the indicative auxiliary is used (see 3.5.6.2). The subjunctive may be replaced by nonfinite clauses.

Table 118. Trivalent ABS/DAT/ERG present SUBJ forms for a 3rd person SG ABS argument

	to me	to thee	to him/her	to us
I		<i>dieza(n)adan</i>	<i>diezaiodan</i>	
thou	<i>diezada(n)an</i>		<i>diezaio(n)an</i>	<i>diezagu(n)an</i>
s/he/it	<i>diezadan</i>	<i>dieza(n)an</i>	<i>diezaion</i>	<i>diezagun</i>
we		<i>dieza(n)agun</i>	<i>diezaiogun</i>	
yousg	<i>diezadzun</i>		<i>diezaiozun</i>	<i>diezaguzun</i>
youpl	<i>diezadzuen</i>		<i>diezaiozuen</i>	<i>diezaguzuen</i>
they	<i>diezadaten</i>	<i>dieza(n)aten</i>	<i>diezaioten</i>	<i>diezaguten</i>

	to youSG	to youPL	to them
I	<i>diezazudan</i>	<i>diezazuedan</i>	<i>diezaiedan</i>
thou			<i>diezaie(n)an</i>
s/he/it	<i>diezazun</i>	<i>diezazuen</i>	<i>diezaien</i>
we	<i>diezazugun</i>	<i>diezazuegun</i>	<i>diezaiegun</i>
yousg			<i>diezaiezun</i>
youpl			<i>diezaiezuen</i>
they	<i>diezazuten</i>	<i>diezazueten</i>	<i>diezaieten</i>

3.5.2.3.5. Imperative

Table 119. Imperative

	ABS 3S	ABS 3P
2SF	<i>ezak/-n</i>	<i>itzak/-n</i>
3S	<i>beza</i>	<i>bitza</i>
2S	<i>ezazu</i>	<i>itzazu</i>
2P	<i>ezazue</i>	<i>itzazue</i>
3P	<i>bezate</i>	<i>itzate</i>

Examples: *har ezak!* 'take it!', *ekar beza!* 'may he bring it!', *egin itzazue!* 'make them! (you-PL)'.

Second person imperative forms differ from the corresponding present subjunctive forms in that they lack both the prefix *d-* and the suffix *-n*; e.g.: *ikus dezazun* 'so that you-SG see it', *ikus ezazu!* 'see it!'. In third person imperatives, the prefix *b-* is used instead of *d-*; e.g.: *ikus dezan* 'so that he may see it', *ikus beza!* 'may he see it!, let him see it'. In Bizkaian, forms based on *e(g)in* are used; e.g.: *ikusi e(g)izu!* 'see it!'.

Bivalent forms for a first person object are shown in the following table:

Table 120. Bivalent ABS/ERG indicative forms for a 1st ABS argument

	me	us
thou	<i>nazak/-n</i>	<i>gaitzak/-n</i>
you-SG	<i>nazazu</i>	<i>gaitzazu</i>
you-PL	<i>nazazue</i>	<i>gaitzazue</i>

Examples: *eraman nazazu!* 'take me!', *ikus gaitzazue!* 'see us! (you-PL)'

Trivalent forms for a third person object are shown below. Forms for a third person plural object are shown under the respective forms for a third person singular object:

Table 121. Trivalent ABS/DAT/ERG IMP forms for a 3rd person SG/PL ABS argument

	to me	to him/her	to us	to them
thou	<i>iezadak/-n</i>	<i>iezaioak/-n</i>	<i>iezaguk/-n</i>	<i>iezaiek/-n</i>
	<i>iezazkidak/-n</i>	<i>iezazkiok/-n</i>	<i>iezazkiguk/-n</i>	<i>iezazkiek/-n</i>
you-SG	<i>iezadazu</i>	<i>iezaiozu</i>	<i>iezaguzu</i>	<i>iezaiezu</i>
	<i>iezazkidazu</i>	<i>iezazkiozu</i>	<i>iezazkiguzu</i>	<i>iezazkiezu</i>
you-PL	<i>iezadazue</i>	<i>iezaiozue</i>	<i>iezaguzue</i>	<i>iezaiezue</i>
	<i>iezazkidazue</i>	<i>iezazkiozue</i>	<i>iezazkiguzue</i>	<i>iezazkiezue</i>

Examples: *esan iezadak!* 'say it to me', *eman iezazkiguzue* 'give them to us! (you-PL)', *irakur iezaziozu* 'read it to him! (you-SG)'

3.5.2.4. Synthetic verbs

In addition to the intransitive auxiliary *izan*, which is also the verb 'be', the most common intransitive verbs which possess synthetic paradigms are *etorri* 'come', *joan* 'go', *ibili* 'walk about; Sp andar' and *egon* 'be, stay; Sp estar'. There is also a handful of transitive verbs that possess synthetic forms. In addition to the transitive auxiliary **edun* (which is also the main verb 'have' in its indicative forms), the most common of these verbs are *ekarri* 'bring', *eraman* 'take', *eduki* 'have, contain, hold', *jakin* 'know' and *-io-* 'say' (which lacks nonfinite forms).

3.5.2.4.1. Synthetic verbs: present indicative

As a result of the ergative agreement pattern, in the present tense, the morphology of transitive and intransitive verbs regarding the encoding of agreement with the subject is rather different. As shown in the following paradigms, whereas with an intransitive verb such as *etorri* 'come' agree-

ment with the subject is indicated by absolutive prefixes, with a transitive verb such as *ekarri* 'bring' subject agreement is shown by ergative suffixes.

The plural forms of *egon* contain a pluralizer *-de* (instead of *-z*, *-tza* of other verbs) and show an evolution of the type **gagode* > *gaude* 'we are, stay'. In Bizkaian *gagoz*, *zagoz*, *zagoze*, *dagoz* are used instead. In bivalent forms, which are discussed immediately below, *gagoz-*, *zagoz-*, *dagoz-* are also used in the standard language; e.g.: *gagozkie* 'we are to them', *dagoz-kigu* 'they are to us; they concern us'.

Table 122. Present indicative: intransitive verbs

	<i>etorri</i> 'come'	<i>joan</i> 'go'	<i>ibili</i> 'walk'	<i>egon</i> 'be, stay'
1S	<i>nator</i>	<i>noa</i>	<i>nabil</i>	<i>nago</i>
2SF	<i>hator</i>	<i>hoa</i>	<i>habil</i>	<i>hago</i>
3S	<i>dator</i>	<i>doa</i>	<i>dabil</i>	<i>dago</i>
1P	<i>gatoz</i>	<i>goaz</i>	<i>gabiltza</i>	<i>gaude</i>
2S	<i>zatoz</i>	<i>zoaz</i>	<i>zabiltza</i>	<i>zaude</i>
2P	<i>zatozte</i>	<i>zoazte</i>	<i>zabiltzate</i>	<i>zaudete</i>
3P	<i>datoz</i>	<i>doaz</i>	<i>dabiltza</i>	<i>daude</i>

Table 123. Present indicative: transitive verbs (forms for a third person SG object)

	<i>ekarri</i> 'bring'	<i>eraman</i> 'take'	<i>eduki</i> 'have'	<i>jakin</i> 'know'	*-io- 'say'
1S	<i>dakart</i>	<i>daramat</i>	<i>daukat</i>	<i>dakit</i>	<i>diot</i>
2F.M	<i>dakark</i>	<i>daramak</i>	<i>daukak</i>	<i>dakik</i>	<i>diok</i>
2F.F	<i>dakarna</i>	<i>daraman</i>	<i>daukan</i>	<i>dakin</i>	<i>dion</i>
3S	<i>dakar</i>	<i>darama</i>	<i>dauka</i>	<i>daki</i>	<i>dio</i>
1P	<i>dakargu</i>	<i>daramagu</i>	<i>daukagu</i>	<i>dakigu</i>	<i>diogu</i>
2S	<i>dakarzu</i>	<i>daramazu</i>	<i>daukazu</i>	<i>dakizu</i>	<i>diozu</i>
2P	<i>dakarzue</i>	<i>daramazue</i>	<i>daukazue</i>	<i>dakizue</i>	<i>diozue</i>
3P	<i>dakarte</i>	<i>daramate</i>	<i>daukate</i>	<i>dakite</i>	<i>diote</i>

Notice that these forms of *-io-* are identical to trivalent forms of the transitive auxiliary for a third person singular indirect object. The two paradigms are, however, different in forms with a pluralizer and in the past tense.

When the absolutive argument is a third person plural, the pluralizer *-tza-* (in the Lapurdian tradition) or *-zki-* (Gipuzkoan) is added before the ergative agreement suffix; e.g.: *dakarzkit* ~ *dakartzat* 'I am bringing them', *daramazkit* ~ *daramatzat* 'I am carrying them', *dakizkit* ~ *dakitzat* 'I know them'. This is with the exception of *eduki*, which takes the pluralizer *-z-* instead: *dauzkat* 'I have them', and western *-io-*, which takes *-z-*: *diodaz* 'I say them', *dioguz* 'we say them' (different from the transitive auxiliary: *dizkiot* 'I have them to him', *dizkiogu* 'we have them to him'). In Bizkaian the plu-

ralizer *-z* is used with all these verbs: *dakardaz* 'I am bringing them', *daroadaz* 'I am taking them' (in Bizkaian *eroan* is used instead of *eraman*), *daukadaz* 'I have them', *dakidaz* 'I know them'.

With *ekarri* 'bring', *eraman* 'take' and *eduki* 'have', the direct object may be a first or second person, in which case, the prefix *d-* is replaced by the corresponding agreement marker (and a pluralizer is added for morphologically plural arguments, including 2s): *naramazu* 'you are carrying me', *garamatzate* 'they are carrying us', *naukazue* 'you-PL have me'.

With some verbs, both transitive and intransitive, it is possible to add a dative argument to their synthetic forms by means of the suffix *-ki-* followed by a dative agreement marker. In transitive verbs, pluralization of the direct object is indicated by *-z-* before dative *-ki-*. All of the verbs illustrated above, except for *eduki* 'have' and *jakin* 'know', possess synthetic forms with dative agreement. Examples:

- (a) *Etorri*: *natorkizu* 'I am coming to you', *datorkio* 'he is coming to him'
- (b) *Joan*: *noakizu* 'I am going to you', *doakio* 'he is going to him'
- (c) *Ibili*: *nabilkizu* 'I am walking to you', *dabilkio* 'he is walking to him'
- (d) *Egon*: *nagokizu* 'I am to you', *dagokio* 'he is to him; it concerns him', *gagozkizu* 'we are to you', *dagokigu* 'it is to us; it concerns us', *dagozkigu* 'they are to us, they concern us'
- (e) *Ekarri*: *dakar(z)kizut* 'I am bringing it (them) to you-SG', *dakar(z)kio* 'he is bringing it (them) to him', *dakar(z)kidazu* 'you-SG are bringing it (them) to me'.
- (f) *Eraman*: *darama(z)kizut* 'I am taking it (them) to you-SG', *darama(z)kio* 'he is taking it (them) to him', *darama(z)kidazu* 'you-SG are taking it (them) to me', *daramazkizugu* 'we are taking them to you'.

The dative argument may correspond to an indirect object in periphrastic constructions with *joan*; e.g.: *kantatzera noakizue* 'I am going to sing to you-PL' (see section 3.5.5.2). With the verbs of movement *etorri*, *joan* and *ibili* a dative argument may refer to a goal. One of the uses of the bivalent forms of *egon* is with expressions with meanings such as 'to be/remain looking at', 'to keep listening to', etc.; e.g.: *adi-adi dagozkizu* 'they are listening to you very attentively', *begira nagokizu* 'I am and remain looking at you'. The bivalent forms of *egon* for a third person absolutive argument also have the value of 'belong, correspond, concern'; e.g.: *zuri dagokizu* 'it corresponds to you, it is your concern'. The dative may also indicate an inter-

ested party; e.g.: *semea Ameriketan dabilkio Koldori* ‘Koldo’s son is in America’, lit. ‘to Koldo, the son is going about in America’; *kotxea ez dabilkit ondo* ‘the (= my) car is not working well on me’ (cf. Sp ‘no me anda bien el coche’).

With the verb *-io-* ‘say’ trivalent forms (used mostly in Bizkaian, where the root, however, is *-iño-*), take the suffix *-ts-* instead of *-ki-*. We give the complete trivalent paradigm for this verb in the standard language, since there are a number of morphophonological adjustments:

Table 124. Trivalent present tense forms of *-io-* ‘say’ for a 3rd SG ABS argument

	to me	to thee	to him/her	to us
I		<i>dios(n)at</i>	<i>diotsot</i>	
thou	<i>diostak/-n</i>		<i>diotsok/-n</i>	<i>dioskuk/-n</i>
s/he/it	<i>diost</i>	<i>diosk(n)a</i>	<i>diotso</i>	<i>diosku</i>
we		<i>dios(n)agu</i>	<i>diotsogu</i>	
you-SG	<i>diostazu</i>		<i>diotsozu</i>	<i>dioskuzu</i>
you-PL	<i>diostazue</i>		<i>diotsozue</i>	<i>dioskuzue</i>
they	<i>diostate</i>	<i>dios(n)ate</i>	<i>diotsote</i>	<i>dioskute</i>

	to you-SG	to you-PL	to them
I	<i>diotsut</i>	<i>diotsuet</i>	<i>diotset</i>
thou			<i>diotsekl/-n</i>
s/he/it	<i>diotsu</i>	<i>diotsue</i>	<i>diotse</i>
we	<i>diotsugu</i>	<i>diotsuegu</i>	<i>diotsegu</i>
you-SG			<i>diotsezu</i>
you-PL			<i>diotsezue</i>
they	<i>diotsute</i>	<i>diotsuete</i>	<i>diotsete</i>

Examples: *egia diotsut* ‘I am telling you the truth’, *zergatik diostazu?* ‘why are you telling me?’.

For a third person singular dative argument, there are alternative forms with *-tsa* instead of *-tso*: *diotsot* ~ *diotsat* ‘I am telling him/her’, *diotsogu* ~ *diotsagu* ‘we are telling him/her’.

3.5.2.4.2. Synthetic verbs: past indicative

In the past, the marking of subject agreement is the same for intransitive and transitive verbs (“ergative displacement”, cf. section 3.5.2.1.1). Subject prefixes are followed by the vowel *e* (*i* in *joan*), against *a* in the present tense. In addition, comparison with the present paradigms reveals the presence of a nasal infix in non-third-person forms of intransitive verbs. In transitive verbs, this affix is not found in singular forms, but the plural subject agree-

ment markers are 1p *gen-*, 2 *zen-*. All these facts find parallels in the auxiliaries.

In Bizkaian, the third person forms have a zero prefix (*ekarren* 'he was bringing it', etc.).

As in the present, a third person plural direct object is indexed by means of a pluralizer which is *-z-* for *eduki* (e.g.: *neuzkan* 'I had them', *zeuzkaten* 'they had them') and *-zki-* or *-tza-* for *ekarri*, *eraman* and *jakin* (e.g. *nekartzan* ~ *nekarzkien* 'I was bringing them, brought them', *neramatzan* ~ *neramazkien* 'I was carrying them', *nekizkien* 'I knew them'). For *-io-*, forms with a plural object are rare. They are formed with *-z*, before the past ending *-en*, (e.g.: *nioezen* 'I said them', *ziotezen* 'they said them').

Table 125. Past indicative: intransitive verbs

	<i>etorri</i> 'come'	<i>joan</i> 'go'	<i>ibili</i> 'walk'	<i>egon</i> 'be, stay'
1S	<i>nentorren</i>	<i>nindoan</i>	<i>nenbilen</i>	<i>nengoen</i>
2SF	<i>hentorren</i>	<i>hindoan</i>	<i>henbilen</i>	<i>hengoen</i>
3S	<i>zetorren</i>	<i>zihoan</i>	<i>zebilen</i>	<i>zegoen</i>
1P	<i>gentozen</i>	<i>gindoazen</i>	<i>genbiltzan</i>	<i>geunden</i>
2S	<i>zentozen</i>	<i>zindoazen</i>	<i>zenbiltzan</i>	<i>zeunden</i>
2P	<i>zentozten</i>	<i>zindoazten</i>	<i>zenbiltzaten</i>	<i>zeundeten</i>
3P	<i>zetozen</i>	<i>zihoazen</i>	<i>zebiltzan</i>	<i>zeuden</i>

As in the present tense, synthetic forms may contain a dative agreement marker. Past tense bivalent absolutive-dative forms of *egon* for a plural subject are based on *gengoz-*, *zengoz-*, *zegoz-* in the past tense. Examples:

Etorri: *nentorkizun* 'I was coming to you', *zetorkion* 'he was coming to him'

Joan: *nindoakizun* 'I was going to you', *zihoakion* 'he was going to him'

Ibili: *nenbilkizun* 'I was walking to you', *zebilkion* 'he was walking to him'

Egon: *nengokizun* 'I was to you', *zegokion* 'he was to him; it concerned him', *gengozkizun* 'we were to you', *zegokigun* 'it was to us; it concerned us', *zegozkigun* 'they were to us, they concerned us'

Ekarri: *nekar(z)kizun* 'I was bringing it (them) to you-SG', *zekar(z)kion* 'he is bringing it (them) to him', *zenekar(z)kidan* 'you-SG were bringing it (them) to me'

Eraman: *nerama(z)kizun* 'I am taking it (them) to you-SG', *zerama(z)kion* 'he was taking it (them) to him', *zenerama(z)kidan* 'you-SG were taking it to me', *generamazkizun* 'we were taking them to you'

Table 126. Past indicative: transitive verbs (forms for a third person SG object)

	<i>ekarri</i> 'bring'	<i>eraman</i> 'take'	<i>eduki</i> 'have'	<i>jakin</i> 'know'	<i>-io-</i> 'say'
1S	<i>nekarren</i>	<i>neraman</i>	<i>neukan</i>	<i>nekien</i>	<i>nioen</i>
2F	<i>hekarren</i>	<i>heraman</i>	<i>heukan</i>	<i>hekien</i>	<i>hioen</i>
3S	<i>zekarren</i>	<i>heraman</i>	<i>zeukan</i>	<i>zekien</i>	<i>zioen</i>
1P	<i>genekarren</i>	<i>generaman</i>	<i>geneukan</i>	<i>genekien</i>	<i>genioen</i>
2S	<i>zenekarren</i>	<i>zeneraman</i>	<i>zeneukan</i>	<i>zenekien</i>	<i>zenioen</i>
2P	<i>zenekarten</i>	<i>zene- ramaten</i>	<i>zeneukaten</i>	<i>zenekiten</i>	<i>zenioten</i>
3P	<i>zekarten</i>	<i>zeramaten</i>	<i>zeukaten</i>	<i>zekiten</i>	<i>zioten</i>

3.5.2.4.3. Synthetic verbs: Conditional

Conditional forms are based on the past indicative. In the protasis and present conditional apodosis the third person the past prefix *z-* is replaced by *l-*. Both tenses lack the past suffix *-(e)n*. Protasis forms bear the prefix *ba-* 'if' and apodosis forms carry the conditional/potential suffix *-ke* (before the pluralizer *-te*).

Table 127. Conditional protasis: intransitive verbs

	<i>etorri</i> 'come'	<i>joan</i> 'go'	<i>ibili</i> 'walk'	<i>egon</i> 'be, stay'
1S	<i>banentor</i>	<i>banindoa</i>	<i>banenbil</i>	<i>banengo</i>
2SF	<i>bahentor</i>	<i>bahindoa</i>	<i>bahenbil</i>	<i>bahengo</i>
3S	<i>baletor</i>	<i>balihoa</i>	<i>balebil</i>	<i>balego</i>
1P	<i>bagentoz</i>	<i>bagindoaz</i>	<i>bagenbiltza</i>	<i>bageunde</i>
2S	<i>bazentoz</i>	<i>bazindoaz</i>	<i>bazenbiltza</i>	<i>bazeunde</i>
2P	<i>bazentozte</i>	<i>bazindoazte</i>	<i>bazenbiltzate</i>	<i>bazeundete</i>
3P	<i>baletoz</i>	<i>balihoaz</i>	<i>balebiltza</i>	<i>baleude</i>

Table 128. Conditional protasis: transitive verbs (forms for a third person SG object). (The verb *-io-* 'say' does not have conditional forms)

	<i>ekarri</i> 'bring'	<i>eraman</i> 'take'	<i>eduki</i> 'have'	<i>jakin</i> 'know'
1S	<i>banekar</i>	<i>banerama</i>	<i>baneuka</i>	<i>baneki</i>
2F	<i>bahekar</i>	<i>baherama</i>	<i>baheuka</i>	<i>baheki</i>
3S	<i>balekar</i>	<i>balerama</i>	<i>baleuka</i>	<i>baleki</i>
1P	<i>bagenekar</i>	<i>bagenerama</i>	<i>bageneuka</i>	<i>bageneki</i>
2S	<i>bazenekar</i>	<i>bazenerama</i>	<i>bazeneuka</i>	<i>bazeneki</i>
2P	<i>bazenekarte</i>	<i>bazeneramate</i>	<i>bazeneukate</i>	<i>bazenekite</i>
3P	<i>balekarte</i>	<i>baleramate</i>	<i>baleukate</i>	<i>balekite</i>

Past (or failed) conditional forms are created adding the suffix *-en* to the present conditional apodosis paradigm; e.g.: *nentorkeen* 'I would have come'. In addition, in the third person, *z-* replaces *l-*; e.g.: *zeturkeen* 's/he would have come'.

Table 129. present conditional apodosis: intransitive verbs

	<i>etorri</i> 'come'	<i>joan</i> 'go'	<i>ibili</i> 'walk'	<i>egon</i> 'be, stay'
1S	<i>nentorke</i>	<i>nindoake</i>	<i>nenbilke</i>	<i>nengoke</i>
2SF	<i>hentorke</i>	<i>hindoake</i>	<i>henbilke</i>	<i>hengoke</i>
3S	<i>letorke</i>	<i>lihoake</i>	<i>lebilke</i>	<i>legoke</i>
1P	<i>gentozke</i>	<i>gindoazke</i>	<i>genbiltzake</i>	<i>geundeke</i>
2S	<i>zentozke</i>	<i>zindoazke</i>	<i>zenbiltzake</i>	<i>zeundeke</i>
2P	<i>zentozkete</i>	<i>zindoazkete</i>	<i>zenbiltzakete</i>	<i>zeundekete</i>
3P	<i>letozke</i>	<i>lihoazke</i>	<i>lebiltzake</i>	<i>leudeke</i>

Examples: *baletor*, *gindoazke* 'if he came, we would go', *hemen balego*, *ondo zeundekete* 'if she were here, you-pl would be alright'.

Table 130. present conditional apodosis: transitive verbs

	<i>ekarri</i> 'bring'	<i>eraman</i> 'take'	<i>eduki</i> 'have'	<i>jakin</i> 'know'
1S	<i>nekarke</i>	<i>neramake</i>	<i>neukake</i>	<i>nekike</i>
2F	<i>hekarke</i>	<i>heramake</i>	<i>heukake</i>	<i>hekike</i>
3S	<i>lekarke</i>	<i>leramake</i>	<i>leukake</i>	<i>lekike</i>
1P	<i>genekarke</i>	<i>generamake</i>	<i>geneukake</i>	<i>genekike</i>
2S	<i>zenekarke</i>	<i>zeneramake</i>	<i>zeneukake</i>	<i>zenekike</i>
2P	<i>zenekarkete</i>	<i>zeneramakete</i>	<i>zeneukakete</i>	<i>zenekikete</i>
3P	<i>lekarkete</i>	<i>leramakete</i>	<i>leukakete</i>	<i>lekikete</i>

Examples: *balekar*, *geneukake* 'if he brought it, we would have it', *banerama*, *zenekike* 'if I took it, you would know it'

Whereas some synthetic conditional forms are not rare in formal registers and are currently employed in some dialects, they are most frequently replaced by their analytical equivalents in present-day colloquial Basque; e.g.: *baletor* = *etorriko balitz* 'if he came', *baneki* = *jakingo banu* 'if I knew', *genekarke* = *ekarriko genuke* 'we would bring', *legoke* = *egongo litzateke* 'it would be, stay', *balekar*, *geneukake* = *ekarriko balu*, *edukiko genuke* 'if he brought it, we would have it', *banerama*, *zenekike* = *eramango banu*, *jakingo zenuke* 'if I took it, you would know it', etc.

3.5.2.4.4. Synthetic verbs: subjunctive and imperative

Subjunctive forms, including first person plural exhortatives, are based on the present indicative adding the suffix *-(e)n*; e.g.: *natorren* 'so that I may come', *goazen* 'let us go'.

As imperative forms, second person indicative forms are used for intransitive verbs; e.g.: *hator hona!* 'come here!', FAM., *zoaz hemendik!* 'go away from here!', *ixilik hago!* 'be quiet!'. For transitive verbs, on the other hand, the following prefix-less forms are used:

Table 131. Imperative: transitive verbs

	<i>ekarri</i>	<i>eraman</i>	<i>jakin</i>
	'bring'	'take'	'know'
2F.M	<i>ekark</i>	<i>eramak</i>	<i>jakik</i>
2F.F	<i>ekarna</i>	<i>eraman</i>	<i>jakin</i>
2S	<i>ekarzu</i>	<i>eramazu</i>	<i>jakizu</i>
2P	<i>ekarzue</i>	<i>eramazue</i>	<i>jakizue</i>

Third person imperative or exhortative forms of both intransitive and transitive verbs take the prefix *be-* (*bi-* with *joan*):

Table 132. Third person imperative: intransitive verbs

	<i>etorri</i>	<i>joan</i>	<i>ibili</i>	<i>egon</i>
	'come'	'go'	'walk'	'be, stay'
3S	<i>betor</i>	<i>bihoa</i>	<i>bebil</i>	<i>bego</i>
3P	<i>betoz</i>	<i>bihoaz</i>	<i>bebiltza</i>	<i>beude</i>

Examples: *goian bego* 'may s/he rest in peace', lit. 'may s/he be in the heights', *nire agurra bihoakizu* 'may my greeting go to you', *bakea betorkigu* 'may peace come to us'

Table 133. Third person imperative: transitive verbs

	<i>ekarri</i>	<i>eraman</i>	<i>eduki</i>	<i>jakin</i>
	'bring'	'take'	'have'	'know'
3S	<i>bekar</i>	<i>berama</i>	<i>beuka</i>	<i>beki</i>
3P	<i>bekarte</i>	<i>beramate</i>	<i>beukate</i>	<i>bekite</i>

Examples: *bekite egia* 'may they know the truth'

3.5.2.4.5. Other synthetic verb with more restricted usage

(a) *Etzan* 'lay'. The following monovalent present and past indicative forms for a third person subject are common in present-day usage, other forms are rare: *datza* 'it lies', *dautza* 'they lie', *zetzan* 'it lay', *zeutzan* 'they lay'. This

verb is unusual in showing a plural marker *-u-* (but cf. *dago* 'it is, stays', *daude* 'they are, stay', which may have served as an analogical model).

(b)*Iraun* 'last'. This verb takes transitive morphology. Only forms for a third person subject and a third person singular object are used in synthetic conjugation: *dirau* 'it lasts', *diraute* 'they last', *zirauen* 'it lasted', *ziraute* 'they lasted'.

(c)*Jario* or *erion* 'flow'. The forms of this verb are trivalent, although it only takes two arguments, absolutive and dative, and normally only the absolutive may be present. Only the following conjugated forms are common: *dario* 'it flows to (= from) it', *darizkio* 'they flow to it', *darie* 'it flows to them', *darizkie* 'they flow to them', *zerion* 'it flowed to it', *zerizkion* 'they flowed to it', *zerien* 'it flowed to them' and *zerizkien* 'they flowed to them'. Examples: *ura dario (iturriari/iturritik)* 'water flows (from the source)', *malkoak zerizkien begietatik* 'tears were flowing from their eyes'.

(d)Two other conjugated transitive verbs which are used in some dialects and in the present-day standard language are the partially synonymous *irudi* 'seem, resemble, consider' and *iritzi* 'consider'. The verb *iritzi* is special in that its conjugated forms (used in Bizkaian and in the standard language) are trivalent and incorporate agreement with a third person dative object (we illustrate forms with third person singular dative agreement for this verb in table 134).

- (181) *Etxeak handia dirudi.*
 house.ERG big.DET 3A.seem.3E
 'The house seems big.'

- (182) *Zuk frantsesa dirudizu.*
 you.ERG French.DET 3A.seem.2E
 'You seem French.'

Both *iritzi* and *irudi* can be used with the meaning of 'to seem to someone', but the two verbs show rather different argument structures. With *iritzi* the experiencer appears as an ergative argument and the object as a dative argument. On the other hand, the verb *irudi* is employed as bivalent intransitive with this meaning, with the experiencer marked as a dative argument, but it does not have synthetic forms in this function:

- (183) *Etxea saltze-a-ri gaizki deritzot nik.*
 House sell-NOM-DAT bad 3A.think.3D.1E I.ERG
 'Selling the house seems wrong to me.'

- (184) *Etxea saltzea gaizki iruditzen zait niri.*
 house sell.NOM.ABSbad seem.IMPF AUX I.DAT
 'Selling the house seems wrong to me.'

Table 134. *irudi* 'seem, resemble, consider' and *iritzi* 'consider'

	<i>irudi</i> Present	Past	<i>iritzi</i> Present	Past
1S	<i>dirudit</i>	<i>nirudien</i>	<i>deritzot</i>	<i>neritzon</i>
2SF	<i>dirudikl-n</i>	<i>hirudien</i>	<i>deritzokl-n</i>	<i>heritzon</i>
3S	<i>dirudi</i>	<i>zirudien</i>	<i>deritzo</i>	<i>zeritzon</i>
1P	<i>dirudigu</i>	<i>genirudien</i>	<i>deritzogu</i>	<i>generitzon</i>
2S	<i>dirudizu</i>	<i>zenirudien</i>	<i>deritzozu</i>	<i>zeneritzon</i>
2P	<i>dirudizue</i>	<i>zeniruditen</i>	<i>deritzozue</i>	<i>zeneritzoten</i>
3P	<i>dirudite</i>	<i>ziruditen</i>	<i>deritzote</i>	<i>zeritzoten</i>

(e) *Jardun (ihardun, iharduki)* 'be busy at; converse about, discuss'. This verb is conjugated transitively, although it does not take a direct object, but a locative or instrumental argument.

Present: *dihardut, dihardukl-n, dihardu, dihardugu, diharduzu, dihardu*
zue, dihardute

Past: *niharduen, hiharduen, ziharduen, geniharduen, zeniharduen,*
zeniharduten, ziharduten

Examples: *lanean dihardut* 'I am busy at work', *fisikaz geniharduen* 'we
 were discussing physics'

3.5.2.5. Allocutive forms

Allocutivity refers to the encoding in the conjugated verb form of an addressee that is not an argument of the verb. Allocutivity is obligatory in Basque main clauses when the addressee is given familiar treatment. For instance, in the following examples (a), must be replaced by (b) or (c) if the addressee is treated as *hi* 'thou'. The form *duk* in (b) is used with male addressees, whereas *dun* in (c) indicates that the addressee is female:

- (185) a. *Jon etorri da.*
 come AUX.3A
 ‘Jon has come.’
 b. *Jon etorri duk.*
 AUX.3A/2M.ALLOC
 ‘Jon has come.’ (familiar, male addressee)
 c. *Jon etorri dun.*
 AUX.3A/2F.ALLOC
 ‘Jon has come.’ (familiar, female addressee)

The same contrast is illustrated in the following examples:

- (186) a. *Jon ikusi dut.*
 see AUX.3A/1E
 ‘I have seen Jon.’
 b. *Jon ikusi diat.*
 AUX.3A/2M.ALLOC/1E
 ‘I have seen Jon.’ (familiar, male addressee)
 c. *Jon ikusi dinat.*
 AUX.3A/2F.ALLOC/1E
 ‘I have seen Jon.’ (familiar, female addressee)

It is important to note that sentences containing allocutive forms have exactly the same meaning as the corresponding ‘plain’ sentences regarding both propositional content and information structure. Allocutivity is different from the so-called ‘ethical dative’ of some Romance languages, where the use of the second person dative marker indicates that the addressee is somehow affected or interested in the proposition. The use of allocutive forms does not convey any such meaning. It is simply an obligatory feature of the familiar treatment. If the addressee is treated as *hi*, every verb in a main clause must contain allocutive morphology. Thus, for instance, corresponding to *zure etxea ikusi dut* ‘I have seen your house’, we have *hire etxea ikusi diat/dinat* ‘I have seen thy house’, where the familiar possessive form *hire* ‘thy’ is correlated with allocutive agreement on the auxiliary, whereas *??hire etxea ikusi dut*, with the plain form *dut*, would be anomalous. Moreover, while ethical datives can be used for all persons, allocutivity only registers second person addressees.

Allocutivity is strictly a main clause phenomenon. Embedded verbs never bear allocutive markers in traditional usage, although younger speakers often produce allocutive forms inside completive clauses in some re-

gions. In the most conservative usage allocutive forms are also excluded from interrogative sentences.

The rules for deriving allocutive forms from the corresponding non-allocutive or plain forms are fairly complicated and considerable diversity among dialects is found in this respect (even though allocutivity itself and the main rules governing its usage are common to all Basque dialects). We will consider some of these rules of morphological correspondence here.

(a) In the allocutive treatment, present tense monovalent forms of *izan* 'be; intransitive auxiliary' are replaced by forms of **edun* 'have; transitive auxiliary' for a second person familiar ergative argument, as in (185) above and in the following examples:

etorri naiz / nauk / naun 'I have come, plain / ALLOC masc / ALLOC fem'
erori gara / gaituk / gaitun 'we have fallen'
ederrak dira / dituk / ditun 'they are pretty'

(cf., respectively, *ikusi nauk* 'thou hast seen me', *ikusi gaituk* 'thou hast seen us', *katuak dituk* 'thou hast cats'.)

In some cases, when *izan* is used as a main verb, this may produce ambiguity. Thus, *etxe ederra duk* is ambiguous between the meaning 'thou hast a nice house', where *duk* is a form of 'have', and the meaning 'it is a nice house', corresponding to plain *etxe ederra da*.

Past tense monovalent forms of *izan* are also replaced by forms of **edun*, for the most part, although in eastern dialects and the standard language the forms corresponding to a third person subject are different:

<i>etorri zen / zuan / zunan</i>	's/he came'
<i>etorri nintzen / ninduan / nindunan</i>	'I came'
<i>erori ginen / ginduan / gindunan</i>	'we fell'
<i>ederrak ziren / zituan / zitunan</i>	'they were pretty'

(cf., respectively, *ikusi huen* 'thou saw him/her', *ikusi ninduan* 'thou saw me', *ikusi gintuan* 'thou saw us', *katuak hituan* 'thou hadst cats'.)

(b) Present and past tense bivalent (absolutive-dative) forms of *izan*, on the other hand, add a suffix *-k* / *-a-* (masculine) or *-n(a)* (feminine).

Table 135. Present and past tense bivalent (ABS-dative) forms of *izan*

plain	ALLOC masc	ALLOC fem	
<i>gustatzen zait</i>	<i>zaidak</i>	<i>zaidan</i>	'I like it'
<i>gertatu zaio</i>	<i>zaiok</i>	<i>zaion</i>	'it happened to him/her'
<i>etorri zitzaigun</i>	<i>zitzaiguan</i>	<i>zitzaigunan</i>	'it came to us'

(c) Bivalent (ABS/ERG) forms of **edun* for a third person absolutive argument are replaced by the corresponding trivalent forms for a second person familiar dative argument

edan du / dik / din 's/he has drunk it'

ikusi dut / diat / dinat 'I have seen it'

(cf., respectively, *eman dik* 's/he has given it to thee', *eman diat* 'I have given it to thee')

These forms are thus ambiguous between an interpretation where there is a second person dative argument and another interpretation where there is no such argument. Thus, for instance, *ekarri diat* can be 'I have brought it to thee' or 'I have brought it' (= allocutive form of *ekarri dut*). In this the standard language follows Gipuzkoan usage (although, in many other respects, the morphology of allocutive forms in standard Basque is closer to Lapurdian than to Gipuzkoan). In eastern dialects, on the other hand, these forms are different. Thus, in Lapurdian trivalent *ekarri d(er)auat* 'I have brought it to thee' is different from bivalent allocutive *ekarri diat* 'I have brought it'.

(d) Trivalent forms of *edun* add *-a/-k* (masculine), *-na/-n* (feminine) as a fourth index. In addition, initial *d-* is spirantized to *z-*:

esan diot / zioat / zionat 'I have told him/her'

eman dit / zidak / zidan 'I have given it to him/her'

The spirantization of *d-* is the result of a historical change **di- > z-* in these forms. In Bizkaian the result is a palatal approximant or fricative *j-* instead (which has become */x/* in the Markina region and in the Bizkaian-speaking area of Gipuzkoa). In synthetic verbs an *-i-* affix in allocutive forms has also caused palatalization with further changes depending on the dialect. Thus, the allocutive masculine form of *nago* 'I am, stay' is *nagok* in the standard language but has the dialectal variants *niagok ~ ñagok ~ negok*

and the allocutive masculine form of *dago* 's/he is, stays' is *diagok* ~ *zegok* ~ B *jagok* (in the standard language, both *zegok* and *zagok* are accepted). There are dialects, nevertheless, where the affix *-i-* (which otherwise characterizes forms containing a dative argument) is not used in these allocutive forms.

In most dialects the use of allocutive form is as has been described: allocutive morphology is used when the addressee is addressed as *hi* 'thou', but not when the addressee is treated as *zu* 'you' or with a plural addressee. Since the use of *hi* has been lost or is receding in parts of the western area, many speakers do not employ or are only vaguely acquainted with allocutive forms. In other geographical areas (e.g. Azkoitia, Oñati), however, allocutive morphology is still in vigorous usage. In the northeastern Low Navarrese and Zuberoan area, on the other hand, allocutivity has spread to the polite *zu* treatment. Speakers of these dialects, in addition to, for instance, (185a-c) have a fourth form, *Jon etorri duzu* 'Jon has arrived' which is polite but somewhat more affectionate than the plain form. A further step has been taken in Zuberoan where allocutive forms are obligatorily employed with a single addressee (either familiar or polite allocutive), plain forms being used only with plural addressees (and in embedded and interrogative clauses). See Alberdi (1995) for more details.

3.5.3. *Structural analysis of basic verbal paradigms*

J.I. Hualde

Starting with the synthetic verbs, it is clear that their paradigm consists of four basic tenses/aspects plus three more obtained by the addition of the potential/future suffix *-ke*. This is illustrated in the following tables with the verbs *egon* 'be, stay' and *ekarr(i)* 'bring' as examples, respectively, of intransitive and transitive verbs. The forms marked (lit.) are nowadays somewhat archaic or literary for most Basque speakers:

Table 136. *egon* 'be, stay'

PRESENT	<i>dago</i> 'he is'	<i>dagoke</i> 'he will/may be' (lit.)
PAST	<i>zegoen</i> 'he was'	<i>zegokeen</i> 'he could be' (lit.)
HYPOTHETICAL	<i>(ba)lego</i> '(if) he were'	<i>legoke</i> 'he would be'
IMPERATIVE	<i>bego</i> 'let him be'	

Table 137. *ekarr(i)* 'bring'

PRESENT	<i>dakar</i> 'he brings, is bringing it'	<i>dakarke</i> 'he will/may bring it' (lit.)
PAST	<i>zekarren</i> 'he brought, was bringing it'	<i>zekarkeen</i> 'he could bring it' (lit.)
HYPOTHETICAL	<i>(ba)lekar</i> '(if) he brought it'	<i>lekarke</i> 'he would bring it'
IMPERATIVE	<i>bekar</i> 'let him bring it'	

The intransitive and transitive auxiliaries follow the same morphological schema, but they both represent the fusion of two etymologically different verbs. The transitive auxiliary is illustrated first, since its structure is more straightforward:

Table 138. **edun* 'have / transitive auxiliary'

PRESENT	<i>du</i> 'he has it'	<i>duke</i> 'he will/may have it' (lit.)
PAST	<i>zuen</i> 'he had it'	<i>zukeen</i> 'he would have it'
HYPOTHETICAL	<i>(ba)lu</i> '(if) he had it'	<i>luke</i> 'he would have it'
IMPERATIVE	---	

Table 139. **ezan* 'obtain' > 'transitive auxiliary'

PRESENT	<i>*deza > dezan</i> ? > 'so that he may have it, subj.'	<i>dezake</i> 'he can have it'
PAST	<i>zezan</i> 'he had it' > past subj.	<i>zezakeen</i> 'he could have it'
HYPOTHETICAL	<i>(ba)leza</i> '(if) he had it' (lit.)	<i>lezake</i> 'he could have it'
IMPERATIVE	<i>beza</i> 'let him have it'	

Table 140. *izan*, 'be / intransitive auxiliary'

PRESENT	<i>da</i> 'he is'	<i>dateke</i> 'he will/may be' (lit.)
PAST	<i>zen</i> 'he was'	<i>zatekeen</i> 'he could be'
HYPOTHETICAL	<i>(ba)litz</i> '(if) he were'	<i>litzateke</i> 'he would be'
IMPERATIVE	-----	

Table 141. *edin 'become' > 'be / intransitive auxiliary'

PRESENT	*dadi > dadin ? > 'so that he may be, subj.'	daiteke 'he will/may be' (lit.)
PAST	zedin 'he was' > past subj.	zitekeen 'he might be'
HYPOTHETICAL	(ba)ledi '(if) he were' (lit.)	liteke 'he could possibly be'
IMPERATIVE	bedi 'let him be'	

The basic analytical forms are illustrated with the transitive verb *ikus(i)* 'see' and the intransitive verb *eror(i)* 'fall'. The participles *ikusi* 'perfective', *ikusten* 'imperfective' and *ikusiko* 'prospective, future' combine with *edun, whereas the radical *ikus* combines with *ezan:

Table 142. *ikus(i)* 'see' (I) *ikusi/ikusten/ikusiko* + *edun

PRESENT	PRF	<i>ikusi du</i> 'he has seen it'	<i>ikusi duke</i> 'he may have seen it' (lit.)
	IMPF	<i>ikusten du</i> 'he sees it'	<i>ikusten duke</i> 'he may see it' (lit.)
	FUT	<i>ikusiko du</i> 'he will see it'	<i>ikusiko duke</i> 'he will perhaps see it' (lit.)
PAST	PRF	<i>ikusi zuen</i> 'he had seen it' > 'he saw it'	<i>ikusi zukeen</i> 'he may have seen it'
	IMPF	<i>ikusten zuen</i> 'he saw it, used to see it'	<i>ikusten zukeen</i> 'he may have seen it' (lit.)
	FUT	<i>ikusiko zuen</i> 'he would see it'	<i>ikusiko zukeen</i> 'he would have seen it'
HYPOTHETICAL	PRF	<i>ikusi balu</i> 'if he had seen it'	<i>ikusi luke</i> 'he would have seen it'
	IMPF	<i>ikusten balu</i> 'if he saw it' (eastern)	<i>ikusten luke</i> 'he would see it' (eastern)
	FUT	<i>ikusiko balu</i> 'if he saw it' (western)	<i>ikusiko luke</i> 'he would see it' (western)

Table 143. *ikus(i)* 'see' (II) *ikus* + *ezan

PRESENT	<i>ikus dezan</i> 'so that he may see it, subj.'	<i>ikus dezake</i> 'he can see it'
PAST	<i>ikus zezan</i> 'he saw it' (archaic) > past subj.	<i>ikus zezakeen</i> 'he could have seen it'
HYPOTHETICAL	<i>ikus baleza</i> '(if) he saw it' (lit.)	<i>ikus lezake</i> 'he could see it'
IMPERATIVE	<i>ikus beza</i> 'let him see it'	

The participles *erori* 'perfective', *erortzen* 'imperfective' and *eroriko* 'prospective, future' combine with *izan*, whereas the radical *eror* combines with **edin*:

Table 144. *eror(i)* 'fall' (I) *erori/erortzen/eroriko* + *izan*

PRESENT	PRF	<i>erori da</i> 'he has fallen'	<i>erori dateke</i> 'he may have fallen' (lit.)
	IMPF	<i>erortzen da</i> 'he falls'	<i>erortzen dateke</i> 'he may fall' (lit.)
	FUT	<i>eroriko da</i> 'he will fall'	<i>eroriko dateke</i> 'he will perhaps fall' (lit.)
PAST	PRF	<i>erori zen</i> 'he had fallen' > 'he fell'	<i>erori zatekeen</i> 'he may have fallen' (lit.)
	IMPF	<i>erortzen zen</i> 'he fell, used to fall'	<i>erortzen zatekeen</i> 'he may have fallen (lit.)
	FUT	<i>eroriko zen</i> 'he would fall'	<i>eroriko zatekeen</i> 'he would have fallen' (lit.)
HYPOTH.	PRF	<i>erori balitz</i> 'if he had fallen'	<i>erori litzateke</i> 'he would have fallen'
	IMPF	<i>erortzen balitz</i> 'if he fell' (eastern)	<i>erortzen litzateke</i> 'he would fall' (eastern)
	FUT	<i>eroriko balitz</i> 'if he fell' (western)	<i>eroriko litzateke</i> 'he would fall' (western)

Table 145. *eror(i)* 'fall' (II) *eror* + **edin*

PRESENT	<i>eror dadin</i> 'so that he may fall, subj.'	<i>eror daiteke</i> 'he can fall'
PAST	<i>eror zedin</i> 'he fell' (arch.) > past subj.	<i>eror zitekeen</i> 'he could have fallen'
HYPOTHETICAL	<i>eror baledi</i> '(if) he fell' (lit.)	<i>eror liteke</i> 'he could fall'
IMPERATIVE	<i>eror bedi</i> 'let him fall'	

The expression of tense, aspect and mood in Basque is studied in more detail in the next section.

3.5.4. Tense, aspect and mood

B. Oyharçabal

In this section, the different basic tense/aspect/mood combinations used in Basque are presented. As already mentioned, for the most part these expressions contain one of the participles and a conjugated auxiliary. From a mor-

phological point of view, analytical expressions can be divided according to the class of the auxiliary: indicative auxiliaries *izan* (intransitive) and **edun* (transitive), and subjunctive auxiliaries—which in modern Basque can be used in subjunctive, imperative, potential or conditional sentences only—, **edin* (intransitive) and **ezan* (transitive). However, past forms of subjunctive auxiliaries could be used in narrations and general statements in 16th century texts. As mentioned in 3.5.2.2, the morphological distinction between the two classes of auxiliaries appears to have been correlated with an aspectual distinction in older stages of the language. In Bizkaian *egin* is used instead of **ezan* as a subjunctive/potential transitive auxiliary, and in eastern dialects another auxiliary (**iro*) can be used in potential and conditional sentences instead of **ezan*.

Synthetic verb forms are, in principle, compatible with all the modal values, though using synthetic forms in subjunctive sentences is stylistically marked and rather archaic (outside of imperative sentences). In this section we will present the main combinations of tense, aspect and mood occurring in modern Basque. First we offer an overview:

Table 146. Synthetic verb form overview (part 1 of 2)

Present indicative		
Imperfective present	<i>ekartzen du / dakar</i>	'he brings it, he is bringing it'
Perfective present	<i>ekarri du</i>	'he has brought it, he brought it'
Prospective present (Future)	<i>ekarriko du</i>	'he'll bring it'
Past indicative		
Imperfective past	<i>ekartzen zuen / zekarren</i>	'he brought it, he was bringing it'
Perfective past	<i>ekarri zuen</i>	'he brought it'
Prospective past	<i>ekarriko zuen</i>	'he would bring it'
(In eastern dialects, the suffix <i>-ke</i> can be added to the inflected verbal form in all indicative tense/aspects, contributing a meaning of uncertainty, futurity or probability.)		
Hypothetical conditional		
Past hypothetical protasis	<i>ekarri balu</i>	'if he had brought it'
Past hypothetical apodosis	<i>ekarriko zu(ke)en</i>	'he would have brought it'
Present-Future hypothetical protasis	<i>ekartzen or ekarriko balu / balekar</i>	'if he brought it'
Subjunctive hypothetical protasis	<i>ekar baleza</i>	'if he brought it'
Present-Future hypothetical apodosis	<i>ekarriko luke</i>	'he would bring it'
Subjunctive hypothetical apodosis	<i>ekar lezake / lekarke</i>	'he would bring it'

Table 146. Synthetic verb form overview (part 2 of 2)

Subjunctive		
Present	<i>ekar dezan</i>	'so that he may bring it'
Past	<i>ekar zezan</i>	'so that he might bring it; might have brought it'
Hypothetical	<i>ekar lezan</i>	'were he to bring it or have brought it'
Subjunctive potential		
Present	<i>ekar dezake / dakarke</i>	'he can bring it'
Past	<i>ekar zezakeen / zekarkeen</i>	'he could bring it'
Hypothetical	<i>ekar lezake / lekarke</i>	'he would be able to bring it'
Imperative	<i>ekar ezazu / ekarzu</i>	'bring it!'
Jussive	<i>ekar beza (dezala) / bekar (dakarrela)</i>	'let him bring it!'

3.5.4.1. Imperfective present and synthetic present

The present indicative is formed combining the imperfective participle of the main verb and the present form of the indicative auxiliary *izan* (intransitive) or **edun* (transitive): *jeikitzen naiz* 'I get up', *erosten dut* 'I buy it'. Its central meaning is that of a habitual present, but it can also express continuous aspect and can even have a progressive meaning (see below):

- (187) *Egunero zazpitan jeikitzen naiz.*
 day.every seven.at get.up.IMPF AUX.PRS
 'Every day I get up at seven.'

- (188) *Orain ondo entzuten dizut.*
 now well hear.IMPF AUX.PRS
 'Now I hear you well.'

- (189) *Zer irakurtzen duzu hor?*
 what read.IMPF AUX.PRS there
 'What are you reading there?'

In the last example, the progressive form with *ari* (*Zer irakurtzen ari zara hor?* 'what are you reading there') may be employed with the same meaning (see 3.5.5.1.1). In most dialects, the use of the progressive construction to express a present progressive is not compulsory. For those few verbs which possess synthetic forms, the synthetic present expresses continuous aspect, whereas the analytical present has a habitual meaning; e.g.: *nator* 'I am coming', *nago* 'I am / stay' vs. *etortzen naiz* 'I come', *egoten*

naiz 'I usually am / stay'. However, this distinction is not always made in eastern dialects, where synthetic forms tend to be used only as stylistic variants of the corresponding analytical present forms, and can express habitual aspect:

- (190) *Kaiolan nintzenean, maiz nindagon triste.*
 cage.in was.when often stay.PST sad
 'When I was in a cage, often I was sad.'
 [*nindagon* = *nengoen*; Eliss., *Koblak*: 216]

The present indicative can also be used with a future meaning. For non-stative or durative verbs with synthetic forms, the synthetic present is used with this meaning:

- (191) *Zer ordutan hartzen duzu tren arratsaldean?*
 what hour.in take.IMPF AUX.PRS train afternoon.in
 'At what time are you taking the train this afternoon?'
- (192) *Bihar etxera goaz.*
 tomorrow home.to go.PRS
 'We are going home tomorrow.'

In eastern dialects, the modal morpheme *-ke* can be suffixed to the auxiliary of the imperfective present to express probability:

- (193) *Aberasten duke tokia, bainan ez hobetzen.*
 enrich.IMPF AUX.PRS.POT place but not improve.IMPF
 'They may make the place richer, but not better it.'
 [Etch., *Beribilez*:15]
- (194) *Bere harat-hunatetan zerbeit elepidexka emaiten duke.*
 his to.fro.in some criticism give.IMPF AUX.PRS.POT
 'He probably gives rise to some criticism regarding his behavior.'
 [Hiriart-Urruty, *Zezenak errepublikan*:187]

This probability use of *-ke* is much more frequent with synthetic present forms:

- (195) *Ez dakike zer darasan.*
 not knows.PRS.POT what says.PRS.COMP
 'He probably doesn't know what he says.' [Goyhetché, *Alegiak*:261]

- (196) *Etxe honek badauzkake egoiliarrak, badukete*
 house this.ERG *ba*.has.PRS.POT residents *ba*.have.PRS.POT
arno xorta bat.
 wine drop one
 'This house probably has residents, they must have a little wine.'
 [Etch., *Beribilez*:27]

With synthetic present forms the suffix *-ke* can also express potentiality. In classical Basque of the 16th and 17th centuries, potential expressions (*ahal* 'to be able' or *ezin* 'not to be able') were used together with *-ke* in this case, but this is only optional in modern Basque, and, actually, rather rare with *ahal* (see 3.5.4.8.1):

- (197) *Xutik ez dagoke, akituaren akituz.*
 upright not stay.PRS.POT tired.GEN tired.INSTR
 'He can't stay up, because he is tired.' [Etch., *Bur.*:109]
- (198) *Besterik ezin dagikete.*
 other.PRTT can't do.PRS.POT
 'They cannot do anything else.' [Iraizoz, *Jesu Kristo*:200]
- (199) *Nolatan ahal dateke hori horrela?*
 how can be.PRS.POT this like.that
 'How can be this so?' [Ax. 80]

Synthetic present forms with *-ke* can also express future tense:

- (200) *Eta geroztik errextasuna badukezu*
 and after facility *ba*.have.PRS.POT
zure gogoeta guziak euskaraz aipatzeko.
 your thought all.DET.PL Basque.INSTR express.to
 'And after that, you will have facility to express all your thoughts in Basque.' [Arb., *Igan.*:15]

We will now consider several special uses of the imperfective present. The imperfective present (and the synthetic present) is used in general statements, for instance in proverbs and sayings:

- (201) *Ez du arropak egiten gizona.*
 not AUX.PRS clothes.ERG make.IMPF man
 'The clothes don't make the man.'

- (202) *Finak darama koroa.*
 end.ERG bring.PRS crown
 'The end brings the crown.' (*finis coronat opus*) [Ax.306]

The imperfective present is also used with deontic value in impersonal sentences:

- (203) *Hemen ez da pipatzen.*
 here not AUX smoke.IMPF
 'Here one doesn't (= should not) smoke.'

- (204) *Gauaz lo egiten da.*
 night.by sleep do.IMPF AUX.PRS
 'At night one sleeps; the night is for sleeping.'

Some irregular ways to express imperfective present are found in various dialects. In central and eastern dialects, continuous aspect in present forms can be expressed with a few irregular forms, where, instead of the regular imperfective participle, a compound form is used: *sendi izan* 'feel', *mintzo izan* 'be speaking', *johan izan* 'be going', *iduri izan* 'seem', as in *sendi dut* 'I feel', *mintzo naiz* 'I am speaking', etc. in the following examples:

- (205) *Ene bihotzak zer sendi duen nahi baiterautzut*
 my heart.ERG what feel AUX.PRS.COMP want AUX.PRS
erran.
 say
 'I want to tell you what my heart is feeling.'
 [Xalbador, *Odolaren mintzoa*:79]

- (206) *Gu ere, johan gira.*
 we also go AUX.PRS
 'We too are leaving.' [Larzabal, *Hiru ziren*:24]

- (207) *Eta hemen mintzo naiz neronek jasan minez.*
 and here speak AUX.PRS myself.ERG suffered pains.INSTR
 'And here I am speaking of the pains I suffered by myself.'
 [Arb., *Igan.*:159]

- (208) *Ni bezain akitua iduri duzu.*
 I as tire.DET seem have.PRS
 'You seem as tired as I am.' [Etch., *Mendekoste gereziak*:54]

Some central dialects (Lapurdi and bordering area of Gipuzkoa and Navarre) use derived adverbial forms with the suffix *-ki*, in the same way: *ekarki* 'bringing', *joaki* 'going', *ibilki* 'walking, going about'.

- (209) *hetarik joaki den kea*
 from.them go.ki AUX.PRS.COMP smoke
 'the smoke which is going from them.'
 [Iratzeder, *Biziaren olerkia*:78]

- (210) *Jendeak badaki, (...) ihizien ondotik nintzela*
 people.ERG ba.know.PRS game.GEN after AUX.PST.COMP
ibilki.
 going
 'People know that ... I used to go after game animals.'
 [Xalbador, *Odolaren mintzoa*:254]

Exceptionally, the past participle of *heldu* 'come, arrive' is used as a present participle in central dialects: *heldu naiz* 'I am coming'. The expected form *heltzen naiz*, which is used in standard Basque, is not employed in these dialects. In standard Basque, *heldu naiz* has the meaning 'I have arrived'. These forms are more or less equivalent to synthetic forms in meaning, as is apparent from the existence of the following dialectal variants: *banoa* (western) vs. *joaki naiz* (central) vs. *johan naiz* (northeastern) 'I am going'; *badirudi* (western) vs. *iduri du* (eastern) 'it seems'; *datorren urtea* (western) vs. *heldu den urtea* (eastern) 'next year, the year which is coming'.

In compound verbs associating a nominal form (*behar* 'need, obligation', *beldur* 'fear', *nahi* 'will', *uste* 'belief', *oroit* 'memory', *ahal* 'capacity', ...) or an adjectival form (*maite* 'loved', *ezagun* 'known', *ageri* 'clear, evident', *bizi* 'alive', ...) to *izan* or **edun* (used as main verbs, not as auxiliaries), no aspect morpheme appears, even in the habitual:

- (211) a. *Zer uste duzu?* b. *Non bizi zara?*
 what belief have.PRS where live be.PRS
 ‘What do you think?’ ‘Where do you live?’

- (212) *Goizetan nire ondoan behar zaitut.*
 mornings.in my near need have.PRS
 ‘In the morning I need you near me.’

However in some dialects the imperfective participle (*izaten*) can be used with these verbs to indicate habitual aspect:

- (213) *Gurean, ez dute nahi izaten gabea etxetik*
 our.LOC not AUX.PRS want be.IMP night.at home.ABL
 irtetea.
 go.out.NOM.DET
 ‘In our house they don’t want [for me] to get out at night.’
 [Ag., Kr.:58]

- (214) *Iñork ez du uste izaten... besteak baño gehiago*
 nobody.ERG not AUX opinion be.IMP others but more
 ez denik.
 not is.COMP.PRT
 ‘Nobody thinks that he is not more than the others.’ [Ag., Kr.:79]

- (215) *lehenago, Urbian bizi izaten zanean, ...*
 before.more Urbia.LOC alive be.IMP AUX.COMP.LOC
 ‘before, when he lived in Urbia, ...’ [Ag., Garoa:357]

Protases of non-hypothetical conditionals referring to future time are expressed with the imperfective present (the future participle cannot be used):

- (216) *Datorren urtean hara joaten (*joango) bazara,*
 comes.COMP year.LOC there.all go.IMP (*FUT) if.AUX
 ikasiko duzu.
 learn.FUT AUX
 ‘If you go there next year, you will learn it.’

If the prospective aspect is used in such a construction, the whole proposition takes a final value:

- (217) *Eskola behar dugu geure esku izan Euzkadi*

school need AUX our hand be Euzkadi
euskaldunduko badugu.

B. speaking.FUT if.AUX

'We need to have school under control, if we are to make Euzkadi Basque speaking.' [Mitx., EIG IX:2]

3.5.4.2. Perfective present (present perfect)

The perfective present is formed with the perfective participle and the present form of the indicative auxiliaries; e.g.: *joan naiz* 'I have gone', *erosi dut* 'I have bought (it)'. It is used for past actions with present relevance and also as a hodiernal past:

- (218) *Gaur goizean Peru ikusi dut.*
 today morning Peru see.PRF AUX.PRS
 'I saw Peru this morning.'

- (219) *Lingüística ilunbetan ibili da gehienetan bere*
 linguistics dark.under.in walk.PRF AUX most.in its
oinarriei buruz.
 foundations.DAT about
 'Linguistics has moved in the dark most of the time regarding its foundations.' [Mitx., EIG VI:95]

Eastern dialects use the perfective present more than western dialects. For example using a temporal phrase such as *atzo* 'yesterday' or *joan den astean* 'last week' in the same sentence western speakers must use the perfective past, while eastern speakers may use the present perfect:

- (220) *Atzo gizon bat ehortzi duzue hemen nonbait.*
 yesterday man a bury.PRF AUX.PRS here somewhere
 'Yesterday you buried a man somewhere here.'
 (Western Basque: *atzo gizon bat ehortzi zenuten*)
 [Laphitz, *Bi saindu* ...:206]
- (221) *Atzo ezkondu giñan.*
 yesterday marry.PRF AUX.PST
 'Yesterday we married.' [Ag., *Kr.*:190]

In eastern dialects, the present perfect can be employed with the suffix *-ke* added to the auxiliary to express probability:

- (222) *Asko aldiz entzun dukezu gizon zoro batzuen*
 many time hear.PRF AUX.PRS.POT man crazy some.GEN
ahotik solas hau.
 mouth.ABL word this
 'You may have heard this word many times from some crazy people.'
 [H.U., *Zezenak errepublikan*:29]

- (223) *Berantxe ezagutu duket hemengo jendea.*
 late.INTS know.PRF AUX.PRS.POT here.REL people
 'I probably knew the people from here a little too late.'
 [H.U., *Gizona*....:69]

3.5.4.2.1. Remote perfective present

Perfective aspect can be reinforced by using the past participle of the auxiliary (*izan*, and *ukan* in eastern dialects with transitive verbs) along with the past participle of the main verb. This complex form expresses some kind of remoteness and also experiential perfect or habitual in the past:

- (224) *An diabruak asko aldiz tentatu izan zuan.*
 there devil.ERG many times tempt.PRF be.PRF AUX
 'There the devil tempted him many times.'
 [Beovide, *Asisko loria*:75]
- (225) *Erraztasun onetatik kalte andiak etorri izan dira.*
 facility these.ABL damage big come.PRF be.PRF AUX
 'Great damages have come from these facilities.'
 [Agirre, *Erakusaldiak*:2]
- (226) *Berrogoi urtez holaxet izkiriatu ukan ditu (...)*
 forty year.INSTR thus write.PRF have.PRF AUX
bere berriak.
 his news
 'He wrote his news in this way during forty years.'
 [Etch., *Bur.*:160]

The perfective past form of expressions consisting of a noun or adjective and an auxiliary, such as *bizi naiz* 'I live (lit. I am alive)', *uste dut* 'I have (the) opinion, I think', includes the perfective participle of *izan* (*ukan* with transitive verbs in eastern dialects), as in *bizi izan naiz* 'I have lived', *uste izan dut* (eastern *uste ukan dut*) 'I have thought':

- (227) *Batzuek uste izan dute munduaren asieratik*
 some.ERG think be.PRFX AUX world.GEN beginning.ABL
markatu zuala Jaunak larunbata.
 mark.PRFX AUX.COMP God.ERG saturday
 'Some people have thought that the Lord signaled Saturday from the beginning of the world.' [Agirre, *Erakusaldiak*:2, 40]

- (228) *Nahi ukan dugu erakustera eman nolakoa zen...*
 want have.PRFX AUX show.NOM.ALL give.PRFX how was
 'We wanted to show how it was...' [Etch., *Bur.*:33]

- (229) *Nola bizi izan haiz?*
 how alive be.PRFX are
 'How hast thou lived?' [Duhalde, *Meditazioneak*:146]

3.5.4.2.2. Perfect of result

The perfective participle can receive the suffix *-a(k)*, that is, the determiner/article, just like an adjective (see 3.5.1.1.1). Expressions containing a participle with the determiner accompanied by an inflected auxiliary are used to refer to the situation created when the process or the state expressed by the participle reaches its end point (perfect of result). However, most of the time, the use of the article is only optional. The article borne by the perfect participle agrees in number with the absolutive phrase within the sentence (*hoiek* 'those' and *zure bekatuak* 'your sins', in [230] and [231], respectively):

- (230) *Han diren hoiek ez ditu joak mundu*
 there are.COMP those not AUX hit.DET.PL world
hutan miseriak.
 this.LOC misery.ERG
 'Misery has not stricken those who are there, in this world.'
 [Mattin, *Ahal dena*]

- (231) *Errana dautzut zure bekatuak barkatuak ditutzula.*
 say.PR.F.DET AUX your sins forgive.DET.PL AUX.COMP
 'I have told you that your sins are forgiven.'
 [*dautzut* = *dizut*, *ditutzula* = *dituzula*; Larzabal, *Senperen gertatua*:52]

3.5.4.3. Prospective present or future tense

The future tense is formed with the prospective participle and the present of the indicative auxiliaries; e.g. *jeikiko naiz* 'I shall get up', *erosiko dut* 'I will buy it'.

- (232) *Orduan, bai, diru billa joango aiz.*
 then yes money in.search.of go.FUT AUX
 'Then, yes, thou shalt go in search of money.' [Ag., *Garoa*:144]

- (233) *Hilko naiz, baina ez naiz osoro suntsituko.*
 die.FUT AUX but not AUX totally sink.FUT
 'I will die, but I won't be totally destroyed.' [Mitx., *EIG IX*:92]

In Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan only the suffix *-ko* is used, with all verbs. In eastern dialects the prospective aspect can be marked by the genitive suffix *-(r)en*, but this use is mainly restricted now to verbs whose past participle ends in *-n*, and the single verb ending in *-l*: *hil* 'die, kill'. The use of *-ren* with other verbs is a stylistically rather marked variant. Historically, both endings derived from adnominal suffixes:

- (234) *Elorri bat (...) sarturen duzu eskutik,*
 thorn one put.into.FUT AUX hand.ABL
eta ez gero ateraturen...
 and not then take.out.FUT
 'You will put a thorn into your hand, and you won't take it out...'
 [Barbier, *Ipuinak*:65] (common: *sartuko duzu... ateratuko*)

As said before (cf. 3.5.4.1), especially in old Basque, synthetic verbs with the suffix *-ke* can express future tense:

- (235) *Gudura goakez.*
 war.ALL go.1A.POT.PL
 'We'll go to the war.' [Garibay:165]

In literary usage, there are some examples of prospective present with *-ke*. The nuance of meaning that this suffix adds to the ordinary future is minimal, if any:

- (236) *Baldin hor hondoratzen bahaiz (...), alferrik*
 if there sink.IMPF if.AUX in.vain
otoiztuko dukek Maria.
 pay.FUT AUX.POT Mary
 'If thou sinkest there, thou shalt pray to Mary in vain.'
 [Gasteluçar, *Egia katol.*:139]

In verbal expressions containing uninflected nouns and adjectives, there is some dialectal variation in the formation of the future. In the most general strategy, *-ko* is suffixed to the noun or the adjective: *nahiko* 'will want' (*nahi* 'desire'), *B gurako* 'will want' (*gura* 'desire'), *usteko* 'will think' (*uste* 'opinion'), *beharko* 'will have to' (*behar* 'need'), *ageriko* 'will appear, be evident' (*ageri* 'apparent'), *maiteko* 'will love' (*maite* 'love'), *biziko* 'will live' (*bizi* 'life; alive'); see also 3.5.6.1.1:

- (237) *Ni ere nahiko nau garaitu guduan.*
 I also want.FUT AUX defeat battle.in
 'He will want to defeat even me in the battle.' [Eliss., *Koblak*:201]
- (238) *Negar egiten dozula usteko dabe.*
 cry do.IMPF AUX.COMP think.FUT AUX
 'They will think you are crying.' [Ag., *Kr.*:23]
- (239) *Inork bere ez nau ni ikusi gurako.*
 nobody.ERG also not AUX I see want.FUT
 'Nobody will want to see me.'
 [Arrese Beitia, *Ama euskeriaren ...*:278]
- (240) *Eskolan dabiltzanen arropa beharko dute ekharri.*
 school.at walk.COMP.GEN clothes need.FUT AUX bring
 'They will have to wear the clothes of those who go to school.'
 [Laphitz, *Bi...*:89]
- (241) *Beti maiteko zaitut nik bai benetan.*
 always love.FUT AUX I.ERG yes truly
 'I will truly love you for ever.' [Jaurtarkol, *Biozkadak*:43]

The other available strategy is to employ the prospective participle of the intransitive or transitive auxiliary, e.g.: *bizi izango/izanen naiz* instead of *biziko naiz* 'I will live', *uste izango/izanen/ukanen dut* instead of *usteko dut* 'I will think'. Within a given dialect, one strategy may be preferred over the other depending on the specific lexical item.

- (242) *Zure izenaren beldur izanen dira.*
 your name.GEN fear be.FUT AUX
 'They will be afraid of your name.'
 [Haramburu, *Debozino eskuarra*:342]

- (243) *Norbaitek maite banau (...) nere aitak maite izango du.*
 someone.ERG love if.AUX my father.ERG love
 be.FUT AUX
 'If somebody loves me (...), my father will love him/her.'
 [Inza, *Kristau ik...*:137]

- (244) *Ez ote dugu orok (...) bazkaltzera joan behar izango?*
 not Q AUX all.ERG lunch.NOM.ALL go need be.FUT
 'Won't all of us have to go to have lunch?'
 [Azkue, *Ardi galdua*:62]

The prospective can be used to express probability:

- (245) a. *Etxean egongo da.* b. *Mariak jakingo du.*
 home.at be.FUT AUX Maria.ERG know.FUT AUX
 'S/he is probably at home.' 'Maria probably knows.'

With stative or durative verbs such as *egon* 'be, stay', *jakin* 'know', *ibili* 'walk' the prospective suffix is joined to the past participle. With other verbs, the past participle receives the resultative suffix (i.e. the article), and the prospective suffix is carried by the auxiliary:

- (246) *Onezkero buruz ikasia izango du.*
 by.now by.heart learn.PRF.DET be.FUT AUX
 'By now, he has probably learnt it by heart.'
 [Alzaga, *Ramuncho*:67]

- (247) *Baserritarren batek sortuba izango da kontuori ere.*
 peasant.GEN one.ERG create.PRF.DET be.FUT AUX story that also
 'This story too has probably been made up by some peasant.'
 [Soroa, *Baratzan*:48]

3.5.4.4. Imperfective past

The imperfective past of analytical verbs is formed with the imperfective participle and the past form of the indicative auxiliaries, e.g.: *jaikitzen nintzen* 'I (usually) got up', *erosten nuen* 'I (usually) bought (it)'. Normally, the imperfect indicates a habitual past, but it can also indicate continuous aspect:

- (248) *laz egunero seieta joaten nintzen lanera.*
 last.year everyday six.at go.IMPf AUX work.to
 'Last year, I went to work at six o'clock (i.e. every day).'
- (249) *Ez nuen ikusten zer gertatzen zen.*
 not AUX see.IMPf what happen.IMPf AUX
 'I didn't see what was happening.'
- (250) *Kafe utsetan ogi-zatiak beratuta jaten zitun.*
 coffee pure.in bread-pieces soften.PTCP eat.IMPf AUX
 'He was eating small pieces of bread softened in black coffee.'
 [Ag., *Uztaro*:253]

With some verbs possessing a synthetic past, the synthetic past form replaces the analytical imperfective past of other verbs:

- (251) *Gizon batek zituen bi seme.*
 man one.ERG had two son
 'A man had two sons.' [Parable of the prodigal son]
- (252) *Haren gatik nindoan (...) hain ardura Agerreko lantegirat.*
 he.GEN because went so often Agerre.REL workshop.to
 'It was because of him, I went so often to the workshop of Agerre.'
 [Etch., *Bur.*:61]

- (253) *Bertzerik nerabilan buruan eta bertzerik zen*
 other.PRTT used.1E head.in and other.PRTT was
Agerreko lantegirat egun guzietz hain
 Agerre.REL workshop.ALL day all.INSTR so
gogotik ninderemana.
 mind.ABL brought.1A/3E.COMP.DET
 'Something else was going on in my head and it was something else
 which brought me to the workshop of Agerre every day so willingly.'
 [Etch., *Bur.*:60]

With compound verbs combining a noun or an adjective with an auxiliary used as a synthetic verb, the latter appears in past tense: *uste zenuen* 'you thought', *nahi nuen* 'I wanted', *beldur zen* 's/he was afraid', *maite nuen* 'I loved', *bizi nintzen* 'I lived'. The irregular (mostly Lapurdian) forms with deverbal predicative forms mentioned in 3.5.4.1 follow the same pattern: *mintzo zinen* 'you were speaking', *johan zen* 'he was going', *ibilki zen* 'he was walking'.

The *-ke* morpheme is seldom used in the analytical imperfective past. When it is employed, it adds an epistemic value:

- (254) *Berrogai ta hamar metretan... igortzen zukeen bere*
 forty and ten metre.LOC send.IMPF AUX.POT its
burdin-pikorra.
 iron-grain
 'He probably threw its cannonball... fifty meters away.'
 [Etchepare]

The morpheme *-ke* can be used with synthetic past forms, with the same meanings it has in present imperfect forms: probability, potential (with *ezin* 'cannot' or *ahal* 'can' in older Basque) and future in the past:

- (255) *Konpainia ez zagoken buruzagirik gabe.*
 company not was.POT leader.PRTT without
 'The company couldn't stay without a leader.'
 [Laphitz, *Bi saindu...*:183]
- (256) *astoaren gainean..., amatzera zoaken emazte bat*
 donkey.GEN top.on give.birth.NOM.ALL went.POT woman one
 'on the donkey, ... a woman who was certainly about to give birth'
 [Oxobi, *Lan orhoigarriak*:64]

- (257) *Ezin zitekeien gure artean janhari hobeagorik.*
 cannot be.POT our among food better.PRTT
 'No better food could be found among us.' [Ax. 386]

3.5.4.5. Perfective past

The perfective past is formed with the perfective participle and the past form of the indicative auxiliary; e.g.: *jeiki nintzen* 'I got up', *erosi nuen* 'I bought (it)'. Its meaning is that of a non-hodiernal perfective past:

- (258) *Atzo Peru ikusi nuen.*
 yesterday Peru see.PRF AUX.PST
 'Yesterday I saw Peru.'

With compound verbs like *nahi izan* 'want', or *bizi izan* 'live', the perfective participle of *izan* (intransitive/transitive) or *ukan* (transitive, eastern) is used along with the past tense of the auxiliary: *joan nahi izan zuen* 's/he wanted to go', *erosi behar izan/ukan zuen* 's/he had to buy (it)':

- (259) *Alkarrekin zoriontsu bizi izan ziran.*
 together happy live be.PRF AUX.PST
 'They lived happy together.' [Ag., *Uztaro*:21]

A remote perfective past results from the adjunction of the past participle corresponding to the auxiliary to the perfective participle of the lexical verb: *etorri izan nintzen* 'I had come', *erosi izan zuen* 's/he had bought (it)'.

The perfect of result appears when the article is suffixed to the past participle, which is treated as an adjective. As usual, the auxiliary may also be interpreted here as the main verb 'have':

- (260) *Aspaldidanik ohartua zuen arrain gaitz bat.*
 since.long notice.PRF.DET AUX fish big one
 'For a long time he had remarked a big fish.'
 [Zubiri, *Idazlan sorta bat*:21]

- (261) *Buruan ontsa sartua zuen etsaiari ez zuela*
 head.in well enter.PRF.DET AUX enemy.DAT not AUX.that
amorrik eginen.
 surrender do.FUT
 'He had it well put into his mind that he would not surrender to the enemy.' [Laphitz, *Bi saindu...*:9]

- (262) *Partidu horrek irauna zuen denbora luzean.*
 game that.ERG last.PRF.DET AUX time long.LOC
 'The game had lasted a long time.' [Uztapide, *Bertsokak*:92]

The perfective past of verbs which possess a synthetic conjugation is constructed in the same way as for other verbs, since the synthetic past has an imperfective meaning; e.g.: *etorri ginen* 'we came', *ekarri genuen* 'we brought it' and also *izan ginen* 'we were'.

The perfective past with *-ke* can also express past hypothetical apodoses in conditional sentences, although these are formed more commonly with the prospective past (cf. 3.5.4.6.):

- (263) *Nork pentsatu zukean gaur egunean alako gauza.*
 who think AUX.POT.PST today day.LOC such thing
onak baziranik
 good.DET.PL ba.were.PRTT
 'Who would have thought that there were such good things in present days.' [Labayen, *Su-emailleak*:173]

- (264) *Orduan hil bazina, zureak egin zukeen, (...),*
 then die if.AUX.PST yours do.PRF AUX.POT.PST
Jainkoaren presentziaz eta gloriaz ez zinen
 God.GEN presence.INSTR and glory.INSTR not AUX.PST
sekulan gozatuko.
 ever enjoy.PRF.FUT
 'If you had died then, you would have been lost (...), you would have never enjoyed the presence and the glory of the Lord.'
 [Baratzart, *Meditazione ttipiak*:82]

3.5.4.6. Prospective past or future in the past

The future of the past consists of the prospective or future participle plus the past form of the indicative auxiliary; e.g.: *jaikiko nintzen* 'I would get up', *erosiko nuen* 'I would buy it'.

This tense has two major uses: (i.) it is used in subordinated clauses indicating an event which takes place in the future with respect to the event expressed in a past tense in the main clause: *esan zidan egingo zuela* 's/he told me s/he would do it'; (ii.) it expresses counterfactuals, i.e. past hypothetical apodoses in conditional sentences (all dialects): *jakinez gero, egingo nuen* 'if I had known it [lit. after knowing it], I would have done it':

- (265) *Igarri eban nundik etorriko zan*
 guess AUX.PST where.from come.FUT AUX.PST
illuntasunaren asierea.
 darkness.GEN beginning
 'He guessed where the beginning of the darkness would come from.'
 [*eban* = *zuen*; Ag., Kr.:110]

The prospective past tense is also employed in narrative descriptions with second person 'impersonal' subjects:

- (266) *Sarthu eta berehala... ikusiko zinduen errota bat gaitza.*
 enter and immediately see.FUT AUX.PST wheel one big
 'After entering, you would have found ... a big wheel.'
 [Etch., Bur.:60]

This tense may also be used to indicate probability in the past:

- (267) *Bai, eingo zenduzen bai; ta ori oso ondo dago.*
 yes do.FUT AUX.PST yes and that very well is
 'Yes, perhaps you did them, and that is very well.'
 [San Martin, *Zirikadak*:124]

The prospective past with the prefix *ba-* 'if' is employed in conditional protases to indicate some kind of purpose sentence in the past. It is often associated to *behar* 'must' in the main clause (cf. 3.5.4.1 with present tense):

- (268) *Baekijan salbauko bazan, konfesau biar ebala.*
ba.knew save.FUT if.AUX.PST confess must AUX.PST.that
 ‘He knew that if he were to be saved, he should confess.’
 [*konfesau biar ebala* = *konfesatu behar zuela*; Mogel, *Konfesino*
ona:189]

3.5.4.7. Hypothetical conditional constructions

In hypothetical conditional constructions the following distinctions have to be made: protasis vs. apodosis and past vs. non-past.

3.5.4.7.1. Hypothetical past conditional in protases

Standard Basque only admits one form for these protases: a past participle is joined to the hypothetical form of the indicative auxiliaries (with *ba-* ‘if’ prefixed to the auxiliary): *jaiki banintz* ‘if I had gotten up’, *ikusi banu* ‘if I had seen it’. The perfective participle of *izan* may be optionally added: *jaiki (izan) banintz* ‘if I had gotten up’, *ikusi (izan) banu* ‘if I had seen (it)’:

- (269) *ezagutu banu ene burua naizen bezalakotz*
know if.AUX my head am.COMP like
 ‘if I had known myself for what I am’
 [Baratziart, *Meditazione ttipiak*:220]
- (270) *baserria utzi baño len galdetu izan balio Josek*
farm leave than before ask be.PRF if.AUX Joxe.ERG
 ‘if, before leaving the farm, Jose had asked him’ [Ag., *Garoa*:281]

No distinction is made between hodiernal and non-hodiernal past in hypothetical conditional sentences: *duela bi minutu / iaz jakin (izan) banu* ‘if I had known it two minutes ago / last year’. In various dialects, perfective past forms are used in these protases, but this is not accepted in Standard Basque: *ikusi banuen (esango nion)* ‘if I had seen it (I would have told him/her)’.

3.5.4.7.2. Hypothetical past conditional in apodoses

In all dialects, the form found in hypothetical past conditional apodoses is the prospective past form. Though it has been considered irregular by various grammarians, it is admitted in Standard Basque:

- (271) *(Patxi etorri balitz) Maddik ikusiko zuen.*
 Patxi come if.AUX Maddi.ERG see.FUT AUX.PST
 ‘(If Patxi had come) Maddi would have seen him.’

Grammarians have proposed other ways in order to distinguish future in the past and hypothetical past conditional. For example, Lafitte (1944) proposed to use a past participle plus a hypothetical form of the indicative auxiliaries: *ikusi luke* ‘he would have seen it’, *etorri litzateke* ‘he would have come’. But the most influential proposal combines a perfective or a prospective participle with a past form of the indicative auxiliaries with *-ke* ; both forms have been used in classical texts and both are admitted in Standard Basque, along with the more extended prospective past:

- (272) *(Patxi etorri balitz) Maddik ikusi(ko) zukeen.*
 Patxi come if.AUX Maddi.ERG see(.FUT) AUX.POT.PST
 ‘(If Patxi had come) Maddi would have seen him.’

- (273) *Jango zuketen, bestela; txikituko zuketen,*
 eat.FUT AUX.POT.PST otherwise smash.FUT AUX.POT.PST
hiruen artean.
 three.GEN between
 ‘Otherwise they would have eaten it, they would have smashed it among the three of them.’ [Ag., *Uztaro*:46]

- (274) *Ez balitz (...)laster hilarazi, Erromanoa zuen ungi*
 not if.AUX soon die.cause Roman AUX.POT.PST well
dantzarazi.
 dance.cause
 ‘If he hadn’t killed him soon, he would have made the Roman dance well.’ [Hiribarren, *Eskaldunak*:30]

3.5.4.7.3. Hypothetical non-past conditional in protases

For non-past hypothetical protases of conditionals, there are two constructions which are more or less equivalent. One of the two is only used in eastern dialects, the other one is common to all dialects. The former employs the subjunctive auxiliaries **ezan* (transitive) and **edin* (intransitive); the latter uses the indicative auxiliaries **edun* (transitive) and *izan* (intransitive). In addition, synthetic hypothetical forms may be employed.

Hypothetical non-past conditional protases with indicative auxiliaries are employed in all dialects. The main verb appears with the imperfective aspect in eastern dialects, and with prospective aspect in western dialects. In either case there is no present vs. future opposition in hypothetical protases: *jai-kiko* (western)/*jaikitzen* (eastern) *banintz* ‘if I got up’ (now or next year), *erosiko banu* (western dialects) or *erosten banu* (eastern dialects) ‘if I bought (it)’ (now or next year). See the following examples with both prospective and imperfective aspect:

- (275) *baldin Jakobek alderdi oietako bat emaztetzat artuko balu*
 if Jacob.ERG area those.REL one wife.as take.FUT if.AUX
 ‘if Jacob took a wife from these areas’
 [Lardizabal, *Testamentu zaharreko*:34]

- (276) *Jaunaren legeko esi biguna urratuko balitz*
 Lord.GEN law.REL fence soft.DET break.FUT if.AUX
 ‘if the soft fence of the Lord broke’ [Ag., *Garoa*:31]

- (277) *Oi Jauna, nere begiak argitzen bazinitu*
 O Lord my eyes illuminate.IMPF if.AUX
 ‘O, Lord, would you illuminate my eyes’
 [Duvoisin, *Liburu ederra*:57]

- (278) *erresumaren erdia galdetzen bazinaut ere*
 kingdom.GEN half ask.IMPF if.AUX also
 ‘even if you asked me for half of the kingdom’
 [*bazinaut* = *bazenit*]

For those verbs having synthetic forms, synthetic hypothetical forms can be used: *arratsaldean baletor* ‘if s/he came this afternoon’, *oinez banindoa* ‘if I went walking’. With stative verbs, these forms always indicate counterfac-

tuals: *han banengo* 'if I were there', *frantsesa bazeneki* 'if you knew French'.

- (279) *Bozetarik baloa, (horrela loake gauza).*
 votes.by if.went like.that went.POT thing
 'If it went by votes, (the thing would go like that).'
 [H.U., *Mintzaira, Aurpegia, Gizon*:83]

There is a tendency in modern western dialects to use analytical forms instead of synthetic ones to express counterfactuals with stative verbs: *egongo balitz* vs. *balego* 'if s/he were here', *indartsuago izango bazina* vs. *indartsuago bazina* 'if you were stronger', *dirua izango banu* vs. *dirua banu* 'if I had the money':

- (280) *lurpean gordeta egongo balitz be*
 ground.under hide.PTCP be.FUT if.AUX also
 'even if it was hidden underground' [Ag., *Kr.*:130]
- (281) *eta baldin izango balitz nor edo nor sinistu nai*
 and if be.FUT if.AUX who or who believe want
ez dabena
 not AUX.COMP.DET
 'and if they were somebody who doesn't want to believe it'
 [Iztueta, *Gipuzkoako probintziaren kondaira*:228]
- (282) *Naiago nuke itz eder onek izango balu*
 prefer AUX.POT word beautiful this.ERG be.FUT if.AUX
indarra.
 strength
 'I would prefer it if that this beautiful word had strength.'
 [Bertsoak, *Euskal Jokoak*, 2, 153]

Standard Basque doesn't admit protases where the conjugated verb form includes the modal suffix *-ke*, though this use appears in several western dialects:

- (283) *Ana-Marik adituko balizuke (ona jarriko litzake.)*
 Ana-Mari.ERG hear.FUT if.AUX.POT good get.FUT AUX.POT
 'If Ana-Mari heard you, she would get incensed [cf. Sp. *se pondría buena*].' [Soroa, *Baratzan*:89]

- (284) *Eta ojala lertuko balitzake zapua bezela*
 and please.God burst.FUT if.AUX.POT toad.DET like
 ‘And please God that he bursts (lit. if he would burst) like a toad’
 [Iraola, *Oroitzak*:19]

Standard usage would require *balizu*, *balitz*, respectively, in (283) and (284). In present-day Basque subjunctive auxiliaries in hypothetical protases are found only in eastern dialects, especially in the easternmost varieties. The main verb takes the radical form, without any aspect marker: *ikus baleza* ‘if s/he saw it’, *jin baledi* ‘if s/he came’. These forms can express present or future, but not true counterfactuals (one cannot say: **ene arreba gizona izan baledi*, ‘if my sister were a man’, and must say *ene arreba gizona balitz* (eastern) or *ene arreba gizona izango balitz* (western).

- (285) *hel baledi hillen artetik norbait*
 arrive(RAD) if.AUX(SUBJ) dead.GEN among.ABL someone
ene haurridetarat
 my siblings.all
 ‘if somebody came from the dead to my siblings’ [Lg. II:2, 190]

- (286) *gizonak irabaz eta bere baleza ere mundu guzia*
 man.ERG win(RAD) and his if.AUX(SUBJ) also world whole.DET
 ‘even if a man won and took hold of the entire world’
 [Duhalde, *Meditazioneak*:206]

3.5.4.7.4. Hypothetical present-future conditional in apodoses

Again there is an east/west split in the expression of apodoses in non-past hypothetical conditionals. In western dialects only indicative auxiliaries can be employed in analytic forms: (*etorriko balitz*) *ikusiko luke* ‘(if s/he came) s/he would see it’. In eastern dialects, subjunctive auxiliaries can also be employed and these are, in fact, the unmarked form in Low-Navarrese and Zuberoan: (*etorriko balitz*) *ikus lezake* ‘(if s/he came) s/he would see it’. In all dialects, when the auxiliaries *izan* and **edun* are used in non-past hypothetical conditionals, the prospective aspect must be employed on the main verb:

- (287) (*Aldabako bikariuak konjuratuko balitu,*) *denak ilko*
 Aldaba.REL vicar.ERG exorcize.FUT if.AUX all die.FUT
lirake.
 AUX.POT
 '(If the vicar of Aldaba exorcized them,) all would die.'
 [Soroa, *Baratzan*:44]

- (288) *Guk ere, (bearrean gertatuko baginga,) laguntzea nai*
 we too need.LOC happen.FUT if.AUX help.NOM.DET want
izango genuke.
 be.FUT AUX.POT
 '(If we wound up in need,) we too would like to receive some help.'
 [Etxaide, *Joanak joan*:160]

Synthetic hypothetical forms can also be used:

- (289) (*Baneki banuke, (banu) banekike.*
 if.knew *ba*.have.POT if.had *ba*.knew.POT
 'If I knew (a lot) I would have (a lot), if I had (a lot) I would know (a lot).'
 [Proverb])
- (290) (*Balethor ere minik borthitzena, etsimendua,*) *Jesus*
 if.came also pain.PRTT strongest.DET despair.DET Jesus
ona lethorke.
 good.DET come.POT
 '(Even if the strongest pain, despair, came,) the good Jesus would come.'
 [Arbelbide, *Igandea*:159]

Subjunctive auxiliaries (**edin* and **ezan*) are employed with the verb radical. In hypothetical apodoses these forms must contain the modal suffix *-ke*. When they are employed in this way (as in eastern dialects), these verb forms do not have a potential value (for this value, see 3.5.1.8):

- (291) *So egoiten baginitzeie, irakaspen ederrik eman*
 look be.IMPF if.AUX lesson good.PRTT give
lezagukete.
 AUX(SUBJ).POT
 'If we looked at them, they would give us good lessons.'
 [Etch., *Bur.*:94]

- (292) *Bertzela ... elkarri bidegabe ekhar lezoke.*
 otherwise each.other.DAT harm bring(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).POT
 ‘Otherwise ... they would bother each other.’ [Duv. L.L.:330]

In eastern dialects the auxiliary **iro* can be used instead of **ezan* as a transitive auxiliary, but only in forms for a third person direct object and without dative agreement: *huts egin liro* ‘s/he would miss’, *gezur erran niro* ‘I would lie’.

3.5.4.8. Potential

The potential mood includes three tenses: present, past and hypothetical potential. In analytical forms, the radical of the lexical verb is used, combined with subjunctive auxiliaries containing always the modal suffix *-ke*: *mintza dakiguke* ‘s/he can speak to us’, *ikas zezakeen* ‘s/he could learn it’, *ikus lezake* ‘s/he would be able to see it’. In eastern dialects the auxiliary **iro* is available as a transitive auxiliary (usually without dative agreement). Most of the time, the conjugated form of **iro* doesn’t include the modal suffix *-ke*. In Bizkaian *egin* ‘do’ is used as an auxiliary instead of **ezan*.

In older Basque, potential forms were always used along with *ezin* in negative sentences and *ahal* in positive sentences. In present day Basque, they are only optional. In any case, it should be remembered that there are other ways to express the potential apart from these forms, since indicative auxiliaries combined with *ezin* and *ahal* can also express potentiality (see 3.5.6.2): *egin dezaket* = *egi(te)n ahal dut* ‘I can do it’; *ez(in) naiteke eror* = *ez naiz erortzen ahal* or *ezin naiz erori* (or *ezin erortzen naiz*) ‘I cannot fall down’.

3.5.4.8.1. Present potential

The present potential in analytical conjugation is formed combining the verb radical with the past forms of the subjunctive auxiliaries **ezan* (transitive) and **edin* (intransitive): *joan gaitezke* ‘we can go’, *ikus dezakegu* ‘we can see (it)’. The auxiliary must contain the suffix *-ke*. In eastern dialects the auxiliary **iro* is used instead, without the suffix *-ke*, as a non-dative transitive auxiliary, typically with a third person object, in potential and non-past hypothetical conditional apodoses:

- (293) *Iritzi hau... gure aurrerazaleen iritzien eredutzat*
 opinion this our progressists.GEN opinions.GEN model.as
har dezakegu.
 take(RAD) AUX.POT
 'We can take this belief... as a model of the opinions of our liberals.'
 [Mitx., IH:84]

- (294) *Hartu duenak bezik ez diro estima.*
 take AUX.COMP.DET.ERG but not AUX(*iro) appreciate
 'Only the one who received it can appreciate it.'
 [Xalbador, *Odolaren mintzoa*:133]

Synthetic forms are also available in the present potential (cf. 3.5.4.1):

- (295) *Onik baizik ez dakarke horrek.*
 good.PRTT but not brings.POT that.ERG
 'That can only bring good things.' [H.U., *Mintzaira...*:218]

For compound verbs having *izan* or **edun* as their verbal component, the regular and standard potential associates the verb radical of the compound to the subjunctive auxiliary: *uste izan dezakegu* 'we can think'. However, some western writers, especially in the last hundred of years or so, have used the auxiliary without the verb radical of the compound, as in *uste dezakegu*.

3.5.4.8.2. Past potential

The past potential in the analytical conjugation is formed combining the verb radical with the past forms of the subjunctive auxiliaries **ezan* (transitive) and **edin* (intransitive): *joan gintezkeen* 'we could go', *ikus genezakeen* 'we could see'. The inflected auxiliary must contain the suffix *-ke* (leaving aside eastern **iro*).

- (296) *Orixek, gainera, (...) ikus zezakeen hori alde*
 Orixe.ERG moreover see(RAD) AUX.POT that side.INSTR
aurretik.
 before.ABL
 'Besides, Orixe could see it beforehand.' [Mitx., IH:292]

- (297) *Lerro(...)* *horiek erakusten baitigute nolakoa izan*
 line these.ERG show.IMPf COMP.AUX how be
zitekeen, ez nolakoa zen.
 AUX.POT not how was
 'Because these (...) lines show us how it could be, not how it was.'
 [Mitx., IH:281]

The following example contains the auxiliary **iro*:

- (298) *...kadenaz-ere nehork esteka ziroen*
 chain.INSTR-also nobody tie(RAD) AUX (**iro*)
 '... nobody could tie him even with chains'
 [*nehork* = *inork*; Leiz., Mc 5-3]

Synthetic verbal forms must contain the suffix: *-ke* (see 3.5.4.4):

- (299) *Arkaitz-arte aietan kotxerik eziñ zebilkean.*
 rock-among those.in coach.PRtT cannot walked.POT
 'No coach could run among those rocks.'
 [Arrue, *Santa Jenobebaren bizitza*:116]

3.5.4.8.3. Hypothetical potential

As in other potential tenses, the radical of the lexical verb in an analytical form combines with the subjunctive auxiliaries **ezan*/**edin*: *gerta liteke* 'it could happen', *irabaz nezake* 'I could win':

- (300) *Ezagun baino ezagunago den izen bat aipa nezake.*
 known than known.more is.that name one quote(RAD) AUX.POT
 'I could mention a name which is more than known.' [Mitx., IH:367]

Where the auxiliary **iro* is used, no *-ke* suffix appears in the potential form:

- (301) *Bi mendik elgar atxeman lirote behar bada,*
 two mountain.ERG each.other grab AUX perhaps but
bainan ez zuek.
 not you
 'Two mountains could join together, maybe, but not you two.' [Barbier, *Supazter xokoan*:157]

As said before, hypothetical forms are employed as conditional in eastern dialects. When the potential has to be used in conditional hypothetical apodotes, *ahal* 'can' is added in these dialects:

- (302) *Nork erran ahal lezake zendako?*
 who say can AUX.POT why
 'Who could say why?' [Etch. *Bur*:35]

Synthetic hypothetical forms can also be employed as potential: *nenbilke* 'I could walk', *nekarkioke* 'I could bring it to him/her/it'.

As said before, in compound verbs like *uste izan* 'think', *nahi izan* 'want', *zilegi izan* 'be permitted', etc., some modern writers have used the subjunctive auxiliaries along with the nominal (or adjectival) component of the compound, omitting the verb radical: *uste lezake* as opposed to *uste izan lezake* 's/he could think'.

3.5.4.9. Subjunctive verb forms

Subjunctive clauses usually occur as complement clauses of psychological predicates expressing will, preference, command, fear, etc. They also function as final clauses. In analytical forms, the auxiliaries **edin* and **ezan* (*egin* in Bizkaian) must be used and the subordinating complementizer suffix *-(e)n* must be added to the inflected auxiliary: *etor dadi-n* '(so) that s/he come', *egin dezazu-n* '(so) that you do it'. The lexical verb appears in the radical form.

In present day Basque, synthetic verbs are rarely used in subjunctive sentences. Subjunctive verbal forms in general can be substituted by non-conjugated nominalized forms, which are preferred in western dialects (see 4.10).

3.5.4.9.1. Present subjunctive

The present subjunctive consists of the radical form of the lexical verb and the auxiliary in present tense to which the suffix *-(e)n* is added. There is tense concord with the verb of the main sentence. When a present subjunctive is used in the subordinate clause the verb in the main clause may be in present or in hypothetical tense, but not in past tense:

- (303) (*Nahi dut / nuke*) *egin dezazun.*
 want AUX.PRS / AUX.POT do aux(SUBJ).PRS.COMP
 ‘(I want / would like) you to do it.’

3.5.4.9.2. Past subjunctive

In the past subjunctive, the auxiliary is in the past tense. The verb within the main sentence has to refer to the past, and, usually, it is in the past tense. Nevertheless, in eastern dialects, this verb can be in present tense too if it is associated to perfective aspect. Both situations appear in the following examples:

- (304) (*Nahi nuen / nahi izan dut*) *egin zenezan.*
 want AUX.PST / want be.PRF AUX.PRS do
 AUX(SUBJ).PST.(COMP)
 ‘(I wanted) you to do it.’

- (305) *lehen baino lehen has zedin eta*
 before than before begin(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).PST.(COMP) and
ahalik lasterren buka zezan
 can.PRTT soon.most finish(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).PST.(COMP)
 ‘that he begin right away and finish as soon as possible’
 [Mitx., IH:297]

3.5.4.9.3. Hypothetical subjunctive

Hypothetical forms are only used in eastern dialects in contemporary spoken Basque: *joan litez-en* ‘that they go/went (SUBJ.)’, *edan lezate-n* ‘that they drink/drank it (SUBJ.)’. In these dialects the hypothetical subjunctive is mainly used when the verb in the main sentence is in the past tense, perfective present or in the hypothetical tense; in the first two cases, it can be substituted by the past subjunctive, and in the third case by the present subjunctive in the easternmost dialects:

- (306) a. *Nahi nuen / ukan dut hark egin lezan.*
 want AUX.PST have.PRF AUX.PRS he do AUX.HYP.COMP
 ‘I wanted him/her to do it.’

- b. *Nahi nuke hura jin ledin.*
 want AUX.POT he come AUX.HYP.COMP
 'I would like him/her to come.'

- (307) *Konbertitze miraküllüzko hori, (nahi ükhen zian) Aita*
 conversion miraculous that want have.PRF AUX.PST father
Saintiak izan ledin xeheki ikhertürik.
 holy.ERG be AUX.HYP.COMP carefully examine.PTCP
 'The Pope wanted this miraculous conversion to be carefully examined.' [Inchauspe, *Maria birjinaren...*:12]

Along with this traditional use, the hypothetical subjunctive is also used in modern Standard Basque as an optional literary way to express subjunctive when the verb in the main clause has hypothetical tense:

- (308) *(Eta ez nuke nahi) inork hau txartzat har*
 and not AUX.POT want anyone.ERG this bad.as take(RAD)
lezan.
 AUX.HYP.COMP
 '(And I wouldn't like) that anyone took this badly.'
 [Mitx., EIG VII:183]

3.5.4.10. Imperative

Commands in which the subject is a first person are expressed with present subjunctive verbs or synthetic present forms with the complementizer *-en*:

- (309) *Esanak esan, goazen harira.*
 say.DET.PL say go.COMP thread.ALL
 'Having said what has been said, let us go to our topic.' [Mitx., IH:89]
- (310) *Zinetan mintza nadin, txantxetakoak alde*
 truth.in speak(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).COMP jokes side
baterra utzirik.
 one.to leave.PTCP
 'Let me speak seriously, leaving jokes aside.' [Mitx., EIG VII:47]

- (311) *Edozein hizkuntza, berriro esan dezagun, ez da*
 any language again say AUX(SUBJ).COMP not is
mintzabide bat besterik.
 speak.way one but
 'Any language, let us say it again, is nothing but a means for speaking.' [Mitx., EIG VI:100]

In true imperatives, i.e. those in which the subject is the second person, the main verb is associated with the subjunctive auxiliaries in present tense (in analytic conjugation): *mintza zaitetz!* 'speak!', *eraman nazazue hara!* 'bring me there!', *utzi gaitzazue bakean!* 'leave us alone!'. The suffix *-en* is not found in these forms. With synthetic intransitive verbs present indicative forms are used in commands: *zatoz!* 'come!', *zoaz!* 'go!'.

With transitive verbs where the direct object is not first person, the auxiliary (**ezan*) appears without the *d-* which, otherwise, is always used in present tenses in those cases: *ikas ezazu!* 'learn it!', *eman iezadazu!* 'give it to me!'. Bare imperative forms with *d-* appear in old Lapurdian texts in ditransitive forms, but this use is extinct.

Transitive synthetic verbs, are not used in bare imperatives: **naramazu!* 'take me away!', **gauzkazu adiskidetzat!* 'take us as friends!'. However, if the object is a third person, some contracted forms can be used, which are often analyzed as synthetic forms: *ekarzu!*, 'bring it!', *jakizu!* 'know it!' (see below for a presentation of contracted forms).

In modern eastern dialects, negative imperatives always receive the complementizer suffix *-(e)la*:

- (312) *Ez zazula burua gal.*
 not AUX.IMP.COMP head lose(RAD)
 'Don't lose your head!' [Larzabal, *Iru ziren*:106]
- (313) *Etzazula holakorik uste ukan, jauna.*
 not.AUX.IMP.COMP such.PRTT think have sir
 'Don't think anything like that, sir.' [Elissalde, *Ixtorio saindua*:28]

This is not the case in western dialects: *ez zaitetz joan!* 'do not go!', *ez ezazu galdu!* 'do not lose it!'.

3.5.4.10.1. Jussive forms used as imperatives

In western dialects where the polite register called *berorika* is used (with morphologically third person verbal forms referring to the addressee, see 3.1.6.1.1) jussive forms (3.5.4.11) are employed as imperatives: (*berorrek*) *esan biezat* ‘tell me!’, as shown in the following Bizkaian examples:

- (314) *Jauna, esan neban, (...) bego nasai berori.*
 sir say AUX be.JUS quiet you.POL
 ‘Sir, I said, (...) be quiet.’
 [*neban* = *nuen*; Orixe, *Tormesko itsu-mutila*:71]

- (315) *Bai, Jauna, ta berorrek esan beio!*
 yes, sir and you.POL.ERG say AUX.JUS
 ‘Yes, Sir, and tell him!’ [*beio* = *bekio*; Ag. Kr., 124]

3.5.4.10.2. Contracted imperative forms

Contracted imperative forms are special forms that can be used with transitive verbs in sentences not having a first or second person object. They must be distinguished from synthetic forms, since, as said before, the synthetic forms of transitive verbs cannot be used as imperatives, and contracted forms are found even for verbs lacking a synthetic conjugation. In contracted imperatives the second person is directly joined to the radical (with deletion of the final consonant in several contexts, or addition of an epenthetic *-a-*): *ekarrazu* ‘bring it!’ (< *ekar ezazu*); *hilazue* ‘kill him/her!’, if the object is plural the plural suffix is inserted between the radical and the ergative mark: *eramazkizu* ‘take them away!’, *har-zki-zue* ‘take them!’. This is also true for dative morphs: *errozu* or *esaiozu* ‘tell him!’. Contracted imperatives cannot be used in negative sentences: **ez esaiozu egia aitari* ‘don’t tell the truth to father!’.

On the other hand, in western dialects the perfective participle without an auxiliary is often used in commands: *ekarri ardoa!* ‘bring the wine!’, *etorri hona!* ‘come here!’, *ez ekarri!* ‘do not bring it/them!’

3.5.4.10.3. Remarks on some archaic imperative forms

Old Basque possessed several special imperative forms which are not employed anymore. In one of them, the suffix *-ke* was added to imperative forms with future temporal reference:

- (316) *Ze (=ez) eikek maututi hoanean eder eztanik*
 not do.POT.2E desert.ABL go.when fine not.is.COMP.PRTT
kalean
 street.in
 'When going through the desert, don't do anything which isn't fine in the street.' [RS:36]

These forms have been employed in the 20th century by some Western writers:

- (317) *Mañasiri esan eikeozue.*
 Mañasi.DAT say AUX.POT.3D/2E.PL
 'Tell Mañasi!' [Ag., Kr.:124]

3.5.4.11. Jussive

Jussive forms (i.e. imperatives in which the subject is third person) are realized in two main ways: the prefix *b-* may be joined to the verb root or, alternatively, the present subjunctive forms may be employed, provided with the complementizer suffix *-(e)la*. For instance, in the synthetic conjugation the jussive form of *etorri* 'come' is *b-etor*, or *datorr-ela*, and in the analytical conjugation *etor b-ed*i or *etor dadi-la*.

In standard Basque, jussive forms with *b-* can be used only with certain combinations of arguments. With transitive verbs both the subject and the object must be a third person (or unexpressed). So jussive forms like *nihork ez bezaitzate kondena* 'let nobody condemn you (PL)', in which the object is second person plural, are not admitted, and must be substituted by the other jussive form with the suffix *-(e)la* (*zaitzatela*).

The prefix *b-* is often analyzed as a tense-mood morph in the same manner as *d-*, *z-* or *l-*. However, it seems more accurate to analyze it as a subordinating prefix of the same kind as *ba-* or *bait-*, since jussive forms cannot be allocutive, nor receive any complementizer suffix like *-(e)n* or *-(e)la* (two morphosyntactic properties that the prefix *b-* shares with *bait-* and *ba-*, but

not with *d-*, *z-* or *l-* : **betorrek hire laguna* (allocutive verbal form vs. plain *betor hire laguna*) ‘let your companion come’; *Manatzen diot *betorrela* (vs. *datorrela*) ‘I command him/her to come’. Examples of jussive forms with *b-* follow:

- (318) *Beude, beraz, hurrengo hizketaldirako.*
 be.JUS thus next conference.DEST
 ‘Let them, thus, wait till the next conference.’ [Mitx., EIG VIII:42]

- (319) *Geroak esan beza.*
 future.ERG say AUX.JUS
 ‘Let the future decide.’ [Mitx., EIG III:80]

The following examples illustrate jussive forms with *-ela*, both synthetic and analytical:

- (320) *Eta ez badago etxian, datorrela bere andria.*
 and not if.is home.at comes.COMP his wife
 ‘And if he is not at home, let his wife come.’ [Iraola, *Oroitzak*:96]

- (321) *Amets goxo egin dezatela.*
 dream sweet do AUX(SUBJ).COMP
 ‘Let them have sweet dreams.’ [Orixe, *Mireio*:24]

In western dialects, there is an irregular literary use of the intransitive auxiliary as a synthetic form of *izan* ‘be’. Since the true jussive synthetic form for *izan* (*biz* ‘let it be’) is not used anymore outside the religious fixed expression *hala biz* ‘so be it’, *bedi* substitutes for *biz*, instead of the regular jussive form of *izan*: *izan bedi*. However, this use is not standard:

- (322) *Urteroko saria, bilduaren eunetiko laua*
 yearly fee collected.GEN hundred.ABL.REL four.DET
bedi.
 be(AUX.JUS)
 ‘Let the annual fee be 4% of what is collected.’
 [Lizardi, *Itz lauz*:97]

This is also true of adjectival compounds like *zilegi izan* ‘be permitted’, *ageri izan* ‘be evident’, etc., which have *izan* ‘be’ as their verbal component: where the verbal compound is maintained we have *zilegi izan bedi* ‘let

it be permitted'; however, where it is dropped, western dialects keep the auxiliary rather than the synthetic jussive form of the main verb *izan*: *zilegi bedi* as opposed to *zilegi biz*. Verbal forms with the dative do not exist in the jussive of *izan* 'be', so that the auxiliary forms tend to be used:

- (323) *Zilegi bekit, Iauna, (...) argitasun ontaz mintzatzen.*
 permitted be.JUS.1D sir clarity this.INSTR speak.IMPV
 'Sir, allow me to speak about this clarity (...).'
 [Orixe, *Agustin gurenaren aitorkizunak*, 31]

Here too, the regular form remains available, with tensed auxiliary:

- (324) *Zilegi izan bekit olerkarien alde mintzatzea.*
 permitted be AUX.JUS.1D poets.GEN side speak.NOM.DET
 'Let it be permitted to me to speak in favor of poets.'
 [Mitx., *EIG* III:65]

3.5.5. *Periphrastic constructions*

J. Ortiz de Urbina

A small set of lexical verbs have secondary specialized uses when combined with tenseless verbal forms to produce what we will call here 'periphrases'. Semantically, most of these verbs are 'delexicalized' and function as aspectual modifiers of the action expressed by the formally subordinate tenseless verb. On top of the aspectual meanings, modal readings often emerge in many of the periphrases we will be describing below. The main verbs forming these periphrases are *ari* 'be engaged in', *jardun* 'be engaged in', *izan* 'be', *egon* 'be', *ibili* 'walk', *joan* 'go', *jakin* 'know', and *ukan*/**edun/eduki* 'have'. In this section, we will refer to them as 'main verbs', while the formally subordinate verb will be labeled 'lexical verb', since it supplies the lexical content of the verbal expression. The following subsections will be organized on the basis of the meaning conveyed by the periphrasis, usually combining together verbs which convey the same aspectual information. Although not an exhaustive list, the major types of periphrases will be presented.

3.5.5.1. Progressive periphrases

3.5.5.1.1. The *ari* construction

The verb *ari* 'to be engaged in' (*hari* in some eastern dialects) takes complements indicating activity, marked typically locative, although other possibilities (derivational adverbial suffix *-ka*, instrumental case, dative [eastern] etc.) also exist. This construction is found in all dialects except Bizkaian:

- (325) *bere aldetik bortxan eta indarka ari gabe*
 his side force.LOC and strength.ka without
 'without [acting] by force and imposingly on his part'
 [Mitx. EIG VII:167]

- (326) *Gu ez gara asmaketan ari urteak nola emango.*
 we not are guess.LOC years how give.FUT
 'We are not just trying to find out how to spend our years.'
 [Mitx. EIG VII:29]

- (327) *belharrari tiraka hari direlarik*
 grass.DAT pull.ka are.COMP.PRTT
 'while they are pulling the grass' [Duv. L.L.:156]

- (328) *lanean/lanari ari da*
 work.LOC/work.DAT is
 's/he is working'

- (329) *oihuz ari da*
 shout.INSTR is
 's/he is shouting'

Some activity must often be inferred from the context:

- (330) *Zer ari gara?*
 what are
 'What are we doing/saying?'

- (331)
- Hura ere zerbait ari da*

s/he also something is

'S/he is also doing something.' [Lafitte 1944:442]

- (332)
- oker ari ez banaiz*

wrong not if.am

'if I am not [remembering it, doing it, saying it] wrong'

[Mitx. EIG VI:36]

- (333)
- Baronet-ka ari zitzaidan behin eta berriro.*

baronet.ka AUX once and again

'He was [calling] me baronet time and again.' [Lertx. O.P.:7]

Ari may also take clausal complements, typically locative nominalizations, but also, in eastern dialects, dative and allative nominalizations. Bare forms are also found in iterative contexts:

- (334)
- Lan egiten ari da.*

work do.NOM.LOC is

'S/he is working.'

- (335)
- Bethi eraintza mota beren urruntzera hari behar da.*

always crop type same.GEN get.away.NOM.ALL must is

'One has to do something to get away from the same types of crop.'

[Duv. L.L.:76]

- (336)
- sendatzeari ari da.*

heal.NOM.DAT is

'S/he is recovering' [Lafitte 1944:351]

- (337)
- Bazian aphuritto bat han hari nintzela bil-eta-bil.*

ba.had bit.DIM a there was.that gather.and.gather

'I had been harvesting there for a short while already.'

[Eliss. P.A.:58]

The possibility of dative marking on the nominalization in eastern dialects, which correlates with the dative case on nominals examined above, indicates that the common ending *-t(z)en* corresponds to a nominalization with the (indefinite) locative ending also found commonly on nominals, rather than to the homophonous imperfective affix. Further evidence for the analy-

sis comes from the fact that the object of this *-t(z)en* expression may occur in the genitive in eastern dialects, just as in nominalizations (4.10.1.1.2.2.2.1). Genitive marking is impossible for normal objects of verbs provided with the imperfective marker (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 1987):

- (338) *Elkarren kitzikatzen hari ziren.*
 each.other.GEN tease.NOM.LOC were
 ‘They were teasing each other.’ [Eliss P.A.:75]

The periphrasis formed by *ari* conveys a progressive meaning. *Ari* has similarities with ‘semiauxiliary’ verbs (3.5.6). First, *ari*, a radical, bare form devoid of aspectual marking, resembles more modal verbs like *behar* etc. or complex verbal expressions based on nouns and adjectives like *maite izan* ‘love’ than regular verbs. In this respect, a ‘modal’ *ari* paradigm coexists with a paradigm with *aritu* as a regular verb with roughly the same meaning. Like modals, ‘semiauxiliary’ *ari* only takes directly the future marker *-ko*, and is helped by the dummy *izan* to mark any other aspectual information. ‘Regular’ *ari(tu)*, on the other hand, displays the regular aspectual paradigm:

Table 147. *ari* and *aritu*

	(<i>ari</i>)	(<i>aritu</i>)
bare form:	<i>ari</i>	---
perfective	<i>ari izan</i>	<i>aritu (izan)</i>
imperfective	<i>ari izaten</i>	<i>aritzen</i>
future	<i>ari izango/ariko</i>	<i>arituko</i>
nominalized	<i>ari izatea</i>	<i>aritzea</i>

Treating *ari* as a bare form seems more appropriate than claiming, as Lafitte (1944:347) does, that the final *-i* corresponds to a perfective affix. Notice that *ari da* is not perfective, and, as in modal verbs, has the temporal and aspectual reference of the ‘auxiliary’ *da*. It should be noted, however, that the distinction between *ari* and *aritu* is becoming blurred in eastern dialects, where many speakers analyze (*h*)*ari* as (*h*)*ar-i*. As a consequence, forms like (*h*)*artzen da*, (*h*)*ar hadi* are occasionally found.

The verb *ari* also bears partial resemblance to modal verbs in that it shows some apparent degree of ‘transparency’ for verbal agreement (3.5.6.1.2), since dative arguments of the lower verb can be also marked on the auxiliary:

- (339) *Jon Mikeli poema bat irakurtzen ari zaio.*
 Jon Mikel.DAT poem one read.NOM.LOC AUX.3A/3D
 'Jon is reading a poem to Mikel.'

It is not clear, however, whether this 'long-distance' agreement reflects any clause-union phenomenon or, rather, the dative marker is part of the valency of *ari* itself. *Ari* can certainly appear with dative arguments even when used without clausal complements:

- (340) *Zertan ari zaio?*
 what.LOC AUX.3A/3D
 'What is s/he doing to him/her?'

This could account for the fact that, while agreement with the dative argument of the participial verb is obligatory with modals in western dialects, the same agreement with *ari* is apparently optional:

- (341) *organizazioari laguntzen ari dena*
 organization.DAT help.NOM.LOC is.COMP.DET
 'the one who is helping the organization' [Atx. *GBB*:140]

- (342) *Goardien tenienteari hitzaldi bat ematen ari delako*
 guards.GEN lieutenant.DAT lecture one give.NOM.LOC
 is.3A.because
 'Because he is giving a lecture to the guards' lieutenant.'
 [Atx. *GBB*:50]

If so, more than 'optional dative agreement', we would have here alternative uses of different complementation frames for *ari*. Notice that this would also account for the fact that the same dative pattern can be observed with *aritu*, which we have described above as a regular verb taking nominalized complement clauses: we would not have an instance of 'long agreement' here, surprising with regular verbs, but a different subcategorization frame:

- (343) *Jon Mikeli poema bat irakurtzen aritu zaio.*
 Jon Mikel.DAT poem one read.NOM.LOC *ari*.PRF AUX.3A/3D
 'Jon has been reading a poem to Mikel.'

A further difference between *ari* and modal verbs is that the former is always opaque for auxiliary selection, and imposes its own selection (intransitive *izan*) regardless of the transitivity of the lower verb.

Nonetheless, some minor patterns indicate the presence of some degree of fusion between *ari* and the nominalized verb. First, *ari* can be used with a transitive auxiliary in some varieties. Lafitte's grammar gives the following examples:

- (344) *Gizonak sendatzen ari ditu.*
 men cure.NOM.LOC AUX.3A.PL/3E
 'S/he is curing the men.' [Lafitte 1944:131]

- (345) *Ura karreatzen ari du.*
 water transport.NOM.LOC AUX.3E
 'S/he is transporting water.' [Lafitte 1944:223]

The cross-referencing of plural *gizonak* on the auxiliary (-*it-*) suggests that in this usage *ari* does display the transparency effects described for modal verbs in 3.5.6.1.2. This transitive usage of *ari* should perhaps be differentiated from the more common one found in impersonal atmospheric expressions: here, *ari* may optionally employ a transitive auxiliary, following an optional pattern in atmospheric expressions (cf. *ilundu du* 'it has become dark'):

- (346) *Euria ari du.*
 rain AUX.3E
 'It is raining.'

- (347) *Igortziriak ari ditu.*
 thunder.DET.PL AUX.3A.PL/3E
 'It thunders.' [Lafitte 1944:347]

In the preceding examples, the transitive auxiliary is not due to the influence of a non-existing complement verb, but to sensitivity to the aspectual properties of this monoargumental usage: these are activity predicates, usually 'transitive' in Basque (4.1.2.7).

A second type of phenomenon which seems to indicate at least some degree of transparency is that some speakers admit questions like (a) along the more standard (b):

(348) a. (?)*Nor irakurtzen ari da liburua?*

who read AUX book

'Who is reading the book?'

b. *Nor ari da liburua irakurtzen?*

In (a), *nor* 'who' appears immediately to the left of the subordinate verb. Since *who* is an argument of *ari* and interrogative elements must appear to the left of their own predicates (4.4.2) or to the left of some superordinate predicate (4.4.5), but not to the left of a 'lower' verb, in those varieties which admit (a) the same fusion described for modals in 3.5.6.1.2 must be at work.

3.5.5.1.2. Other progressive periphrases: *egon* 'be', *jardun* 'be engaged in', *ibili* 'walk', *joan* 'go'

More periphrases with a 'progressive' meaning may be formed with verbs like *egon* 'be' and *jardun* 'be engaged in'. These are very often found in Bizkaian, a dialect which, as mentioned, lacks *ari* constructions. As with *ari*, the subordinate verb typically appears in the locative case, but verbal (and nominal) forms with *-ka* or an instrumental ending are also found:

(349) *Liburuak saltzen dagoz.*

books sell.NOM.LOC are

'They are selling books.' [cf. Hualde et al. 1994:144]

(350) *Jonek korta garbitzen dihardu.*

Jon.ERG barn clean.NOM.LOC is.engaged

'Jon is cleaning the barn.'

(351) *ate joka eta oleska gero egon baziren ere*

door knock.ka and wassail.ka later be if.were even

'even if, later, they went around knocking on doors and wassailing'

[Mogel KEE:77]

The two verbs remain separate from the point of view of focalization and question formation: wh-words enquiring about the main subject may only appear immediately to the left of *egon*:

- (352) a. *Nor dago liburuak saltzen?*
 who is books sell.NOM.LOC
 ‘Who is selling books?’
 b. **Nor saltzen dago liburuak?*

As for cross-marking of arguments of the nominalized verb on the matrix inflection, this is open at present for datives in colloquial dialectal usages:

- (353) *Aholkua Mikeli ematen dagokio.*
 advice Mikel.DAT give.NOM.LOC is.3A/3D
 ‘S/he is giving advice to Mikel.’

- (354) *galdez nagotzue*
 question.INSTR am.1A/2D.PL
 ‘I am asking you’ [Ax. 293]

Absolutive objects of transitive verbs cannot be ‘cross-marked’ on *egon*, since the absolutive marker borne by the latter must refer to the subject. The verb *jardun* requires agentive subjects, and typically combines with transitive verbs. No such restriction holds of *egon* constructions.

A formally similar combination of *egon* with locative nominalizations can be used in all dialects; the main predicate retains here its basic stative reading, and can therefore alternate with *izan* (Euskaltzaindia 1987:441):

- (355) *Nere aita musika entzuten egon/izan da*
 my father music listen.NOM.LOC be AUX
 plazan.
 square.LOC
 ‘My father has been in the square listening to the music.’

The locative argument *plazan* is here a complement of the main verb in its stative usage. The nuance is therefore something like *he was in the square listening to the music*, as opposed to the progressive meaning of *he was listening to the music in the square*.

More general in western dialects than the previous progressive periphrases, which, as indicated, are mostly limited to Bizkaian, is a frequentative periphrasis where the locative nominalization (or activity nominal in locative, *-ka*, etc) combines with the verb *ibili* ‘walk’. As the translations in all the examples indicate, the main verb does not convey here any idea of ‘walking’, but, rather, a frequently repeated action:

- (356) *Gutaz gaizki esaten dabil.*
 we.INSTR bad say.NOM.LOC walks
 'S/he is badmouthing us.' (cf. Sp *anda hablando mal de nosotros*)

- (357) *Beti dabilta diruak pilotzen.*
 always walk money pile.NOM.LOC
 'They are always piling up money.' [Mogel KEE:71]

- (358) *Maiz ibili ohi naiz duda-mudaka eta zalantza gorrian.*
 often walk usually am hesitation.ka and doubt stark.LOC
 'I am often hesitating and in great doubts.' [Mitx. EIG VII:173]

As in other progressive periphrases, the element indicating the activity can also be a complex postposition like *bila* 'in search of', *begira* 'looking at' etc.:

- (359) *Galtzen dute loa, dabilta egunaren edo argiaren igesi.*
 lose.IMPF AUX sleep walk day.GEN or light.GEN fleeing
 'They lose their sleep, and are fleeing from day and light.'
 [Mogel KEE:75]

Also as in the previous periphrases, focalized or questioned matrix subjects must precede *ibili*, unlike what happens with semiauxiliaries like *behar* 'need' and *nahi* 'want' and, marginally, with *ari*:

- (360) *Nor dabil zutaz gaizki esaten?*
 who walks you.INSTR badly say.NOM.LOC
 'Who is badmouthing you?'

A dative marker coreferential with a dative argument of the nominalized verb may appear on the upper verb in the colloquial language:

- (361) *Aitona umeari aholkua ematen dabilkio*
 grandfather child.DAT advice give.NOM.LOC walks.3A/3D
 'The grandfather is giving advice to the child.'

Since this marking is not obligatory, we can interpret it a result of an optional valency of *ibili*, rather than as a case of 'long distance' agreement from inside the nominalized clause. More complicated is the following case,

which found its way into the text indicated and was left there unedited as an example of occasional lapsus:

- (362) *Nik ez ditut aurkitu... bila nenbiltzanak.*
 I not AUX find in.search.of walked.1A/PL
 'I did not find ... the ones that I was looking for.'
 [Mitx. EIG VI:153]

The particularity of this example is that a new verbal form has been created where a plural absolutive marker *-tza-* does not (cannot) refer to the absolutive first person singular subject but to the complement of the postposition *bila* 'searching for'. This contrasts with the dative forms in the preceding example, which do exist in the paradigm. Occasional forms of this type are also found in the inchoative periphrasis with *joan* (see 3.5.5.2).

A final type of progressive periphrasis is that constructed with the main verb *joan* 'go' governing a perfective participle in the instrumental or a locative nominalization. This conveys the meaning of a gradual change of state or progression :

- (363) *Egunetik egunera zahartuz/zahartzen doa.*
 day.from day.to get.old.INSTR/get.old.NOM.LOC goes
 'S/he is getting old from day to day.'

The instrumental participle may be indefinite, as in the example, or definite (*zahartuaz*), without any change in meaning. The nominalized version is widespread in western dialects.

3.5.5.2. Future periphrases with *joan* 'go', *egon/izan* 'be' and **edun/eduki* 'have'

(a) As in English, a future meaning can be conveyed by combining a form of the verb *joan* 'go' with an allative tenseless verb:

- (364) *Uda honetan denetariko gauzak egitera noa.*
 summer this.LOC all.types.of things do.NOM.ALL go
 'This summer I am going to do all sorts of things.'

The main verb is opaque for arguments of the lexical verb. However, in colloquial registers it is possible to include some dative marker corresponding to a goal argument of the subordinate verb:

- (365) *kantatzera noazu bertso bat edo bi*
 sing.NOM.ALL go.1A/2D verse one or two
 'I am going to sing to you one or two verses' [song by X. Lete]

In principle, absolutive subordinate arguments may not be cross marked, since the absolutive agreement on *go* corresponds to the main subject. However, occasionally the absolutive pluralizer may refer not to the matrix absolutive but to a subordinate one. Lafitte (1944:223,255) notes this construction '*chez quelques auteurs*':

- (366) *Etsaiari harmak hartzerat n-ind-oa-z-ko-n.*
 enemy.DAT weapons take.NOM.ALL 1A.PST.go.PL.3D.PST
 'I was going to take the weapons to the enemy.'

- (367) *Liburu hoik irakurtzerat d-oa-tza.*
 book those read.NOM.ALL 3A.go.PL
 'S/he is going to read those books.'

In the first example we find both dative (*ko*) and absolutive plural (*z*) cross-marking. In the second example the pluralizer is in fact different from the regular one found in this verb (cf. *doa-tzi* 'they go' in this dialect). These cases of long agreement are excluded from standard literary practice.

Finally, it should be noted that in many varieties of Bizkaian the lexical verb is not used in the allative, but in the indefinite locative (e.g. *kantat[z]en noa* 'I am going to sing' instead of *kantatzera noa*).

(b) Future periphrases can also be formed with the help of copulative verbs and a nominalized lexical verb with the relational ending (*-t[z]eko*; this is also the nominalized form used for purpose clauses). Where the main verb is *izan*, the lexical verb will often show agreement with the subject and a matching singular or plural determiner can be added (*-t[z]ekoa*, *-t[z]ekoak*). The meaning is one of future, often tinged with the idea of future intention or obligation (as in English *you are to stay here*):

- (368) *Dirua ondo gordetzekoa da.*
 money well keep.NOM.REL.DET is
 'The money is to/should be kept well.'

The combination with *egon* as main verb produces periphrases conveying the idea of an activity which either remains to be done or is about to be done (cf. Sp *estar por*, *estar para*):

- (369) *Ordua da eta orduan janzten hasteko zaude?*
 time is and still dress.NOM.LOC begin.NOM.REL are
 'It's time and you have not still begun dressing? ('are to begin')'
 [Euskaltzaindia1987:469]

- (370) *Ohi bezala dena amaitzeko dagoenean heldu zarete!*
 usually like all finish.NOM.REL is.COMP.LOC arrive AUX
 'As usual, you have arrived when everything is about to finish.'

As can be observed in the examples, no agreement determiner is added to the lexical verb. The latter is also an opaque domain for arguments, which may not be cross-marked on the main inflection.

(c) The transitive counterpart of the previous periphrasis is built with the transitive copulative verbs **edun* and *eduki* 'to have'. As before, the determiner may be attached to the nominalized verb with the basic copulative **edun*, but not with *eduki*.

- (371) *jakiteko duzu...*
 know.NOM.REL have
 'you have to know (that)...

- (372) *Patatak oraindik ere zuritzeko dauzkat.*
 potatoes still even peel.NOM.REL have
 'I still have to peel the potatoes.'

Notice that the main verb in the last example includes a pluralizer marker standing for *patatak* 'potatoes'. This, however, is not the result of 'long' agreement with an argument of the lower verb, since that nominal is actually the direct object of the matrix clause. Dative arguments of the nominalized verb cannot therefore be marked on the transitive copula.

3.5.5.3. Habitual periphrases

Older forms of the language could express habitual actions combining the participle with the verb *joan* 'go', if the lexical verb was intransitive, and with *eroan/eraman* 'carry' if it was transitive (Euskaltzaindia 1987:465):

- (373) *Gatx guztien sustraia alperkeria izan doa.*
 evil all.GEN root laziness be goes
 'Laziness is the root of all evil.' [Añibarro, EL:77.18]

- (374) *Asko dakusanak asko ikasi daroa.*
 a.lot see.COMP.DET.ERG a.lot learn carries
 'He who sees a lot usually learns (cf. Sp *lleva visto*) a lot.' (Mogel P.A.:33)

The latter example has a prominent perfective nuance. Still alive in Bizkaian is a habitual construction where the verb *jakin* 'know' combines with the indefinite locative verb (Hualde et al. 1994:145):

- (375) *Sanantoliñetan, nire lagunak badakie etorten*
 SanAntolin.in my friends ba.know come.NOM.LOC
Lekittora.
 Lekeitio.ALL
 'By Saint Antolin's Day, my friends usually come to Lekeitio.'

3.5.5.4. Modal periphrases with absolutive/partitive nominalizations

Modal meanings are especially prominent in constructions where the probable sources of the aspectual content of periphrases (both the case ending on the lexical verb or the meaning of the grammaticalized main verb) are absent. This is the case of periphrastic combinations of copulative verbs with absolutive or partitive nominalizations. Turning first to absolutive lexical verbs, Hualde et al. (1995:147) report an optative meaning with *eduki* (bearing the complementizer *-la*) as main verb in Lekeitio Basque:

- (376) *Etxera joatea daukala! (jutia daukola)*
 home go.NOM.DET has.that
 'Let him/her go home!'

Similar desiderative/optative connotations are found where the main verb is **edun*, although in dialects where this is used no complementizer is required (EGLU II:471):

- (377) *Autoen prezioak gora egin omen du:*
 car.GEN price.ERG up make apparently AUX
lehenago erostea zuen.
 earlier buy.NOM.DET had
 'Car prices have apparently gone up: s/he should have bought it earlier on.'

Where, as in existential sentences, the particle *ba* is attached to the copulative verb, the periphrasis asserts the possibility to carry out the action indicated by the lexical verb:

- (378) *Betaurreko hauekin edozein gauza irakurtzea badaukat.*
 glass these.with any thing read.NOM.DET *ba*.have
 'With these glasses I can read anything.'

In polarity contexts where the partitive case on the nominalized verb is licensed, a meaning of possibility is again present. In typical contexts like negation or questions, impossibility is predicated or inquired about:

- (379) *Bulego honetan ez dago erre-tze-rik.*
 office this not is smoke.NOM.PRTT
 'There is no smoking in this room.'

- (380) *Badaukat kexarik egiterik?*
ba.have complaint.PRTT make.NOM.PRTT
 'Can I file any complaint?'

As with the periphrases in 3.5.5.2, basic auxiliary verbs are preferred in eastern dialects, while *egon* and *eduki* are more often found in western dialects.

3.5.5.5. Resultative periphrases

For completeness sake, it is worth pointing out that adjectival and adverbial usages of perfective participles can combine with copulative and semicopu-

lative verbs, forming complex expressions similar to the ones examined in the preceding subsections. The main meaning is stative and resultative. We will give an overview of these constructions here. See 4.10 for more information on subordinate contexts where these ‘participial’ forms may appear.

The participle may appear in three shapes in these periphrases: a) in the ‘adjectival’ form, bearing a determiner agreeing with the nominal it is predicated about; b) with the *-ta* adverbial ending for participles and c) with the partitive/adverbial ending *-(r)ik* (see 3.1.2.4, 4.5.4.4). We will briefly describe them in turn.

The adjectival, agreeing participle, can combine with a copulative main verb. The lexical verb itself may be transitive or intransitive:

- (381) *ezkerrerat makhur-tu-a, eta alderdi-tu-a bazaude...*

left.to bend-PRF-DET and turn-PRF-DET if.are
 ‘if you are bent and turned to the left...’ [Ax. 143]

- (382) *Hau ere ibilaldi luzeak egin-a zen.*

this also walk long.DET.PL make-PRF-DET was
 ‘This one too had taken long walks.’ [Mitx. EIG I:52]

- (383) *itsasertzean jaio-a izanik maite baitu itsasoa*

seaside.LOC be.born-PRF-DET be.PTCP like since.AUX sea
 ‘since s/he was [as a result of having been] born at the seaside, s/he likes the sea’ [Mitx. EIG I:105]

- (384) *lankide izan-a dut*

workmate be-PRF-DET have
 ‘s/he has been my workmate’ (‘I have had him/her [as] my workmate’) [Mitx. EIG VI:186]

- (385) *punturik gehienak auzi bihur-tu-a-k ditugu*

point.PRTT most.DET.PL issue turn-PRF-DET-PL have
 ‘we have made [of] most topics controversial issues’
 (‘we have them turned into issues’) [Mitx. EIG I:121]

The major meaning is stative/resultative. Where the lexical verb is transitive and the main verb intransitive *izan* ‘be’, we find a structure similar to a passive, or, rather a stative or adjectival passive:

- (386) *Liburua erderara itzul-i-a zen.*
 book other.language.ALL translate-PRF-DET was
 'The book was translated to the other language [Spanish, French...]'

- (387) *Bihi mota hori Afrikatik ekharr-i-a izatu da.*
 grain type this Africa.ABL bring-PRF-DET be.PRFX is
 'That type of grain has been brought from Africa.' [Duv. L.L.:56]

Against too direct an identification with passives, notice that, other than *izan* 'be', any verb taking a predicative complement may be found (*egon*, etc.), that intransitive verbs are perfectly acceptable, and that even with transitive verbs the argument predicated about need not be the participial object, as in the following example:

- (388) *Gizon hori gauza asko ikus-i-a da.*
 man that thing many see-PRF-DET is
 'That man has ('is in the state of having') seen many things.'

At best, therefore, these constructions can be identified as adjectival passives. See also 4.2.1.

The participle may also be attached the participial suffix *-ta*, with a stative meaning and an adverbial distribution. No agreement determiner marker may be attached to it. When combined with a copulative verb, a unit is formed described in Hualde et al. (1994) as *resultative/experiential*:

- (389) *Konturatu nintzeneko, aldeegin-da zegoen.*
 notice.AUX.COMP.REL leave make.PRFX-*ta* was
 'By the time I noticed, he had already left.'

- (390) *Hori gehiegitan ikus-i-ta daukat.*
 that too.many.LOC see-PRFX-*ta* have
 'I have seen that too often.' (cf. Sp *tengo visto*)

- (391) *Donostiara joateko hitz egin-da omen zeuden.*
 Donostia.ALL go.NOM.REL word make.PRFX-*ta* apparently were
 'Apparently, they had agreed to go to San Sebastian.'
 [Iturr.K&R;151]

These constructions are only found in western dialects. As is usually the case in periphrases of these dialects, by far the most common copulative verbs are *egon* and *eduki*.

Finally, an adverbial ending homophonous with the partitive (*-[r]ik*) can be attached to participles, forming tenseless adjunct clauses. When combined with copulative verbs, the tenseless clause is predicated of the subject (with intransitive *izan*, *egon* etc.) or of the object (with transitive copulatives). As in other participial periphrases, the meaning is stative:

- (392) *deabruaren zerbitzuan erroak egin-ik egon dena*
 devil.GEN service.LOC roots make.PRF-*ik* be AUX.COMP.DET
 's/he who has made ('has remained having made') roots in the service
 of the devil' [Ax. 143]

The basic copulatives **edun/izan* are restricted to Zuberoan Basque; to the west of this dialect the other verbs are used.

3.5.6. *Semiauxiliary verbs* **Jon Ortiz de Urbina**

We label 'semiauxiliaries' those verbs which, at least in some in their usages, seem to be 'transparent' with respect to their subordinate clausal complements, so that clause union effects may be perceived: arguments of the subordinate verb may be marked on the semiauxiliary verb, and auxiliary selection of the semiauxiliary may be affected by the transitivity of the subordinate verb. We will see some of these effects as we proceed. We will discuss modal verbs like *nahi* 'want' (and similar dialectal synonyms: *gura*, *gogo*, *gei* 'want') and *behar* 'need' in 3.5.6.1, turning to *ahal* 'can' and *ezin* 'cannot' in 3.5.6.2.

3.5.6.1. The semiauxiliaries *nahi* ‘want’ and *behar* ‘need’.

3.5.6.1.1. *Nahi/behar* as main and semiauxiliary verbs

Both *nahi* ‘want’ and *behar* ‘need’ may behave as main verbs taking nominal complements, in which case they are conjugated with the transitive auxiliary **edun*:

- (393) *Kotxe berri bat nahi/behar dut.*
 car new one want/need AUX
 ‘I want/need a new car.’

Notice that these ‘verbs’ are formed by combining **edun* with an element (*nahi/behar*) which is originally a noun. The latter does not work as a regular nominal element anymore, since it appears in its bare, determinerless form. Nonetheless, the aspectual and temporal properties of the previous example derive from the ‘auxiliary’ rather than from *nahi/behar*: the present, imperfective reading is that of *dut* ‘I have’. Further aspectual modification is achieved by inserting a dummy auxiliary *izan*, which, being a verb, can bear such information. Perfective and imperfective aspect is indicated, respectively, by the perfective (and citation) and imperfective form of this auxiliary:

- (394) *Kotxe berri bat nahi/behar izan dut.*
 car new one want/need be.PRFX AUX
 ‘I (have) wanted/needed a new car.’

- (395) *Kotxe berri bat nahi/behar izaten dut.*
 be.IMPF AUX
 ‘I usually want/need a new car.’

Future may be marked by the prospective ‘future’ *-ko* marker added to this auxiliary, or directly by attaching it to *nahi/behar*:

- (396) *Kotxe berri bat nahi/behar izango dut.*
 be.FUT AUX
 ‘I will want/need a new car.’

- (397) *Kotxe berri bi nahiko/beharko ditut.*
 two want.FUT/need.FUT AUX
 'I will want/need two new cars.'

The availability of this direct marking option for the future is related to the fact that 'future' *-ko* is a relational case which can be attached to nominals, while perfective and imperfective aspect require verbal bases. Direct attachment of *-ko* was preferred in earlier forms of the language.

Modals also resort to a dummy verb to form tenseless verbal forms, as in the following examples:

- (398) *Kotxe berriak nahi izatea normala da.*
 car new want be.NOM.DET normal is
 'To want new cars is normal.'

- (399) *Kotxe berri bat behar izana normala da.*
 need be.PRF.DET
 'To have needed a new car is normal.'

Nahi/behar can also take perfective verbal complements, functioning then as semiauxiliary verbs. The morphological characteristics described for 'nominal' *nahi/behar* also apply to their semiauxiliary function: the following examples are identical to the previous ones except for the fact that the perfective verb *erosi* 'to buy' has been added:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| (a.) <i>erosi nahi/behar dut</i> | 'I want/need to buy' |
| (b.) <i>erosi nahi/behar izan dut</i> | 'I have wanted/needed to buy' |
| (c.) <i>erosi nahi/behar izaten dut</i> | 'I usually want/need to buy' |
| (d.) <i>erosi nahi/behar izango dut</i> | 'I will want/need to buy' |
| (e.) <i>erosi nahiko/beharko dut</i> | 'I will want/need to buy' |
| (f.) <i>erosi nahi/behar izatea</i> | 'to want/need to buy' |
| (g.) <i>erosi nahi/behar izana</i> | 'to have wanted/needed to buy' |

There are two main reasons to consider *nahi/behar* verbs in these examples. First, as indicated above, they appear in the bare, determinerless form, rather than case-marked as nominals should be (see below for cases where they function as *bona fide* nominals). Second, the nominal the tensed verb agrees with is not *nahi/behar* itself, but the complement noun phrase:

- (400) *Artikulu horiek irakurri nahi/behar ditut.*
 article those read want/need AUX
 'I want/need to read those articles.'

Here, absolutive plural agreement is obligatory, since the object nominal is plural *those articles*, not indefinite *need/want*.

The following section examines the morphosyntactic characteristics of semiauxiliary *need/want* in like-subject complement constructions (see 4.10.1.1.2.3 for a discussion of complement types occurring with these two verbs).

3.5.6.1.2. Transparency effects in like-subject complements

The subordinate verb in like-subject complements of modal verbs appears in the participial form:

- (401) *Kotxe berri bat erosi nahi dut.*
 car new one buy want AUX
 'I want to buy a new car.'

Quite often, although not obligatorily, the modal verb will intervene between the embedded participle and the auxiliary verb, in a position which resembles that of modal particles. However, as seen in 3.5.7, unlike semiauxiliaries, modal particles can only occur in tensed contexts, and may not take nominal complements. Moreover, particles remain attached to the auxiliary in the displacement of the latter to the left in negative clauses (4.5). Modal semiauxiliaries, on the other hand, usually form a unit with the participle and may not be displaced with the inflection:

- (402) *Hekien lurra ez du ordukotz deus*
 their land not AUX then nothing
ere ekharri nahiko.
 even bring want.FUT
 'Their land will not want to produce anything then.' [Duv L.L.:54]

- (403) *ez zuen inoiz inongo euskalkirik baztertu nahi izan*
 not AUX ever anywhere.REL dialect.PRTT corner want be
 'He never wanted to corner any Basque dialect form anywhere' [Mitx. EIG VII:31]

- (404) **ez nahi zuen... baztertu*
 not want AUX corner

Like-subject complements of modal verbs display typical ‘clause union’ effects, i.e. cases where arguments of the participial verb behave like arguments of the modal verb itself, as if a single clause were involved:

(a) Auxiliaries reflect dative and absolutive arguments of the participial verb:

- (405) *Semeei kotxe berriak erosi nahi/behar*
 children.DAT car new.DET.PL buy want/need
 dizkiet.
 AUX.3A.PL/3D.PL/1E
 ‘I want/need to buy my children some new cars.’

Here *dizkiet* marks an absolutive plural object, which must correspond to *new cars* and a dative plural which cross-references the goal argument of the participial verb. In examples like this, it is not possible to selectively mark one argument of the lower verb but not the other. In fact, as discussed presently in (b), both must be marked with transitive participles.

(b) The participial subordinate verb may govern the transitivity of the auxiliary verb. While *nahi/behar* occur with transitive auxiliaries when they do not take clausal complements, many dialects admit intransitive auxiliaries if the verb of the participial complement is intransitive. This is especially common with *behar* and less widespread with *nahi*:

- (406) *Huna, beraz, nola behar zaren abiatu.*
 here.to therefore how need AUX(*izan*).COMP set.out
 ‘This is, therefore, how you should proceed.’ [Duv. L.L.:52]

- (407) *mintzatu nahi natzaizu*
 speak want AUX(*izan*)
 ‘I want to talk to you’ [Ax. 1]

The morphological phenomena in (a) and (b) are in fact simultaneous: if agreement with an argument of the lower verb other than the subject is marked, then auxiliary choice must also be tuned to the embedded verb. With intransitive participles, the only argument available for agreement is

dative, and if dative agreement is marked, then the auxiliary must be intransitive, at least if the corresponding absolutive-dative forms exist in the dialect.

- (408) a. *Etxera hurbildu behar dut/naiz.*
 home.ALL approach need AUX.edun/AUX.izan
 'I must get close to home.'
 b. *Berari hurbildu behar dut (*diot).*
 he.DAT approach need AUX.3A/1E (AUX.3A/3D/1E)
 'I must get close to him.'
 c. *Berari hurbildu behar natzaio (??naiz).*
 he.DAT approach need AUX.1A/3D (AUX.1A)
 'I must get close to him.'

The (b) example shows that a transitive auxiliary opaque to the intransitivity of the lower verb cannot mark an argument of the latter either (**diot*). Similarly, (c) shows that an auxiliary transparent to transitivity typically marks lower arguments. These facts are less obvious with transitive participles, since no auxiliary alternation can be observed there. Moreover, it seems that in those cases auxiliary 'transparency' is the only option, since it is not possible to leave arguments of the participle other than the subject unmarked:

- (409) a. *Berari eman behar diot (*dut).*
 he.DAT give need AUX.3A/3D/1E AUX.3A/1E
 'I must give it to him.'
 b. *Artikulu horiek irakurri behar ditut (*dut).*
 article those read need AUX.3A.PL/1E AUX.3A/1E
 'I must read those articles.'
 c. *Ni ere eraman beharko nauzu (*duzu) etxera.*
 I also take need.FUT AUX.1A/2E (AUX.3A/2E) home
 'You will also have to take me home.'

In all cases an option like (b) in the preceding set of examples is excluded: the embedded dative or absolutive object must be cross-referenced in the auxiliary. Apparent counterexamples like the following, where no plural object is marked, actually stem from a more general failure of some dialects to mark plural agreement in absolutives:

- (410) *Republikak xahatu beharko du*
 republic cancel need AUX.3E/3E.SG
Laborari Nausien hipothekak
 workers.GEN main.GEN mortgages
 'The Republic will have to cancel the workers' mortgages.'
 [Chaho Azt.:45]

(c) Foci and interrogative elements may occur preceding the participle or the modal verb. In the following examples an element of the embedded clause may be observed in either position:

- (411) *Zer adinetan uztartu behar dute idiek?*
 what age.LOC yoke need AUX.3E.PL oxen.ERG
 'At what age should oxen be yoked together?' [Duv. L.L.:135]

- (412) *Noiz behar da drainatu?*
 when need AUX drain
 'When should it be drained?' [Duv. L.L.:88]

- (413) *espezialistak bere sailekoak behar ditu jakin.*
 specialist.ERG his field.REL.DET.PL need AUX know
 'A specialist should know [the things of] his field.'
 [Mitx. EIG:VII:183]

Pre-participial wh-words like that in the first example may be interpreted as cases of clausal pied-piping (see 4.4.5), while the pre-modal wh-word in the second one and the focus in similar position in the last example can be analyzed as an example of extraction from subordinate to higher verb. However, there are other examples which point at a clause union situation where a single complex verb has been created, in particular, cases where an argument of the modal verb occurs in pre-participial position. Since wh-words or foci do not 'lower' from matrix to embedded contexts, this indicates that a complex verb has been formed:

- (414) *Berak be eroan gurako dau bihar.*
 he.ERG too carry want.FUT AUX tomorrow
 'He will also want to carry it tomorrow.' [Altube 1929:255]

- (415) *Nork erosi nahi du kotxe hori?*
 who.ERG buy want AUX car that
 'Who wants to buy that car?'

In negative sentences, a focalized element can appear to the left of the auxiliary, separated from the embedded verb and the modal:

- (416) *Horrelako bizitza txakurrari be ez zaio opa behar.*
 such life dog.DAT too not AUX wish need
 'Such a life should not be desired even for a dog.'
 [Villasante 1980:81]

These phenomena do not take place in cases where *nahi/beharr* are clearly treated as nouns, even though they still take like-subject participial clauses. In the following example the first occurrence of *beharr* is marked partitive and is therefore a nominal. The dative argument of *erran* 'say' may then not be reflected on the auxiliary, while the goal of *eman* 'give' must (with the usual caveats for dative agreement in eastern dialects) in the second part of the sentence, where bare *beharr* behaves as a verb:

- (417) ...*ez dut zueri erran beharrik*
 ...not AUX.3A/1E you.DAT say need.PRTT
nori eman behar diogun gure boza.
 who.DAT give need AUX.3A/3D/1E our vote
 '...I need not tell you who we should give our vote to.'
 [Eliss. PA:92]

- (418) *Berari joan beharra dut. (*natzaio) (*diot).*
 he.DAT go need.DET AUX.3A/1E AUX.1A/3D AUX.3A/3D/1E
 'I need to go to him.'

In the last example neither the dative argument of the subordinate verb nor its intransitivity may be reflected on the auxiliary, which agrees with the object *beharra* 'the need'.

In all of the preceding examples the participle has an 'active' interpretation, in the sense that the matrix subject is interpreted also as its subject. 'Passive' interpretations are occasionally found in eastern dialects:

- (419) *Horrek ez du erran beharrik, aski ongi ageri da.*
 that.ERG not AUX say need.PRTT enough well appear AUX
 'That need not be said, it is fairly evident.' [Duv. *L.L.*:56]

- (420) *Haritzak ez du hola murriztu behar.*
 oak.ERG not AUX that.way prune need
 'An oak should not be pruned that way.' [Duv. *L.L.*:189]

- (421) *Ongarri onak astiz berotu nahi du.*
 manure good.ERG time.INSTR heat want AUX
 'Good manure should ('wants to') be heated with time.'
 [Duv. *L.L.*:105]

- (422) *Samatsak ez du barnean edo*
 compost.ERG not AUX inside.LOC or
aldaitegietan egin nahi.
 pens.LOC make want
 'Compost should not be made inside or in pens.' [Duv. *L.L.*:100]

In all of the preceding examples, the ergative subject is interpreted as object of the participle (cf. *it needs washing*).

As in English and Spanish, *behar* 'must' may be used to express a conjecture:

- (423) *Eguerdia izan behar du.*
 noon be must AUX
 'It must be noon.'

Where the complement clause contains a subject different from that of the matrix, it is expressed as a nominalized clause if tenseless and as a subjunctive (very occasionally conditional) clause if tensed (see 4.10.1.2.2.3). In all these cases the embedded clause is an opaque domain for the phenomena discussed above: arguments may not be cross-referenced in the matrix auxiliary, no auxiliary variation is found linked to the transitivity of the embedded verb, and each clause forms an independent focalization domain.

3.5.6.2. Potentiality: *ahal* 'can' and *ezin* 'cannot'

Ability and inability can be expressed directly in the verbal inflection by using potential mood forms provided with the affix *-ke*. This can be negated using the normal pattern for negation with *ez* 'not':

- (424) *Iguzkiak ere lagunt zaitza-ke.*
 sun.ERG too help(RAD) AUX.POT
 'The sun can also help you.' [Etch. II:260]

- (425) *Behiei ez daiokete deusere eman hoberik.*
 cows.DAT not AUX.POT anything give better
 'One cannot give cows anything better.' [Duv. L.L.:79]

However, modal semiauxiliaries can also be used: *ahal* 'be able, can', and *ezin* 'be unable, can't'. These may in turn be combined with potential mood in the auxiliary (b. examples):

- (426) a. *ikusi/ikusten ahal ditut*
 see.PRF/see.IMPF can AUX
 'I can see them'
 b. *ikusi/ikusten ahal ditzaket*
 see.PRF/see.IMPF can AUX.POT
 'I can see them'
- (427) a. *ezin ditut ikusi ~ ezin ikusi ditut*
 cannot AUX see.PRF
 'I cannot see them'
 b. *ezin ikus ditzaket ~ ezin ditzaket ikus*
 cannot see(RAD) AUX.POT
 'I can't see them'

Altube (1929:248) reports a dialectal semantic nuance depending on whether the potential auxiliary is used or not. According to him, *ezin ikusi ditut* would be equivalent to 'I can't see them', indicating general impossibility, while *ezin ikus ditzaket*, with the potential auxiliary, could perhaps be paraphrased as 'I am unable to see them', indicating therefore a purely contextual impossibility. This nuance, however, is far from being general. Negative possibility can also be expressed by simply negating *ahal* 'can',

and this is in fact the preferred option in eastern dialects, where *ezin* 'cannot' is seldom used:

(428) *ez ditut ikusi/ikusten ahal*
 not AUX see.PRF/see.IMPF can
 'I cannot see them'

(429) *ez ditzaket ikus ahal*
 not AUX.POT see(RAD) can
 'I cannot see them'

Finally, occasionally *ezin* 'cannot' can be used to negate *ahal* 'can':

(430) *ezin ikusi ahal ditut*
 cannot see.PRF can AUX
 'I cannot see them'

(431) *beste modu garbiago batean ezin esan ahal izatea*
 other way clear.more in.one cannot say can be.NOM.DET
 'not being able to say it in some other clearer way'
 [Mitx. *EIG* VI:99]

Ahal and *ezin* share with modal semiauxiliaries their original non-verbal nature: they are not regular verbs and cannot receive directly perfective or imperfective aspect markers. The temporal and aspectual value of *ahal dut/ezin dut/nahe dut* etc. is identical to that of the 'auxiliary' *dut*, i.e., present. Aspect can only be marked by inserting a dummy verbal base, *izan* 'be' (or *ukan* 'have' in dialects where this exists), which is itself perfective and can bear the imperfective affix *-t(z)en*:

(432) a. *ikusi ahal ditut* b. *ezin ditut ikusi*
 see.PRF can AUX cannot AUX see.PRF
 'I can see them' 'I can't see them'

(433) a. *ikusi ahal izan ditut*
 see.PRF can be AUX
 'I have been able to see them'
 b. *ezin izan ditut ikusi*
 cannot be AUX see
 'I haven't been able to see them'

- (434) a. *ikusi ahal izaten ditut* b. *ezin izaten ditut ikusi*
 see.PRF can be.IMPf AUX cannot be.IMPf AUX see.PRF
 'I can usually see them' 'I can't usually see them'

On the other hand, future, which is marked by the adnominal suffixes *-kol/-(r)en* (relational and genitive, respectively), can be added either directly to the semiauxiliary or to the dummy verb:

- (435) a. *ikusi ahalko ditut ~ahalko ditut ikusi*
 can.FUT
 'I will be able to see them'
- b. *ezingo ditut ikusi*
 cannot.FUT
 'I will not be able to see them'
- c. *ikusi ahal izango/izanenditut*
 be.FUT
 'I will be able to see them'
- d. *ezin izango ditut ikusi*
 be.FUT
 'I will not be able to see them'

Very occasionally, in the case of *ezin*, one can find the future marker attached to the lexical verb itself:

- (436) *ezin utziko nuen arrotzen esku*
 cannot leave.FUT AUX strangers.GEN hand
 'I could not leave her in the hands of strangers.' [Lertx. O.P.:77]

Tenseless forms with *ahal* are also constructed by using the inflected forms of *izan* (*ikusi ahal izatea* 'being able to see'). With *ezin*, on the other hand, the nominalizing affix *-te* can also be added to the embedded verb (*ezin ikustea*, *ikusi ezin izatea* 'not being able to see').

Like *behar/nahi*, *ahallezin* display all of the earmarks of what we labeled transparency or clause union effects in section 3.5.6.1.2. First, arguments of the lower verb must be cross-marked on the main auxiliary (examples [a,b,c] below). Second, the latter is sensitive to the transitivity of the embedded verb (example [d]). Finally, in the case of *ahal* the two verbs may form a unit for focalization and question formation, so that arguments of the

modal verb may occupy the position immediately to the left of the embedded verb as opposed to the left of the modal verb itself (example [e]):

- (437) a. *Lagunei goraintziak eman ahalko dizkiet.*
 friends.DAT regards give can.FUT AUX.3A.PL/3D1E
 'I will be able to give my regards to the friends.'
- b. *Ezin dizkiet lagunei goraintziak eman.*
 cannot AUX friends.DAT regards give
 'I can't give [my] regards to the friends.'
- c. *Lagunak ikusi ahal ditut.*
 friends see can AUX.3A.PL/1E
 'I can see the friends.'
- d. *Etxera joan ahal zara.*
 home.ALL go can AUX.2A
 'You can go home.'
- e. *Nork ikusi ahal zaitu?*
 who.ERG see can AUX.2A/3E
 'Who can see you?'

Notice, however, that *ezin* in western dialects may also select a transitive auxiliary regardless of the transitivity of the participial verb:

- (438) *Nik ezingo nuke inolaz ere han bizi.*
 I cannot.FUT AUX(**edun*) anyway also there live
 'I would not be able to live there in any way.'

To conclude this section, we will briefly review some particularities of each of these semiauxiliaries. Beginning with *ezin*, it is morphologically and syntactically akin to *ez* 'no', and, like the latter, it triggers auxiliary fronting in main and most embedded contexts in western dialects. Contrast in this respect the following two sentences:

- (439) *Jendeek elkhar ezin adi zezaketen.*
 people.ERG each.other cannot understand(RAD) AUX.POT
 'People could not understand each other.' [Duv. L.L.:64]
- (440) *Eta ezin al zenuen beste nonbait harrapatu?*
 and cannot Q AUX other somewhere catch
 'And couldn't you catch it somewhere else?' [Atx. *GBB*:131]

The first sentence illustrates the eastern order *ezin+verb+auxiliary*, and the second one the western order *ezin+AUX...+verb*. The effects of auxiliary preposing in western dialects can be eliminated by observing relative clauses, where this phenomenon is not found. Contrast in this respect the western and eastern patterns in the following examples:

- (441) *edan ezin dezakezun ura* (western)
 drink cannot AUX.POT.COMP water
 'the water that you can't drink'

- (442) *Guk ezin egin detzakeguken lanak*
 we cannot make AUX.POT.COMP jobs
egiten dituzte. (eastern)
 make AUX
 'They do jobs that we can't.' [Duv. *L.L.*:45]

The position of *ezin* in the first example, intervening between the lexical verb and the auxiliary, is therefore different from that found in eastern dialects, and coincides with the position of the negative particle *ez* in the same context. Notice that even in eastern dialects the position occupied by *ezin* differs from that one would expect from modal semiauxiliaries and even from modal particles, since all these intervene between main verb and auxiliary, while *ezin* precedes both in those dialects.

There is yet another similarity between *ezin* and *ez* which is not shared by *ahal*, and which concerns tenseless forms. The paradigms are given below:

- (443) a. *joan ahal izatea*
 go can be.NOM.DET
 'to be able to go'
 b. *ezin joatea*
 cannot go.NOM.DET
 'not to be able to go'
 c. *ezin joan ahal izatea*
 cannot go can be.NOM.DET
 'not to be able to go'
 d. *ez joatea*
 not go.NOM.DET
 'not to go'

On top of the doubled form in (c) mentioned above, with *ezin* ‘cannot’ negating *ahal* ‘can’, the form in (b) is also possible. This differs from (a) in that what is nominalized is not the modal verb itself, as in the latter, but the lexical verb. Such strategy is parallel to regular negative nominalizations like the one in (d). The dialectal differences described above surface again in adverbial participial forms provided with the partitive (adverbial) suffix *-(r)ik*; this may be attached either to *ezin* or to the lexical verb itself:

- (444) *barrea ezin disimulatu-rik esaten niola*
 laughter can’t conceal.PTCP say.IMPF AUX.while
 ‘while, unable to conceal my laughter, I told him...’ [Lertx. *O.P.*:168]

- (445) *burutazioak, asmabideak eta errezeloak*
 thoughts ideas and suspicions
bereizi ezin-ik
 differentiate cannot-PTCP
 ‘not being able to differentiate thoughts, ideas and suspicions’
 [Lertx. *O.P.*:17]

A final difference between *ahal* and *ezin* concerns the availability of embedded negation. This is only possible with *ezin*, while it is excluded with *ahal*:

- (446) **Diru asko dudanez, ez egin ahal dut.*
 money a.lot have.COMP.INSTR not do can AUX
 ‘Since I have a lot of money, I am able not to do it.’
- (447) *Diru guti dudanez, ezin dut/dezaket ez egin.*
 cannot AUX/AUX.POT not do
 ‘Since I have little money, I can’t fail to do it (‘not do it’).’

Turning now to particularities of *ahal*, there is wide dialectal variation as regards the aspectual shape of the lexical verb it requires. We will outline the major patterns generally found in the standard language:

- (448) *ikus ahal dezake* (bare root with potential auxiliary)
 see can AUX.POT
 ‘s/he can see it’

- (449) *ikusi/ikusten ahal du* (perfective [west] vs.
 see.PR/see.IMPF can AUX imperfective [east])
 's/he can see it'
- (450) *ikusi ahal izan du* (perfective participle
 see.PR/see.IMPF can be.PR AUX with perfective *izan*)
 's/he has been able to see it'
- (451) *ikusi/ikusten ahal izaten du* (perfective [west] vs.
 see.PR/see.IMPF can be.IMPF AUX imperfective [east])
 's/he can usually see it'
- (452) *ikusi/ikusten ahalko du* (perfective [west] vs.
 see.PR/see.IMPF can.FUT AUX imperfective[east])
 's/he will be able to see it'

As indicated, western dialects favor the perfective participle throughout, while eastern varieties prefer the imperfective form unless perfective *izan/ukan* is used. In non-standard western usage, perfective participles are employed with the potential auxiliary in sentences like the one in the first example, since the radical is never used in those varieties.

The modal *ahal* is homophonous with the interrogative particle *al* in Gipuzkoan, where the latter is mainly used, and with the desiderative particle *ahal*. As pointed out in the grammar of Euskaltzaindia (1987:456), they illustrate well the difference between particles and modal semiauxiliaries. This can be observed in the following sentences, where the different patterns produced by negation are illustrated:

- (453) *Ez ahal da oinez etorriko!* (particle)
 neg can AUX on.foot come.FUT
 'Would that s/he came on foot!'
- (454) *Ez da oinez etortzen ahalko.* (semiauxiliary)
 neg AUX on.foot come.IMPF can.FUT
 'S/he will not be able to come on foot.'

In the first example, *ahal* is a desiderative particle, dragged along with the auxiliary by negation to the left edge of the clause. Future is marked on the lexical 'main' verb. On the other hand, in the second example, *ahal* is a mo-

dal semiauxiliary verb taking a subordinate verb phrase *oinez etortzen*. Negative preposing only takes along the auxiliary *da*, and future marking is attached to the main verb *ahal* itself.

3.5.7. *Modal particles*

A small set of particles can be attached immediately to the left of the tensed verbal form (whether auxiliary or synthetic verb) to modulate and validate the information conveyed by the clause: *omen* 'hearsay information', *ei* 'hearsay information; Bizk.', *bide* 'apparently', *al* 'yes/no question; desiderative', *ote* 'rhetorical question'. These particles are mutually exclusive for any single verb:

- (455) *Egia osoa jakin omen du.*
 truth whole know apparently AUX
 'He has apparently found out the whole truth.'

- (456) *Egia osoa omen daki.*
 knows
 'He apparently knows the whole truth.'

- (457) *ez ote da dagoeneko istilu*
 neg AUX already quarrel
garratzik sortu arlo honetan?
 bitter appear field this.LOC
 'Have there not been bitter fights already in this area?'
 [Mitx. *EIG* VII:156]

Nothing else may intervene between the tensed verbal form and the particle, and any process affecting the former will also affect the latter. Thus, displacement of the tensed form to the left in negative clauses (4.5.2) or in marked focalization structures in eastern dialects (4.4.2) carries modal particles with it:

- (458) *Asmatu, ez omen zuen hiruzpalau baizik egin.*
 invent not AUX three.or.four but make
 'As for inventing, he has not apparently invented but three or four.'
 [Mitx. *EIG* VII:32]

(459) *Aitak omen du aurdiki.*

father.ERG AUX throw

'It was father who apparently threw it.' [Lafitte 1944, §117]

Modal particles are closely associated with inflection: they may not occur in tenseless verbal forms, and pattern with inflection itself in that, unlike other preverbal elements (such as negative *ez* or 'positive' *ba*) they do not 'count' as first elements shielding tensed forms from initial position (see 4.4.3). Contrast in this respect the following two examples:

(460) *ez dator*

not comes

's/he is not coming'

(461) **omen dator*

comes

's/he is apparently coming'

As usual, presence of the morpheme *ba* can salvage the latter case (*ote* used to be exceptional in this respect, as indicated in the following section). There is further syntactic evidence that particles 'count' as inflection: they are the only elements which may stand between the participle and its auxiliary in positive analytic verbal forms, and they are also the only elements that may 'intervene' between the focalized element and a synthetic verb. Phonetically, they also form an accentual group with the tensed verb (Hualde et al. 1994).

3.5.7.1. Independent uses of *ote* and *omen*

The rhetorical interrogative particle *ote* is occasionally found in initial contexts, especially in more archaic and formal texts:

(462) *Ote dugu zentzurik?*

have sense.PRTT

'Do we have any sense?' [Ax. 385]

This particle, as well as *omen*, is also exceptional in that it has an 'adverbial' usage where it occurs independently of the verb, typically adjoined to the left of a constituent. This often happens when the verb has been deleted,

either for stylistic reasons (say the copula) or because it is retrievable from the immediate context:

(463) *RS-en hizkera nongoa ote?*

RS.GEN speech where.ABL.DET

'Where does the language of RS [*Refranes y Sentencias*] come from?'

[Mitx. EIG VII:65]

(464) *Nork egingo du? Jonek ote?*

who.ERG make.FUT AUX Jon.ERG

'Who will do it? Perhaps Jon?'

(465) *Non da Miren? Etxean omen.*

where is Miren home.LOC apparently

'Where is Miren? Apparently, at home.' [Euskaltzaindia 1987:510]

(466) *Hik esaten duala eta, lege ote hori guretzat?*

you.ERG say.IMPF AUX.COMP and law that we.BEN

'Because you say so, is that perhaps a law for us?'

[Euskaltzaindia 1987:516]

They may also be found independent of inflection as parenthetical elements:

(467) *Ez dea ote miliun bat Euskaldun...?*

not is.Q million one Basque

'Are there not one million Basques?' [Etch. I:307]

(468) *Hemen ez dugulakotz omen deus*

here not have.because anything

ikustekorik gehiago.

see.NOM.REL.PRTH more

'Because, apparently we do not have here anything else to see.'

[Etch. I:88]

The validator *omen* exists as an independent noun meaning 'fame, homage'. As a noun, it can bear case and appropriate derivational endings:

(469) *haren ospe eta omena*

he.GEN reputation and fame

'his fame and reputation'

- (470) *Omenka ibili behar al du beti?*
 omen.ADV walk need Q AUX always
 'Does he always have to speak from hearsay?'
 [Euskaltzaindia 1987:515]

3.5.7.2. Conditional *ba*

The conditional particle *ba* (different from 'emphatic' *ba*; see section 4.4.3) may be included along the set of inflectional, modal particles. Like the latter, it is exclusively attached to the left of tensed verbal forms, it is incompatible with any other particle (contrast with emphatic *ba*) and just like inflection itself, may not occur clause initially (contrasting with emphatic *ba* in this respect as well):

- (471) *Jonek badaki, denek dakite.*
 Jon.ERG if.knows all.ERG know
 'If Jon knows, everybody does.'
- (472) a. **Jonek omen badaki...* (conditional *ba*)
 'If Jon apparently knows...'
 b. *Jonek ba omen daki.* (emphatic *ba*)
 'Apparently, Jon does know.'
- (473) a. **Bazekien, ahaztu egin du.* (conditional *ba*)
 if.knew forget make AUX
 'If s/he knew, s/he has forgotten.'
 b. *Bazekien, baina ahaztu egin du.* (emphatic *ba*)
 'S/he did know, but s/he has forgotten.'

Notice that there is no semantic incompatibility between conditional *ba* and hearsay *omen*, which points at a syntactic account of cooccurrence restrictions according to which both are members of the same set of modal particles. An alternative analysis for *ba* would be to treat it as a conditional complementizer. Conditional clauses are certainly subordinated clauses, sharing with other embedded contexts the unavailability of allocutive verbal forms (3.5.2.5). However, this need not mean that *ba* itself is the subordinating element. Mujika (1988) classifies it with the prefixed complementizer *bait-* (4.10.1.1.6). Since the latter may cooccur with other modal particles, as in:

(474) *Jonek omen baitaki...*

Jon.ERG since.knows
 'since Jon apparently knows...'

Mujika attributes the incompatibility of the classmate *ba* with this same 'complementizer' to semantic factors.

3.5.7.3. Interrogative *-a*

Although not a 'particle' which may precede a tensed verbal form, there are some characteristics of the eastern interrogative complementizer *-a* which make it similar to the modal particles discussed above in 3.5.7 (it is in fact included among them in Mujika [1988] and Euskaltzaindia [1987]). It shares with complementizers (except with *bait-*) its suffixal position, as well as the impossibility of appearing associated with tenseless verbal forms (the latter is a distributional property shared by particles):

(475) *Jakin duk-a berria?*

know AUX.COMP new
 'Hast thou heard the news?'

The morpheme *-a* is restricted to root clauses, where the complementizer position is available, and is therefore excluded from embedded contexts, where the complementizer *-(e)n* must be used. In this it differs from particles, which may be found in both matrix and embedded contexts. However, like particles and unlike complementizers, it can also be attached to constituents other than tensed verbs in the absence of the latter: *bai-a* 'yes?', *nik-a* 'I?'. Nonetheless, the availability of this particle seems to be restricted to pronouns and *bailez* 'yes/no', and is therefore much more restricted than the 'postposed' *otelomen* described in 3.5.7.1, which can be adjoined to virtually any constituent:

(476) *Nork egingo du? Jonek ote?/*Jonek-a?*

who.ERG make.FUT AUX
 'Who will do it? Jon perhaps?/Jon?'

(477) *Non da Miren? Etxean omen/*Etxean-a?*

where is Miren home.LOC
 'Where is Miren? Apparently home/Home?'

The main feature which justifies the inclusion of *-a* with modal particles is its incompatibility with the latter:

- (478) **Jonek ote/al/omen daki-a?*
 Jon know.*a*
 'Does Jon know?'

It is not clear whether cooccurrence is excluded here by semantic/pragmatic or by syntactic factors.

Lafitte's (1944:404) grammar reports a derived use of this structure with a conditional or temporal interpretation:

- (479) *bertze batek egin lezakea bada, balitake arrabots*
 other one.ERG make could.*a* then *ba.would.be* noise
 'then, if any other did it, there would be noises'
 ('si c'était un autre qui le faisait, il y aurait du bruit')

This extension may be interpreted as a consequence of the same closeness which underlies the use of English *if*, Spanish *si* both for conditionals and indirect questions.

3.5.7.4. The case of habitual *ohi*

The particle *ohi*, indicating habitual aspect, may also intervene between the participle and the auxiliary. The participle may appear in the perfective form and, in eastern dialects, in the imperfective form with *-t(z)en*:

- (480) *Gure herritik etorri/etortzen ohi da.*
 our village.ABL come.PRF/come.IMPF AUX
 'S/he usually comes from our village.'
- (481) *Egunkari bi erosi/erosten ohi ditu.*
 newspaper two buy.PRF/buy.IMPF AUX
 'S/he usually buys two newspapers.'

There is considerable dialectal variation in the use of *ohi*, which ranges from a modal particle to a semiauxiliary. The main reason to deal with this aspectual particle along with modal particles is that, in eastern dialects, it is associated with inflection and moves along with it in cases like negation:

- (482) *ez ohi dute erraiten ongirik*
 not AUX say.IMPF well.PRTT
 'they do not usually speak well [of anyone]' [Ax. 291]

- (483) *ez ohi dutela aski artarekin irakurtzen*
 neg AUX.COMP enough care.COM read.IMPF
 'that they do not usually read with enough care' [Etch. I:70]

Western dialects are less systematic in this respect, but as noted in Euskaltzaindia (1987), *ohi* is not associated with the inflection but with the perfective participle in negative clauses:

- (484) *Ez da hara joan ohi.*
 neg AUX there go
 'S/he does not usually go there.'
- (485) *Ez ditu bere etxeko lanak egin ohi.*
 not AUX his home.REL work make
 'S/he does not usually do his homework.'

This connection with participles is reminiscent of semiauxiliaries (3.5.6.2) and enables us to treat western *ohi* as an aspectual auxiliary verb. As such, and unlike particles, one would expect it to occur in tenseless contexts (although not necessarily; cf. English *used to*), and this is certainly so in the case of perfective nominalizations. Imperfective nominalizations, on the other hand, are not acceptable:

- (486) *beti leku berberara joan ohi izanak...*
 always place same.ALL go be.DET.ERG
 'having usually gone always to the same place'
- (487) *beti leku berberara joan ohi izatea...*
- (488) **beti leku berberara ohi joatea...*

The 'verbal' character of western *ohi* can also be linked to the fact that, unlike other particles, *ohi(tu)* may be used as a lexical verb, meaning 'be used to' (cf. the derived noun *ohitura* 'custom').

Mujika (1988) relates the usage of *ohi* as a particle or as a semiauxiliary with the type of participle it combines with. Where this element is a particle,

as in eastern dialects, aspectual information is conveyed by the imperfective participle. In western dialects, on the other hand, *ohi* would be closer to an aspectual auxiliary verb, and the default (perfective) participle is then used on the lexical predicate.

3.6. Conjunctions and connectors

J.I. Hualde

In this section we list the main coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, focusing on their form. For their use, see sections 4.11 (Coordination) and 4.10 (Subordination). The main sentential connectors are also listed here.

3.6.1. Coordinating conjunctions

The basic copulative conjunction is *eta* ‘and’, which has a reduced form *ta*. Phonologically, it may cliticize to the preceding word and (dialectally) undergo phonological rules which are generally restricted to word domains, appearing as [da], [te], [ce], etc. depending on the preceding context (see 2.1.4, 2.1.5.1). The similarity to Latin *et*, striking as it is, appears to be fortuitous.

The main adversative conjunction is *baina* ‘but’ (dialectal variants: *bainan*, *baino*, *bena*), perhaps etymologically related to *bai* ‘yes’. As explained in section 4.11, most dialects in contact with Spanish use clause-initial *baina* corresponding to Spanish *pero* and clause-final *baizik* (< **bai ezik*), *ezpada* (< **ez bada* ‘if it is not) or *baino* corresponding to Spanish *sino*, whereas dialects in contact with French do not consistently make this distinction.

There are two main disjunctive conjunctions: *edo* and *ala*, both ‘or’. Some speakers make a contrast between these two conjunctions, *ala* being strictly disjunctive, i.e. forcing a choice (see section 4.11). In addition, the compound conjunction *edo-ta* ‘or’ (lit. ‘or-and’) is used. Dialectally, *edo* has the reduced variants *ero* and *o*.

In addition, we find the ‘distributive’ conjunctions *zein* ‘either’, formally identical to *zein* ‘which’, and *nahiz* ‘either’ < *nahi* ‘to want’.

3.6.2. *Subordinating conjunctions*

Subordination is expressed mainly by means of verbal affixes and postpositions. Nevertheless, there are also some clause-initial subordinators. With a causal/illative function we find as dialectal variants *zeren* (genitive of *zer* 'what'), *ezen* (also completive), *ze* and in some dialects *zergatik* 'because' (= 'why', cf. Sp *porque*, *por qué*). In the Azkoitia/Azpeitia region of Gipuzkoa Sp *porque* has been borrowed with this function. *Ezen* is occasionally found as an enclitic to the verb in eastern dialects:

- (489) *ikusi izan dut ezen neronek landetan ezarria*
 see be AUX since myself.ERG fields.LOC place.DET
 'since I have seen it put in the fields myself' [Duv. L.L.:116]

As an adversative subordinating conjunction we find *nahiz eta* 'even though' (< *nahi* 'to want' + instrumental + 'and') in competition with the synonymous suffixal-postpositional expression (-*n*) *arren*. The question words *non* 'when', *noiz* 'when', *zein* 'which', and *nola* 'how', are also sometimes used as subordinators, but time, place and manner subordination is more commonly expressed by purely affixal means, see 4.10.2. Many clause-initial subordinators cooccur with affixal complementizers in tensed clauses:

- (490) a. *nola ezagutzen bai-nituen Sarako jenderik*
 how know.IMPF COMP.AUX Sara.REL people.PRTT
gehienak
 most.DET.PL
 'since I knew most people from Sara' [Eliss. P.A.:33]
 b. *ageri da ezen galtzerik baizen ez dela heldu...*
 appear AUX that loss but not AUX.COMP come
 'it seems [clear] that nothing but losses has resulted [from fallen tree trunks]' [Duv. LL:188]

3.6.3. Sentential connectors

Sentential connectors provide a looser link between sentences than conjunctions. Basque possesses a relatively large number of these words and expressions. The following are some of the most important ones:

- gainera* 'in addition' (< allative form of *gain* 'top')
- bestalde* 'on the other hand, in addition' (< *beste* 'other' + *alde* 'side')
- aldiz* 'on the other hand' (< *aldi* 'time' + 'instrumental')
- berriz* 'on the other hand' (< *berri* 'new' + 'instrumental')
- behintzat* 'at least' (< *behin* 'time', + *-tzat* 'prolative')
- gutienez* ~ *gutxienez* 'at least' (< *guti* ~ *gutxi* 'little' + *-en* 'superlative' + *-ez* 'instrumental')
- behinik behin* ~ *behinipehin* 'at least' (< *behin* 'time' + *-ik* 'partitive')
- bederen* 'at least' (< *bedera* 'each one' + 'superlative' / 'genitive')
- bestela* 'otherwise' (< *beste* 'other' + *-la* 'manner suffix')
- dena den* 'however' (< *da* 'is' + *-en* 'relative' + *-a* 'article')
- hala ere* 'however' (< *hala* 'that way' + *ere* 'too')
- horregatik* 'for that reason, consequently' (< *horr-* 'that' + *gai* 'matter' + *-tik* 'ablative')
- beraz* 'so' (< *bera* 'itself' + 'instrumental')
- hain zuzen (ere)* 'as a matter of fact' (< *hain* 'so' + *zuzen* 'correct' + *ere* 'too')
- izan ere* 'as a matter of fact' (< *izan* 'to be' + *ere* 'too')
- nolanahi ere* 'in any case' (< *nola* 'how' + *nahi* 'want' + *ere* 'also; even')

Most of these expressions show as much freedom of collocation as the corresponding English expressions: *Behintzat, Jonek badaki* 'at least, Jon knows it', *Jonek, behintzat, badaki* 'Jon, at least, knows it', *Jonek badaki, behintzat* 'Jon knows it, at least'.

3.6.4. Expressions with *ere* 'also; even'

Ere 'also' is an enclitic to the phrase it modifies: *ni ere* 'I also', *inoiz ere ez* 'never'. As such it is excluded from sentence-initial position:

(491) a. *Ni ere joango naiz herrira bihar.*

I too go.FUT AUX village.ALL tomorrow

'I also will go to the village tomorrow.' (in addition to someone else going)

b. *Ni herrira ere joango naiz bihar.*

'I will go also to the village tomorrow.' (in addition to going some where else)

c. *Ni bihar ere joango naiz herrira.*

'I will go to the village tomorrow too.' (in addition to going some other day)

d. **ere ni joango naiz herrira bihar*

As illustrated in the examples above, the constituent bearing *ere* often occupies the preverbal focal position. When the element modified by *ere* is the verb, it is often syntactically focalized with *egin* 'to do' (see section 4.4.3):

(492) *Sugeak, jan ere egin ditut*

snakes eat also do AUX

'As for snakes, I have even eaten them.'

(cf. *sugeak ere jan ditut* 'I have eaten even snakes.')

It is, however, possible for the verb to be modified by *ere* exclusively, without *egin* 'to do':

(493) *Gogo hobearekin jaten dute, edaten*

disposition better.with eat.IMPF AUX drink.IMPF

ere dute gehiago.

also AUX more

'They eat with more appetite, and they also drink more.'

[Duv. *L.L.*:149]

Note, furthermore, that it is also possible to use *ere* 'also' with topicalized material, even with verbs:

- (494) *Orain ez duguna lor dezakegu*
 now not have.COMP.DET get(RAD) AUX.POT
eta luzaro gabe lortu, lortu ere.
 and long not get get also
 'We can get what we do not have now, and even get it before long.'
 [Mitx. *EIG* VI:134]

Ere is also used in negative sentences: *ni ere ez naiz joango herrira* 'I will not go to the village either'. Curiously, with this negative value in older texts we find the expression *hain gutxi* 'neither, not either', lit. 'so little', which appears to be a direct calque of Sp *tampoco*: *ez dut beldur beroa, hain gutxi izotza* 'I don't fear the heat, and neither the ice'. This expression is somewhat archaic or literary nowadays.

In elliptical affirmative sentences *ere* is optionally but frequently followed by *bai* 'yes':

- (495) *Jon herrira joango da bihar eta ni ere (bai).*
 Jon village.ALL go.FUT AUX tomorrow and I too (yes)
 'Jon will go to the village tomorrow and I will too.'
 (496) *Zuk badakizu eta nik ere (bai).*
 you.erg know and I.ERG too (yes)
 'You know it and I do too.'

In elliptical negative sentences the use of *ez* 'no' after *ere* is obligatory: *Jon ez da herrira joango bihar eta ni ere ez* 'Jon will not go to the village and neither will I'; *zuk ez dakizu eta nik ere ez* 'you don't know it and neither do I'. Alternatively, the expression *baita* (affirmative, < *bai eta*) or *ezta* (negative, < *ez eta*) precedes the modified element and *ere* follows it in elliptical sentences: *baita ni ere* 'I do too' (= *ni ere bai*); *ezta Jonek ere* 'neither does Jon' (= *Jonek ere ez*); *baita guri ere* 'also to us' (= *guri ere bai*). Being a clitic, *ere* can not constitute an utterance by itself. On the other hand, *baita (ere)* and *ezta (ere)* can be used as answers to questions: *Jon etorriko da, eta zu?* -- *Baita (ere)* 'Jon will come, and you? -- I will too'; *Jonek ez du egingo, eta zuk?* -- *Ezta (ere)* 'Jon will not do it, and you? -- I won't either'.

There is a discontinuous expression *ez ezik... ere* 'not only...but also':

(497) *Barnean ezezik, kanpoan ere bazegoen jende asko.*
 inside not.only outside also was people much
 'Not only inside, but also outside there was a lot of people.'

(498) *Kotxea ikusi ezezik, erosi ere egin genuen.*
 car see not.only buy also do AUX
 'Not only did we see the car, we also bought it.'

Besides meaning 'also', *ere* also has the value of 'even' and is often used in concessive subordinate clauses: *pobrea bada ere* 'even if s/he is poor', *konforme ez banago ere* 'even if I don't agree', *zure laguna banaiz ere* 'even if I am your friend' (see section 4.10.2.1.4).

Another use of *ere* is as an intensive element in a number of expression: *beti ere* 'always, always', *nolanahi ere* 'in whichever way, in any case', *izan ere* 'in fact'. This intensifying function is particularly prominent in negative sentences: *ezer ere (ez)* 'nothing at all', *inon ere (ez)* 'nowhere at all', *behin ere (ez)* '(not) even once', giving rise to negative polarity items like *batere* 'at all' (< *bat* 'one' + *ere*).

3.7. Derivation

J.I. Hualde

Almost all productive derivation in Basque is accomplished by means of suffixes. Derivational suffixation is a robust feature of Basque. There is a rather large group of derivational suffixes, which include both native material and suffixes borrowed at various times from Latin and Romance. An exhaustive description of derivational suffixes would surpass the limits of this work. In this section only the most common derivational suffixes are presented. For more detailed studies of Basque derivational morphology, Azkue (1923-25[1969]) and Mugica [Mujika] (1978, 1982) may be consulted.

Sometimes classificatory doubts arise as to whether a given item should be considered a derived word or a compound. This is the case, for instance, with words with *-zale* 'fond of' as second element; e.g.: *neskazale* 'fond of girls, womanizer', *ardozale* 'fond of wine'. Whereas the most normal usage of *zale* is in such formations, it can also appear as a separate word in western dialects (*oso zalea da* 's/he is very fond of it') and also occurs as a stem in derived words such as *zale(tu)* 'become fond of' and *zaletasun* 'fondness'.

In some cases what originally was an independent word is, from a synchronic point of view, better seen as a derivational suffix. An example is *-dun* 'having' (originally from the verb *du* 's/he has it' plus the relative suffix *-n*), which gives rise to formations such as *dirudun* 'having money, wealthy' (An alternative etymology for *-dun* due to de Rijk is the participle **edun* 'have'). In other cases, a suffix has become an independent word. This is the case with the suffix *-(t)asun* '-ness' (perhaps of Latin origin) which has been promoted to the status of an independent word, *tasun* 'quality, feature'. Given the existence of the word *tasun* it is not obvious that words such as *anaitasun* 'brotherhood', *askatasun* 'freedom', etc., should be considered derived words instead of compounds.

Several words which are frequently used as second members of compounds have acquired an initial dental or velar consonant, which originally had an epenthetical function in some of the compounds in which they occur. The new consonant-initial form may coexist with the older vowel-initial one with somewhat different meanings or, in some cases, the older form may have been replaced. For instance, together with *ume* 'child; offspring', in some western dialects we find the word *kume* 'offspring of an animal' which undoubtedly derives from reanalysis in words like *katakume* 'kitty', where the *-k-*, was originally epenthetical (perhaps by analogy with some other word). Another example is *tegi* 'place; storage room; stable', which most likely derives from an earlier **egi*, its initial *t-* being the result of reanalysis in compounds such *txerri-tegi* 'pig-sty' or *lora-tegi* 'garden' (flower-place). Forms like *jauregi* 'palace' (lord-place), with the older form *-egi*, would perhaps have to be considered derived words synchronically, since *egi* does not have independent existence nowadays. Another word that has acquired an initial consonant in this manner is *kide* 'companion' (cf., e.g. *adiskide* 'friend' [*adin* 'age'], *lankide* 'coworker' [*lan* 'work'] but *ahaide* 'relative', *haurride* 'sibling' [*haur* 'child'], *gogaide* 'person with similar ideas' [*gogo* 'soul']). Most likely *talde* 'group' is etymologically related to *alde* 'side' in the same manner, although synchronically they must be considered separate items.

The reasons for the classificatory doubts may also be of a semantic nature. Thus, whereas the word *bide* 'path, way' is well attested as a free form, as a bound element it often has the meaning of 'method' when attached to a verb; e.g.: *ikasbide* 'method for learning', *aurkibide* 'table of contents' (*aurki[tu]* 'find'), (vs., e.g. *ardibide* 'sheep path', which is a clear compound).

The classificatory problem, then, is whether morphologically complex words like *ardoze* 'fond of wine', *garbitasun* 'cleanliness, quality of being

clean', *ikasbide* 'method for learning' or *lorategi* 'garden' should be treated as compounds or as derived words. Basque grammarians do not always agree in the classification as compounds or derived words of many of these examples. Here we have followed our own criterion in individual cases.

For presentational purposes, derivational suffixes are classified by the class of word to which they (most frequently) give rise (i.e. derived nouns, derived adjectives, etc.) and within each of these types by their most usual source (e.g. denominal, deverbal, etc.). The few derivational prefixes that are found are illustrated at the end of the section. A special case is that of diminutive suffixes, since these never change the category of the word they are joined to. In a sense, then, diminutives occupy a position between inflection and derivation. These suffixes are treated first.

Several caveats are in order:

- A certain degree of arbitrariness is involved in classifying a given suffix as denominal, deverbal, etc. Sometimes a suffix is used with more than one type of stem. In other cases, beside a regular pattern, there are more-or-less exceptional formations where the stem belongs to a different category.
- Classification of a given suffix as noun-deriving or adjective-deriving is not always a straightforward matter.
- A number of suffixes have more than one usage or meaning.

These details are made explicit in the description of each suffix. The classificatory labels used in this section represent only the unmarked or most common case for each suffix.

3.7.1. *Diminutives*

Basque has a fair number of diminutive suffixes, both native and borrowed (in addition, cf. the process of affective palatalization, section 2.1.4.3, which also gives rise to diminutives). The most productive and most widespread one is *-to* ~ *-tto* ~ *-txo* ~ *-txu*. In eastern dialects, the suffixes *-ska* ~ *-xka* and *-ño* are also fairly productive:

<i>liburu</i> 'book'	<i>liburutto</i> , <i>liburutxu</i> , <i>liburuxka</i> 'little book'
<i>mendi</i> 'mountain'	<i>menditto</i> , <i>menditxu</i> , <i>mendixka</i> 'little mountain'
<i>etxe</i> 'house'	<i>etxetxo</i> , <i>etxeño</i> 'little house'
<i>mutil</i> 'boy'	<i>mutiltxo</i> 'little boy'
<i>gizon</i> 'man'	<i>gizontxo</i> 'little man'

Besides nouns, these suffixes are also used to create diminutives of adjectives and, occasionally, other parts of speech:

<i>gorri</i> 'red'	<i>gorrixka</i> 'reddish', <i>gorritxo</i> 'small red one'
<i>zuri</i> 'white'	<i>zurixka</i> 'whitish'
<i>luze</i> 'long'	<i>luzexka</i> 'longish'
<i>labur</i> 'short'	<i>laburtxo</i> 'shortish'
<i>emeki</i> 'softly'	<i>emekino</i> 'very softly'
<i>asko</i> 'much'	<i>askotxo</i> 'quite a bit'
<i>bat</i> 'one'	<i>batto</i> , <i>batño</i> 'a little one'

The diminutive suffix *-txo* can also be added to headless relatives: *dakidana* 'what I know', *dakidantxoa* 'the little I know' (de Rijk 1972a).

The also diminutive, *-ko*, *-sko* does not have much productivity in today's language. It appears in some examples such as *mandoko* 'little mule', *idisko* 'little ox', *ilunsko* 'a little dark' and with an augmentative meaning in *morrosko* 'big boy' (*morroi* 'young man').

The Spanish diminutive suffix *-illa*, *-illo* has been borrowed, although it is used only with a few nouns (with *-t-*, *-k-* incorporated as epenthetical consonants):

<i>neska</i> 'girl'	<i>neskatila</i> 'little girl'
<i>leiho</i> 'window'	<i>leihatila</i> 'little window'
<i>andra</i> 'woman'	<i>andrakila</i> 'doll'
<i>asto</i> 'donkey'	<i>astokilo</i> 'little donkey'
<i>gizon</i> 'man'	<i>gizonilo</i> 'little man'

As the examples show, the choice between *-ilo* and *-ila* most of the time correlates with the sex of the referent or, in the case of inanimates, with the gender of the corresponding Romance word, but this is not in a completely consistent manner. Perhaps the final vowel of *neskatxa* 'little girl' (together with *neskato*, which shows the normal form of this suffix) is also due to Romance influence.

The form *-skila* used in a few words in eastern dialects, such as *jaunskila* 'little gentleman, despective' (*jaun* 'lord') appears to be a combination of *-xka* + *ila* (or < *-xk-il-a*, with infixation of *-il-* inside *-xka*)

The Spanish augmentative suffix *-ote* also appears in a few nouns and adjectives attached to native stems; e.g.: *lodikote* 'kind of fat' (*lodi* 'fat, thick'), *handikote* 'kind of big' (*handi* 'big', cf. Sp *grandote*).

With adjectives or adverbs meaning 'equal, the same' a suffix *-tsu* is used to express the notion of 'more or less, approximately'; e.g.: *berdintsu* 'similar, more or less the same' (*berdin* 'the same, equal'), *igualtsu* 'almost the same'. In eastern dialects this suffix is also used with interrogative pronouns; e.g.: *nortsu* 'more or less who' (*nor* 'who'), *nontsu* 'more or less where' (*non* 'where'), *zenbatsu* 'more or less how much/many' (*zenbat* 'how much/many'), *batsu* 'more or less one' (*bat* 'one').

The suffix *-xe/-txe*, adds an intensive meaning which can be close to that of diminutives. It is used with demonstratives, morphologically related manner and place adverbs and some time adverbs:

<i>hau</i> 'this'	<i>hauxe</i> 'this very one'
<i>hori</i> 'that'	<i>horixe</i> 'that very one'
<i>honela</i> 'in this manner'	<i>horelaxe</i> 'in this very manner'
<i>horrela</i> 'in that manner'	<i>horrelaxe</i> 'in that very manner'
<i>hala</i> 'in that manner'	<i>halaxe</i> 'in that very manner'
<i>hemen</i> 'here'	<i>hementxe</i> 'right here'
<i>hor</i> 'there'	<i>hortxe</i> 'right there'
<i>han</i> 'over there'	<i>hantxe</i> 'right over there'
<i>orduan</i> 'then'	<i>orduantxe</i> 'right then'
<i>orain</i> 'now'	<i>oraintxe</i> 'right now'
<i>berandu</i> 'late'	<i>beranduxe</i> 'kind of late'
<i>beranduago</i> 'later'	<i>beranduxeago</i> 'somewhat later'
<i>horregatik</i> 'for that reason'	<i>horrexegatik</i> ~ <i>horregatixe(k)</i> 'for that reason'

In eastern dialects, *-xe* is also used with adjectives as a diminutive suffix; e.g.: *handixe* 'a little too big', *lodixe* 'a little too fat'.

3.7.2. *Derived nouns*

Basque possesses a large number of noun-deriving suffixes. The most common ones are presented here grouped by the class of word to which normally or most frequently the suffix attaches. Within each of these groups, subgroups are established by broad semantic classes (e.g. collectives, occupation, etc.). These semantic labels in many cases only apply to one of several usages of a given suffix.

3.7.2.1. Denominal noun-deriving suffixes (N+suf =N)

Collectives

Several suffixes are used to convey the idea of collection or group. Almost all of them have additional, non-collective, meanings.

-eria. This is a traditional collective suffix borrowed from Romance. It is used both with animates and inanimates:

<i>makina</i> 'machine'	<i>makineria</i> 'machinery'
<i>tresna</i> 'tool'	<i>tresneria</i> 'set of tools'
<i>gazte</i> 'young'	<i>gazteria</i> 'youth, group of youngsters'
<i>ume</i> 'child'	<i>umeteria</i> 'group of children'
<i>langile</i> 'worker'	<i>langileria</i> 'staff, group of workers'

-tza. Derived words with this suffix may have one of two basic meanings: (a) its meaning may be 'pile of N' or 'place where N abounds'; (b) when derived from a noun referring to an occupation, the word indicates the name of the profession or position:

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. <i>diru</i> 'money' | <i>dirutza</i> 'pile of money' |
| <i>jende</i> 'people' | <i>jendetza</i> 'multitude' |
| <i>arto</i> 'corn' | <i>artotza</i> 'cornfield' |
| <i>sasi</i> 'bush' | <i>sasitza</i> 'bush field' |
-
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| b. <i>alkate</i> 'mayor' | <i>alkatetza</i> 'mayorship' |
| <i>soldadu</i> 'soldier' | <i>soldadutza</i> 'military service' |
| <i>abade</i> 'priest' | <i>abadetza</i> 'priesthood' (Bizkaian) |

-go. This suffix is synonymous with *-tza* in its second meaning. It also has a second meaning of group or collectivity applied to people:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. <i>alkate</i> 'mayor' | <i>alkatego</i> 'mayorship' |
| <i>doktore</i> 'doctor' | <i>doktorego</i> 'doctorate' |
| <i>artzain</i> 'shepherd' | <i>artzango</i> 'shepherdy' |
-
- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| b. <i>irakurle</i> 'reader' | <i>irakurlego</i> 'readership' |
| <i>proletari</i> 'proletarian' | <i>proletalgo</i> 'proletariat' |

-di (dialectal variants, *-doi*, *-dui*) 'grove; terrain characterized by a certain type of plant'. Traditionally this suffix is used to designate a grove or place where a certain type of vegetation abounds:

<i>pago</i> 'beech tree'	<i>pagadi</i> 'beech grove'
<i>pinu</i> 'pine tree'	<i>pinadi</i> , <i>pinudi</i> 'pine grove'
<i>sagar</i> 'apple'	<i>sagasti</i> 'apple grove'
<i>ezpel</i> 'box bush'	<i>ezpeldi</i> 'box bushes'
<i>belar</i> 'grass'	<i>belardi</i> 'prairie, grassland'

There are almost no traditional examples where this suffix is used outside of the botanical context (although, by extension, in a few rare dialectal examples this suffix is used to refer to non-botanically-defined types of terrain, e.g.: *harkadi* 'rocky terrain'). Nevertheless, this suffix has been employed to produce neologisms with an intended collective meaning such as *Euskadi* 'Basque Country', *Euskaltzaindi* 'Basque Academy' (from *euskaltzain* 'keeper of the Basque language'), *araudi* 'set of rules', etc. This usage (which is already found in some 18th century writers) seems to be due to a confusion with another collective suffix of different etymology (*-eria*) which has a wider use, including to refer to groups of people. To understand this confusion, it must be taken into account that the alternation *-d-* ~ *-r-* is common in many Basque varieties. Thus, for instance, original *gazteria* can be reinterpreted as *gaztedi-a*.

-kada. This is a productive, mostly denominal suffix, borrowed from Spanish (with false analysis of the consonant, as in the case of several other derivational suffixes). It gives rise to nouns meaning (a) 'blow with N' or (b) 'heap of N':

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| a. <i>esku</i> 'hand' | <i>eskukada</i> 'blow with the hand'; 'handful' |
| <i>harri</i> 'stone' | <i>harrikada</i> 'blow with a stone' |
| <i>ukabil</i> 'fist' | <i>ukabilkada</i> 'punch with the fist' |
| b. <i>aho</i> 'mouth' | <i>ahokada</i> 'mouthful' |
| <i>aurrera</i> 'onwards' | <i>aurrerakada</i> 'step forward, progress' |
| <i>karro</i> 'cart' | <i>karrokada</i> 'cartful' |

In eastern dialects the form *-tara* is used instead; e.g.: *eskutara*.

-te 'period of N', 'abundance of N'. This suffix is not productive in the everyday language, but may be used to create neologisms in poetic or technical writing:

<i>huri</i> 'rain'	<i>hurite</i> 'period of rains'
<i>elur</i> 'snow'	<i>elurte</i> 'great snow falls'
<i>gose</i> 'hunger'	<i>goseste</i> 'famine'
<i>lehor</i> 'dry'	<i>lehortte</i> 'drought'

Occupation

-(l)ari, -kari, -tari. This is a mostly denominal suffix whose meaning is 'someone who has a relation with N as a profession or occupation, *-ist*'. In all likelihood this suffix is from Latin *-arius*. The form *-kari* is mostly eastern:

<i>pelota</i> 'ball'	<i>pelotari</i> 'ball player'
<i>bertso</i> 'poem'	<i>bertsolari</i> 'verse singer'
<i>txistu</i> 'flute'	<i>txistulari</i> 'flutist'
<i>haizkora</i> 'ax'	<i>haizkolari</i> 'lumber jack'
<i>kobla</i> 'song'	<i>koblakari</i> 'bard' (eastern)
<i>mendi</i> 'mountain'	<i>mendikari</i> 'climber'

In neologisms indicating profession the form *-lari* is generally used, although when the base form ends in *-ka*, often only *-ri* is added (since the resulting sequence is identical to the allomorph *-kari*):

<i>hizkuntza</i> 'language'	<i>hizkuntzalari</i> 'linguist'
<i>fonologia</i> 'phonology'	<i>fonologilari</i> 'phonologist'
<i>kimika</i> 'Chemistry'	<i>kimikari</i> 'chemist'
<i>fisika</i> 'Physics'	<i>fisikari</i> 'physicist'

On the other hand, *-kari* is used in some other neologisms, which admit an interpretation as containing the adverbial suffix *-ka*, including the names of distinctive features in phonology and types of periodicals:

<i>albo</i> 'side'	<i>albokari</i> 'lateral'
<i>sudur</i> 'nose'	<i>sudurkari</i> 'nasal'
<i>egun</i> 'day'	<i>egunkari</i> 'newspaper'
<i>aldiz</i> 'time, INSTR'	<i>aldizkari</i> 'magazine'
<i>lehen</i> 'first'	<i>lehendakari</i> 'president'

In some words that appear to be deverbal, *-tari* is used instead:

<i>manda(tu)</i> 'send'	<i>mandatari</i> 'messenger'
<i>agin(du)</i> 'order'	<i>agintari</i> 'authority'

The suffix *-(k)ari* also has a different use as a deverbal with a 'matter' meaning:

<i>jan</i> 'eat'	<i>janari</i> 'food'
<i>edan</i> 'drink'	<i>edari</i> 'drinkable substance'
<i>gerta(tu)</i> 'happen'	<i>gertakari</i> 'event'

A suffix *-ari* also appears in the names of meals: *gosari* 'breakfast' (*gose* 'hunger'), *bazkari* 'dinner' (< older *barazkari*, perhaps from *baratze* 'vegetable garden'), but according to Michelena (1961:453), more likely from the borrowed verb *bara(tu)* 'stop' in its nominal form *baratze*), *afari* 'supper' (< **gauhari* = *gau* 'night' + *-ari*).

-gin, *-gile* 'maker'. These suffixes are added to nouns creating derived words with the meaning 'someone whose job is to make N'. Their historical origin in compounds with *egin* 'make', *egile* 'maker' is evident:

<i>zapata</i> 'shoe'	<i>zapatagin</i> 'shoe maker'
<i>harri</i> , <i>har-</i> 'stone'	<i>hargin</i> 'quarryman'
<i>gazta</i> 'cheese'	<i>gaztagin</i> 'cheese maker'
<i>bizar</i> 'beard'	<i>bizargin</i> 'barber'
<i>ogi</i> , <i>ot-</i> 'bread'	<i>okin</i> 'baker' (< * <i>ot-</i> 'bread' < <i>ogi</i> + <i>-gin</i>)
<i>haragi</i> , <i>harat-</i> 'meat'	<i>harakin</i> 'butcher' (< * <i>harat-</i> + <i>-gin</i>)
<i>lan</i> 'work'	<i>langile</i> 'worker'
<i>etxe</i> , <i>etxa-</i> 'house'	<i>etxagile</i> 'construction worker'

-zai(n) 'keeper'. Words with *-zai(n)* should perhaps be classified as compounds, since *zain* 'guard, keeper' is an independent noun. Related forms are *zai(n) egon* 'wait for' and *zain(du)* 'keep, to watch':

<i>ardi</i> , <i>art-</i> 'sheep'	<i>artzai(n)</i> 'shepherd'
<i>mando</i> , <i>manda-</i> 'mule'	<i>mandazai(n)</i> 'mule driver'
<i>ate</i> 'door'	<i>atezai(n)</i> 'doorman; goal-keeper'

Production

-gintza 'manufacture of N'. Historically, this suffix clearly represents the fusion of the suffixes *-gin* 'maker' (< *egin* 'make') and *-tza* with the meaning of 'profession', seen above. Together with a handful of traditional words, this suffix appears in a sizable number of recent neologisms:

<i>zur</i> 'wood'	<i>zurgintza</i> 'carpentry; carpenter's shop'
<i>liburu</i> 'book'	<i>liburugintza</i> 'book production'
<i>euskara, euskal-</i> 'Basque'	<i>euskalgintza</i> 'Basque studies'
<i>aberri</i> 'nation' (Neol.)	<i>aberrigintza</i> 'nation building'

Possessor

-dun 'having, possessing'. This suffix has its origin in a relative construction (*dun* < *du-en* 'has-REL' or, as mentioned above, perhaps in the participle **edun* 'have') and still can be productively attached to noun phrases functioning as complement of another noun. Such complements appear either in prenominal or postnominal position:

<i>praka</i>	<i>gorridun</i>	<i>gizona = gizon praka gorriduna</i>
pants	red.having	man.DET
'the man with red pants'		

(cf. the relative clause *praka gorriak dituen gizona* 'the man who has red pants')

<i>begi</i>	<i>urdindun</i>	<i>haurra = haur begi urdinduna</i>
eye	blue.having	child.DET
'the blue-eyed child'		

<i>hiru</i>	<i>hankadun</i>	<i>mahaia = mahai hiru hankaduna</i>
three	leg.having	table.DET
'the three-legged table'		

When they are attached to a single noun stem and used as complements of other nouns, *-dun* formations most frequently follow the head noun, like regular adjectives, but, in some dialects, they can also precede the noun: *gizon bizarduna* ~ *bizardun gizona* 'the bearded man', *emakume euskalduna* ~ *euskaldun emakumea* 'the Basque woman'. There is thus a grammaticalization shift in progress from relative clause to adjective with effects on the position of complements with *-dun*.

Many forms in *-dun* are fully lexicalized as nouns or adjectives. The following examples show different degrees of unpredictability of meaning (roughly organized from more to less predictable—or, inversely, from less to more lexicalized):

<i>bizar</i> 'beard'	<i>bizardun</i> 'bearded'
<i>ume</i> 'child'	<i>umedun</i> 'someone who has children'
<i>diru</i> 'money'	<i>dirudun</i> 'wealthy'
<i>ugatz</i> 'breast'	<i>ugaztun</i> 'mammal' (neologism)
<i>ardura</i> 'worry'	<i>arduradun</i> 'person in charge'
<i>esne</i> 'milk'	<i>esnedun</i> 'milkman'
<i>ikatz</i> 'coal'	<i>ikaztun</i> 'coal seller'
<i>jakin</i> 'know'	<i>jakitun</i> 'expert, learned person'
<i>euskara</i> 'Basque lg.'	<i>euskaldun</i> 'Basque speaker'
<i>erdara</i> 'foreign lg.'	<i>erdaldun</i> 'speaker of a foreign lg.'
<i>zaldi</i> 'horse'	<i>zaldun</i> 'nobleman'

Piece, part

-ki. This suffix whose general meaning would be 'piece, part, individual, member of a set', has a number of specialized meanings: (a) a first meaning is 'meat' or 'piece of meat' attached mostly to names of animals; (b) in a few words it has the meaning of 'individual' or 'member of a class or set'; (c) attached to numbers, it creates nouns whose meaning is related to the number in some manner; (d) in a few examples it attaches to verb radicals, forming nouns. There is also an adverbial suffix *-ki*, which will be discussed below.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| a. <i>txerri</i> 'pig' | <i>txerriki</i> 'pork' |
| <i>bildots</i> 'lamb' | <i>bildoski</i> 'lamb meat' |
| <i>idi</i> 'ox' | <i>idiki</i> 'ox meat' |
| <i>odol</i> 'blood' | <i>odolki</i> 'blood sausage' |
| <i>erre</i> 'burn, roast' | <i>erreki</i> 'piece of roast meat' |
| b. <i>gizon, giza</i> - 'man' | <i>gizaki</i> 'man, human being' |
| <i>emazte</i> 'woman' | <i>emazteki</i> 'woman' |
| <i>handi</i> 'big' | <i>handiki</i> 'rich and important person' |
| c. <i>bi</i> 'two' | <i>biki</i> 'twin' |
| <i>hiru</i> 'three' | <i>hiruki</i> 'triplet; third; triangle' |
| <i>lau</i> 'four' | <i>lauki</i> 'square' |
| <i>zazpi</i> 'seven' | <i>zazpiki</i> 'premature baby' (cf. Sp <i>sietemesino</i>) |

d. <i>estal(i)</i> 'cover'	<i>estalki</i> 'cover'
<i>izan</i> 'be'	<i>izaki</i> 'being'
<i>isur(i)</i> 'flow'	<i>isurki</i> 'liquid, flow'
<i>egon</i> 'be, stay'	<i>egoki</i> 'frequent visitor; appropriate'

Ethnonyms

-tar, -ar, -dar 'inhabitant', 'coming from'; 'member of, follower of'. Words with this suffix attached to a place name refer to the people (or things) from that place. The default form of the suffix is *-tar*. The allomorph *-ar* is only used with names ending in a vowel, (a); but not all names ending in a vowel take *-ar*; some take *-tar* instead, (b). The allomorph *-dar* attaches to names ending in *-n* or *-l*, (c). If the name ends in another consonant, *-tar* is used, (d). The form *-tar* is also used with common nouns (e):

a. <i>Oñati</i>	<i>oñatiar</i> 'Oñatian'
<i>Gipuzkoa</i>	<i>gipuzkoar</i> 'Gipuzkoan'
<i>Araba</i>	<i>arabar</i> 'Araban'
<i>Espainia</i>	<i>espainiar</i> 'Spanish'
<i>Gernika</i>	<i>gernikar</i> 'Gernikan'
<i>Donostia</i>	<i>donostiar</i> 'Donostian'
<i>Ainhoa</i>	<i>ainhoar</i> 'Ainhoan'
b. <i>Sara</i>	<i>saratar</i> 'Saran'
<i>Erroma</i> 'Rome'	<i>erromatar</i> 'Roman'
<i>Zubero-a</i>	<i>zuberotar</i> 'Zuberoan'
c. <i>Baztan</i>	<i>baztandar</i> 'Baztanese'
<i>Irun</i>	<i>irundar</i> 'Irunese'
<i>Brasil</i>	<i>brasildar</i> 'Brazilian'
d. <i>Paris</i>	<i>paristar</i> 'Parisian'
e. <i>kanpo</i> 'outside'	<i>kanpotar</i> 'outsider'
<i>zeru</i> 'heaven'	<i>zerutar</i> 'heavenly'
<i>baserri</i> 'farm'	<i>baserritar</i> 'farmer'
<i>kale</i> 'street'	<i>kaletar</i> 'town dweller'

This suffix can be productively attached to proper names to obtain nouns or adjectives with the meaning 'member of, follower of' *Agirretar* 'member of the Agirre family; follower of Agirre', *Gamboar* 'member of the Gamboa clan', *Oinaztar* 'member of the Oinaz clan', *newtondar* 'Newtonian', *kartesiar* 'Cartesian'.

Words bearing this suffix may be adjectives or nouns. Whereas, for instance, *newtondar* 'Newtonian, follower of Newton' or *zerutar* 'heavenly'

are mostly used as adjectives, *baserritar* 'farmer', for example, is basically a noun. Forms derived from town or country names are equally likely as nouns and as adjectives.

A few ethnonyms bear the Romance suffix *-es*: *frantses* 'French', *ingeles* 'English', *baiones* 'from Baiona (Bayonne)', *biarnes* 'Béarnais'.

3.7.2.2. Deadjectival noun-deriving suffixes (ADJ+suf = N)

-(t)*asun* '-ness, quality' (eastern dialectal variant $-[t]arzun$). It may also indicate an action or its result. This suffix can attach to either nouns or adjectives, occasionally also to verbs. It is fully productive as *-tasun*.

<i>oso</i> 'whole, healthy'	<i>osasun</i> 'health'
<i>maite</i> 'beloved'	<i>maitasun</i> 'love'
<i>garbi</i> 'clean'	<i>garbitasun</i> 'cleanliness'
<i>ilun</i> 'dark'	<i>iluntasun</i> 'darkness'
<i>argi</i> 'light'	<i>argitasun</i> 'clarity; clarification'
<i>gizon</i> 'man'	<i>gizontasun</i> 'manliness'
<i>bero</i> 'hot, heat'	<i>berotasun</i> 'warmth'
<i>hotz</i> 'cold'	<i>hoztasun</i> 'coldness'
<i>aberats</i> 'wealthy'	<i>aberastasun</i> 'wealth'
<i>euskal</i> 'Basque, ADJ.'	<i>euskaltasun</i> 'Basqueness'
<i>apaiz</i> 'priest'	<i>apaiztasun</i> 'priesthood'
<i>jakin</i> 'know'	<i>jakintasun</i> 'knowledge'

-*keria* 'negative quality', from Romance *-ería*. It is similar to -(t)*asun* above, but it always (or almost always) indicates a negative quality or a quality possessed to an excessive degree. It can be productively employed:

<i>ero</i> 'fool'	<i>erokeria</i> 'foolishness'
<i>zikin</i> 'dirty'	<i>zikinkeria</i> 'dirtiness'
<i>garbi</i> 'clean'	<i>garbikeria</i> 'purism'
<i>sorgin</i> 'witch'	<i>sorginkeria</i> 'witchcraft'
<i>alu</i> 'vulva; stupid'	<i>alukeria</i> 'stupidity'

These words may also express an action or the result of an action. Thus, *astokeria* from *asto* 'donkey' is most frequently used to indicate 'assinine behavior' (cf. Sp *burrada*), e.g. *astokeria esan* 'speak in an assinine manner'.

3.7.2.3. Deverbal noun-deriving suffixes (V+suf = N)

Agent

-le and *-tzaile* (*-taile* after a sibilant) ‘agent’. These suffixes are added to verbal roots, creating agent nouns. The two suffixes *-le* and *-tzaile/-taile* are in almost perfect complementary distribution. Generally, *-le* is used with verbs whose perfective participle takes the suffix *-i* and with those without a suffix in the perfect participle whose radical ends in *-n*, (a). All other verbs, including those which take the suffix *-tu* in the perfect participle, take *-tzaile*, which has the allomorph *-taile* after a sibilant fricative or affricate, (b):

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| a. <i>ekarr(i)</i> ‘bring’ | <i>ekarle</i> ‘carrier’ |
| <i>haz(i)</i> ‘grow’ | <i>hazle</i> ‘grower’ |
| <i>irakurr(i)</i> ‘read’ | <i>irakurle</i> ‘reader’ |
| <i>eros(i)</i> ‘buy’ | <i>erosle</i> ‘buyer’ |
| <i>eman</i> ‘give’ | <i>emale, emaile</i> ‘giver’ (< * <i>emani-le</i> , cf. Trask 1990) |
| <i>egin</i> ‘do’ | <i>egile</i> ‘author, maker’ |
| b. <i>antola(tu)</i> ‘organize’ | <i>antolatzaile</i> ‘organizer’ |
| <i>lagun(du)</i> ‘help’ | <i>laguntzaile</i> ‘helper, collaborator’ |
| <i>nahas(i)</i> ‘embroid’ | <i>nahastaile</i> ‘embroider’ |
| <i>krea(tu)</i> ‘create’ | <i>kreatzaile</i> ‘creator’ |
| <i>salba(tu)</i> ‘save’ | <i>salbatzaile</i> ‘save’ |
| <i>garbi(tu)</i> ‘clean’ | <i>garbitzaile</i> ‘cleaner’ |
| <i>har(tu)</i> ‘take’ | <i>hartzaile</i> ‘taker’ |
| <i>sal(du)</i> ‘sell’ | <i>saltzaile</i> ‘seller’ |
| <i>hil</i> ‘die; kill’ | <i>hiltzaile</i> ‘killer’ |
| <i>erre</i> ‘burn; smoke’ | <i>erretzaile</i> ‘smoker’ |
| <i>jo</i> ‘hit’ | <i>jotzaile</i> ‘hitter’ |

Instrument

-gailu, *-ailu*, *-kailu* ‘instrument’. This suffix (most likely of Romance origin), attested in a number of traditional terms, mostly deverbal, has been recruited into the technical language for the creation of neologisms referring to instruments and machinery:

<i>senda(tu)</i> 'heal'	<i>sendagailu</i> 'remedy'
<i>zerra(tu)</i> 'close'	<i>zerrailu</i> 'lock'
<i>apain(du)</i> 'fix'	<i>apaingailu</i> 'fixing, decoration'
<i>eder(tu)</i> 'beautify'	<i>edergailu</i> 'decoration'
<i>bero(tu)</i> 'heat'	<i>berogailu</i> 'heater'
<i>hoz(tu)</i> 'make cold'	<i>hozkailu</i> 'refrigerator'
<i>fotokopia(tu)</i> 'photocopy'	<i>fotokopiagailu</i> 'photocopy machine'

It should be noted that many of the sources given are denominal/adjectival verbs (e.g.: *eder* 'beautiful' → *eder[tu]* 'beautify')

Manner

-era, *-kera*. (Deverbal, deadjectival and denominal). This suffix has several usages: (a) 'manner, way of' in nouns derived from verbs; (b) dimension in nouns from adjectives; and (c) it is also used to form the name of languages and dialects:

a. <i>ibil(i)</i> 'walk'	<i>ibil(k)era</i> 'way of walking'
<i>jarr(i)</i> 'put'	<i>jarrera</i> 'position, attitude'
<i>has(i)</i> 'begin'	<i>hasiera</i> 'beginning'
b. <i>zabal</i> 'wide'	<i>zabalera</i> 'extension'
<i>lodi</i> 'fat'	<i>lodiera</i> 'fatness'
<i>luze</i> 'long'	<i>luzera</i> 'length'
c. <i>Italia</i> 'Italy'	<i>italiera</i> 'Italian language'
<i>Arabia</i>	<i>arabiera</i> 'Arabian language'
<i>Bizkaia</i>	<i>bizkaiera</i> 'Bizkaian dialect'

Action or result

A larger number of suffixes are used to create nouns indicating the action or result of a verb: *-keta*, *-dura*, *-zio*, *-men*, *-pen*, *-mendu*, *-kuntza*, *-kunde*. The suffix *-era*, seen above, is also used in some cases. Some are of Latin/Romance origin (*-keta*, *-dura*, *-zio*). Whereas some of them indicate mostly actions (*-pen*, *-keta*, *-mendu*) and others mostly effects or results (*-dura*), these characterizations are not strict. Sometimes meaningful distinctions between several nouns derived from a single verb are observed, but in many cases there is more than one alternative. For instance, from *heda(tu)* 'spread' we have *hedadura* 'extension, space that is covered', *hedaketa* 'act of spreading', *hedakuntza* 'difusion, propagation', *hedakunde* 'act or effect

of spreading'. In recent neologisms, in particular, there is often great fluctuation for a single meaning. Thus, 'negotiation', for instance, may be rendered as *negoziazio* or *negoziaketa*, whereas 'federation' can be *federazio*, *federakunde* or *federakuntza*.

<i>garbi(tu)</i> 'clean'	<i>garbiketa</i> 'cleaning'
<i>alda(tu)</i> 'change'	<i>aldaketa, aldakuntza</i> 'change'
<i>eros(i)</i> 'buy'	<i>erosketa</i> 'purchase, shopping'
<i>sal(du)</i> 'sale'	<i>salketa, salmenta</i> 'sale'
<i>luza(tu)</i> 'lengthen'	<i>luzapen, luzadura, luzamendu</i> 'lengthening'
<i>barka(tu)</i> 'forgive'	<i>barkapen, barkamen, barkazio</i> 'pardon'
<i>oroi(tu)</i> 'remember'	<i>oroipen, oroimen</i> 'remembrance'
<i>ebaki</i> 'cut'	<i>ebakidura</i> 'cut', <i>ebakuntza</i> 'action of cutting'
<i>erre</i> 'burn'	<i>erredura</i> 'burn', <i>errekuntza</i> 'burning'
<i>lot(u)</i> 'tie'	<i>lotura</i> 'tie'
<i>kutsa(tu)</i> 'pollute'	<i>kutsadura</i> 'pollution'
<i>hitz</i> 'word'	<i>hizkuntza</i> 'language'
<i>sor(tu)</i> 'create'	<i>sorkuntza, sorketa</i> 'creativity, creation'
<i>irakats(i)</i> 'teach'	<i>irakaskuntza</i> 'teaching'
<i>sala(tu)</i> 'denounce'	<i>salakuntza, salaketa</i> 'denunciation'
<i>esan</i> 'say'	<i>esakuntza, esakunde, esaera</i> 'saying'
<i>bil(du)</i> 'gather'	<i>bilkuntza, bilera</i> 'reunion'
<i>gerta(tu)</i> 'happen'	<i>gertakuntza, gertaera</i> 'event'
<i>kontsola(tu)</i> 'console'	<i>kontsolamendu, kontsolazio</i> 'consolation'
<i>senti(tu)</i> 'feel'	<i>sentimendu, sentipen</i> 'feeling'
<i>adi(tu)</i> 'listen'	<i>adimendu, adimen, adikuntza</i> 'comprehension'

-kizun 'possible or future event'. This is also a deverbal suffix, with a more specialized meaning than those above, since it usually conveys a sense of possibility in the future:

<i>ikus(i)</i> 'see'	<i>ikuskizun</i> 'what may be seen in the future; spectacle'
<i>etorr(i)</i> 'come'	<i>etorkizun</i> 'future, what may come'
<i>gerta(tu)</i> 'happen'	<i>gertakizun</i> 'future event'
<i>barka(tu)</i> 'forgive'	<i>barkakizun</i> 'forgiveness; what may be forgiven'

The word *elizkizun* 'religious service' irregularly derives from the noun *eliza* 'church'.

Matter

-gai. There is a free form *gai* with two basic meanings: 'matter' and 'capable, able'. The words in which *gai* occurs as a second member are, thus, perhaps best analyzed as compounds. We include this element here because of its productivity and the relatively opaque semantics of some of the formations. Attached to verbs, *-gai* indicates 'matter that can or should be V-ed', (a). After a noun, its meaning is 'future or potential N', (b):

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| a. <i>ikas(i)</i> 'learn' | <i>ikasgai</i> 'lesson' |
| <i>sal(du)</i> 'sell' | <i>salgai</i> 'on sale' |
| <i>mintza(tu)</i> 'speak' | <i>mintzagai</i> 'conversation topic' |
| <i>eztabaida(tu)</i> 'discuss' | <i>eztabaidagai</i> 'discussion topic' |
| <i>elika(tu)</i> 'feed' | <i>elikagai</i> 'food' |
| <i>jan</i> 'eat' | <i>jangai</i> 'edible matter' |
| b. <i>senar</i> 'husband' | <i>senargai</i> 'fiancé' |
| <i>emazte</i> 'wife' | <i>emaztegai</i> 'fiancée' |
| <i>apez</i> 'priest' | <i>apezgai</i> 'seminary student' |

In the second group we find a number of modern neologisms with the meaning of 'candidate'; e.g.: *lehendakarigai* 'candidate to the presidency', *erregegai* 'candidate to the crown' (*errege* 'king').

3.7.3. *Derived adjectives*

-ti. This suffix forms adjectives from nouns, generally with a negative connotation. It has some productivity.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>lotsa</i> 'shame' | <i>lotsati</i> 'shameful' |
| <i>bildur</i> 'fear' | <i>bildurti</i> 'fearful' |
| <i>gezur</i> 'lie' | <i>gezurti</i> 'liar' |
| <i>ezker</i> 'left hand' | <i>ezkertti</i> 'left handed' |
| <i>negar</i> 'tear' | <i>negarti</i> 'cry baby' |
| <i>lo</i> 'sleep' | <i>loti</i> 'sleepy' |
| <i>kaka</i> 'excrement' | <i>kakati</i> 'pooper' |

-tsu. This suffix attaches to nouns to create adjectives with a general meaning of 'having, abundant in':

<i>harri</i> 'stone'	<i>harritsu</i> 'stoney'
<i>indar</i> 'strength'	<i>indartsu</i> 'strong'
<i>koipe</i> 'grease'	<i>koipetsu</i> 'greasy'
<i>mendi</i> 'mountain'	<i>menditsu</i> 'mountainous'

-garri 'worthy of'. This suffix generally appears in adjectives derived from verbs. For the most part it only attaches to two-argument verbs, either transitive or with an argument in the instrumental case (Artiagoitia 1995b). In this context it is a productive suffix.

<i>ikus(i)</i> 'see'	<i>ikusgarri</i> 'worth-seeing'
<i>lotsa(tu)</i> 'shame'	<i>lotsagarri</i> 'shameful'
<i>fida(tu)</i> 'trust'	<i>fidagarri</i> 'trustable'
<i>erruki(tu)</i> 'pity'	<i>erruk(ig)arri</i> 'pitiful, worthy of compassion'
<i>izu(tu)</i> 'frighten'	<i>izugarri</i> 'frightful', 'enormous'
<i>ikara(tu)</i> 'frighten'	<i>ikaragarri</i> 'frightful'
<i>aipa(tu)</i> 'mention'	<i>aipagarri</i> 'mentionable'

More rarely it gives rise to nouns. In this usage it is not productive; e.g.: *gehigarri* 'addition, added part' (from *gehi[tu]* 'add'), *freskagarri* 'refreshment (N); refreshing (ADJ)' (from *freska[tu]* 'make or become cold'), *lasai-garri* 'tranquilizer (N); tranquilizing (ADJ)' (from *lasai* 'tranquil', *lasai[tu]* 'make or become tranquil').

-zale 'fond of'. This is a fully productive denominal suffix. As indicated above, words with *-zale* can also be considered compounds.

<i>mendi</i> 'mountain'	<i>mendizale</i> 'fond of mountains, mountaineer'
<i>ardo</i> 'wine'	<i>ardozale</i> 'fond of wine'
<i>neska</i> 'girl'	<i>neskazale</i> 'womanizer'
<i>euskal</i> 'Basque'	<i>euskaltzale</i> 'fond of things Basque'

-koi 'fond of'. Denominal:

<i>herri</i> 'country'	<i>herrikoi</i> 'patriotic, country-loving'
<i>bere</i> 'self'	<i>berekoi</i> 'egotistic, self-promoting'
<i>eliza</i> 'church'	<i>elizkoi</i> 'fond of going to church'
<i>geure</i> 'our'	<i>geurekoi</i> 'too concerned with ourselves'
<i>tripa</i> 'stomach'	<i>tripakoi</i> 'big eater'

In eastern dialects, *k(h)oi* is used as an independent word; e.g.: *ez da khoi* 's/he is not fond of it'.

-kor 'capable of'. This is a deverbal suffix, fully productive:

<i>hauts(i)</i> 'break'	<i>hauskor</i> 'fragile, breakable'
<i>alda(tu)</i> 'change'	<i>aldakor</i> 'changing, changeable'
<i>iragan</i> 'pass'	<i>iragankor</i> 'passing; transitive'
<i>senti(tu)</i> 'feel'	<i>sentikor</i> 'sensitive'

In the adjective *hilezkor* 'immortal' the suffix *-kor* appears after *ez* 'no' exceptionally used as a suffix, cf. *hilkor* 'mortal' (*hil* 'die'). This word seems to be a coinage of the 18th century Basque lexicographer M. Larra-mendi.

-bera 'easy to, inclined towards'. This suffix appears to have its origin in the adjective *bera* 'soft', present in compounds such as *gaztanbera* 'cottage cheese' (*gazta* 'cheese') and *bihozbera* 'compassionate', lit. 'with a soft heart'. As a suffix it is mostly deverbal:

<i>senti(tu)</i> 'feel'	<i>sentibera</i> 'sensitive'
<i>egos(i)</i> 'cook'	<i>egosbera</i> 'easy to cook'
<i>sinis(tu)</i> 'believe'	<i>sinisbera</i> 'credulous'
<i>min(du)</i> 'hurt'	<i>minbera</i> 'easy to get hurt'
<i>maita(tu)</i> 'love'	<i>maitabera</i> 'having a propensity to fall in love'

-gale 'wanting to; desire', deverbal.

<i>lo (egin)</i> 'sleep'	<i>logale</i> 'desire to sleep'; 'sleepy'
<i>negar (egin)</i> 'cry'	<i>negargale</i> 'desire to cry'; 'feeling like crying'
<i>hatz (egin)</i> 'scratch'	<i>hazgale</i> 'desire to scratch'; 'feeling like scratching'

The resulting words can be adjectives or nouns and are normally used with the verb *izan* 'be'; e.g. *logale naiz* 'I am sleepy, I feel like sleeping'. In Bizkaian *-gura* (< Lat. *gula*) is used with the same meaning and function and with greater productivity; e.g.: *logura*, *negargura*, *hazgura*, *ibilgura* 'feeling like walking', etc.

3.7.4. Derived verbs

Verbs can be derived from nouns and adjectives rather freely. Derived verbs always belong to the class with a past participle in *-tu* (*-du* after a nasal or lateral). The past participle is given in the examples:

<i>berde</i> 'green'	<i>berdetu, berdatu</i> 'become green'
<i>gorri</i> 'red'	<i>gorritu</i> 'redden'
<i>beltz</i> 'black'	<i>belztu</i> 'blacken'
<i>aberats</i> 'wealthy'	<i>aberastu</i> 'become wealthy'
<i>apal</i> 'humble, low'	<i>apaldu</i> 'lower, humble'
<i>handi</i> 'big'	<i>handitu</i> 'make or become big'
<i>zabal</i> 'wide'	<i>zabaldu</i> 'spread, widen, open'
<i>azal</i> 'skin'	<i>azaldu</i> 'appear, expose, explain'
<i>berdin</i> 'same'	<i>berdindu</i> 'make even'

The allative singular form of nouns is a productive source of verbs with the meaning 'go/bring to N'. Some of these verbs have acquired a lexicalized meaning, but the morphological procedure is fully productive:

<i>esku-ra</i> 'to the hand'	<i>eskuratu</i> 'get, to grasp'
<i>etxe-ra</i> 'to the house'	<i>etxeratu</i> 'come/bring home'
<i>zeru-ra</i> 'to heaven'	<i>zeruratu</i> 'go to heaven'
<i>ate-ra</i> 'to the door'	<i>atera(-tu)</i> 'come/take out'
<i>bide-ra</i> 'to the road'	<i>bideratu</i> 'direct, to channel'
<i>lurr-era</i> 'to the ground'	<i>lurreratu</i> 'fall/bring to the ground'
<i>Euskal Herri-ra</i> 'to the Basque Country'	
<i>Euskal Herriratu</i> 'come/bring to the Bq. Country'	

3.7.5. Derived adverbs

-ki '-ly'. This is a productive deadjectival suffix. In principle it can be attached to any adjective

<i>triste</i> 'sad'	<i>tristeki</i> 'sadly'	<i>alai</i> 'happy'	<i>alaiki</i> 'happily'
<i>bero</i> 'hot'	<i>beroki</i> 'warmly'	<i>oso</i> 'whole'	<i>osoki</i> 'entirely'
<i>zuzen</i> 'straight'	<i>zuzenki</i> 'correctly'		
<i>bortitz</i> 'strong'	<i>bortizki</i> 'strongly, violently'		

Some adverbs with the suffix *-ki* have acquired a nonliteral meaning; e.g. *bizi* 'alive', *biziki* 'intensely'; *eme* 'female', *emeki* 'softly'; *polit* 'pretty', *poliki* 'slowly'; *eder* 'beautiful', *ederki* 'very well'. Exceptionally, in *gizonki* 'like a man, with dignity', we find the suffix *-ki* attached to a noun.

Although this suffix is not employed in local varieties of the western or Bizkaian area, it is widely used in the standard language.

-to 'ly'. This is a nonproductive suffix used only in a few adverbs including *ederto* 'very well' (western), *ondo* 'well' (western and central), *hobeto* 'better' (western and central), *polito* 'slowly' (western) cf. *ederki*, *ongi*, *hobeki*, *poliki* in other dialects.

-ka. This suffix has several productive uses. First of all, it is used in adverbs indicating repetition or distribution, as in the following examples:

<i>talde</i> 'group'	<i>taldeka</i> 'in groups'
<i>bana</i> 'one for each'	<i>banaka</i> 'individually, one by one'
<i>bina</i> 'two for each'	<i>binaka</i> 'in groups of two, two by two'
<i>epe</i> 'period'	<i>epeka</i> 'periodically'
<i>hilabete</i> 'month'	<i>hilabeteka</i> 'monthly'
<i>urte</i> 'year'	<i>urteka</i> 'yearly'

It also gives rise to adverbs with an instrumental or manner meaning when attached to nouns:

<i>pelota</i> 'ball'	<i>pelotaka</i> 'playing ball'
<i>harri</i> 'stone'	<i>harrika</i> 'throwing stones'
<i>esku</i> 'hand'	<i>eskuka</i> 'with the hand (e.g. playing ball)'
<i>salto</i> 'jump'	<i>saltoka</i> 'jumping'
<i>musu</i> 'kiss'	<i>musuka</i> 'kissing'

In addition, it also creates manner adverbs when attached to verb radicals:

<i>korri(tu)</i> 'run'	<i>korrika</i> 'running'
<i>bultza(tu)</i> 'push'	<i>bultzaka</i> 'pushing'
<i>jo</i> 'hit'	<i>joka</i> 'hitting' (<i>ate-joka</i> 'knocking at the door')
<i>esan</i> 'say'	<i>esaka</i> 'saying' (<i>gaizki esaka</i> 'speaking badly, bad-mouthing')

This suffix can adverbialize complex expressions consisting of more than one word, as in examples such as *norgehiagoka* ‘competing in a game’ (from *nor gehiago* ‘who more’), *huts-ala-beteka* ‘(playing at) full or empty’, *badagoka* ‘(asking whether) there is someone’ (from *badago* ‘is there?’).

<i>aste</i> ‘week’	<i>astero</i> ‘every week’
<i>egun</i> ‘day’	<i>egunero</i> ‘every day’
<i>urte</i> ‘year’	<i>urtero</i> ‘every year’

As a nonproductive adverbializer, the suffix *-ro* is also found in a handful of examples after an adjective:

<i>berri</i> ‘new’	<i>berriro</i> ‘again’; ‘instead’
<i>geldi</i> ‘slow’	<i>geldiro</i> ‘slowly’
<i>luze</i> ‘long’	<i>luzaro</i> ‘at length, for a long time’

The adverbial suffixes *-ki* and *-ro* appear in combination in some fossilized forms such as *maitakiro* or *maitaroki* ‘lovingly’ (cf. *maita[tu]* ‘love’), *handikiro* or *handiroki* ‘grandiously’ (cf. *handi* ‘big’)

3.7.6. Prefixation

Basque has very few prefixes in its derivational morphology.

The prefix *des-*, of Romance origin, is used to express ‘negation’, ‘undoing’, etc, like in the neighboring Romance languages:

<i>egin</i> ‘do, make’	<i>desegin</i> ‘undo’
<i>lotu</i> ‘tie’	<i>deslotu</i> ‘untie’
<i>berdin</i> ‘same, equal’	<i>desberdin</i> ‘unequal, different’
<i>egoki</i> ‘appropriate’	<i>desegoki</i> ‘inappropriate’
<i>adostasun</i> ‘agreement’	<i>desadostasun</i> ‘lack of agreement’

The negative particle *ez* ‘no’ is also used as a prefix with negative meaning:

<i>jakin</i> 'know'	<i>ezjakin</i> 'ignorant'
<i>berdin</i> 'same, equal'	<i>ezberdin</i> 'unequal, different'
<i>axola</i> 'worry'	<i>ezaxola</i> 'indifference'
<i>duin</i> 'worthy'	<i>ezduin</i> 'unworthy'
<i>uste</i> 'opinion'	<i>ezuste</i> 'inadvertence'

The prefix *ber-*, *bir-* 're-' is used to indicate repetition. The allomorph *ber-* is used before a vowel and *bir-* before a consonant:

<i>egin</i> 'do'	<i>berregin</i> 'redo'
<i>esan</i> 'say'	<i>berresan</i> 'repeat'
<i>eros(i)</i> 'buy'	<i>berreros(i)</i> 'redeem, buy back'
<i>eskura(tu)</i> 'obtain'	<i>berreskura(tu)</i> 'retrieve'
<i>landa(tu)</i> 'plant'	<i>birlandat(tu)</i> 'transplant'
<i>lora(tu)</i> 'bloom'	<i>birlora(tu)</i> 'bloom for a second time'
<i>pentsa(tu)</i> 'think'	<i>birpentsa(tu)</i> 'think again'

This prefix also appears in the numerals *berrogei* 'forty' (cf. *hoge* 'twenty') and *berrehun* 'two hundred' (cf. *ehun* 'a hundred').

Several location nouns are used as prefixes, very productively in neologisms: *gain* 'top', *gain-* 'supra-, over-'; *azpi* 'bottom', *azpi-* 'sub-, under-, infra-'; *aurre* 'front', *aitzin* 'front', *aurre-*, *aitzin-* 'pre-':

<i>azal</i> 'skin'	<i>gainazal</i> 'surface'
<i>begira(tu)</i> 'look at'	<i>gainbegira(tu)</i> 'supervise, to overview'
<i>balio</i> 'value'	<i>gainbalio</i> 'added value'
<i>uler(tu)</i> 'understand'	<i>gainuler(tu)</i> 'infer' (cf. Sp <i>sobreentender</i>)
<i>sail</i> 'section'	<i>azpisail</i> 'subsection'
<i>egitura</i> 'structure'	<i>azpiegitura</i> 'infrastructure'
<i>marra(tu)</i> 'draw lines'	<i>azpimarra(tu)</i> 'underline'
<i>joku</i> 'game'	<i>azpijoku</i> 'underhanded action'
<i>esan</i> 'say'	<i>auresan</i> 'predict'
<i>iritzi</i> 'opinion'	<i>aurreritzi</i> 'prejudice, previous judgment'
<i>baldintza</i> 'condition'	<i>aurrebaldintza</i> 'precondition'
<i>euskara</i> 'Basque lg.'	<i>aitzineuskara</i> 'proto-Basque, ancient Basque'

A handful of old causatives have a prefix *e-ra-* (4.8.1.1). More precisely, old native verbs have a prefix *e-* in their nonfinite forms (which has become *i-* or *j-* in certain contexts) and, in the causative, another prefix *-ra-* is in-

serted between the prefix *e-* and the root. This way of forming causatives is not productive. In the case of most of these verbs the original link with a noncausative verb has been lost or obscured by a shift in meaning. Productive causatives are formed with *-arazi* (cf. section 4.8.1.2):

<i>egin</i> 'do'	<i>eragin</i> 'cause'
<i>ikus(i)</i> 'see'	<i>erakuts(i)</i> 'show'
<i>ikas(i)</i> 'learn'	<i>irakats(i)</i> 'teach'
<i>entzun</i> 'hear'	<i>erantzun</i> 'answer'
<i>jaik(i)</i> 'rise'	<i>eraik(i)</i> 'build'
<i>ekarr(i)</i> 'bring'	<i>erakarr(i)</i> 'attract'
<i>joan</i> 'go'	<i>eraman, eroan</i> 'take'
<i>ibil(i)</i> 'walk about'	<i>erabil(i)</i> 'use'
<i>ebaki</i> 'cut'	<i>erabaki</i> 'decide'
<i>jantz(i)</i> 'dress'	<i>erantz(i)</i> 'undress'

3.8. Compounds

J. I. Hualde

Basque has several types of compounds, some of them very productive. In this section, the main types of compounds are described (for an overview of composition in Basque, see Euskaltzaindia 1987).

3.8.1. Co-compounds (*dvandva*)

In co-compounds, two words A and B are put together in a compound A-B with the meaning 'A and B ('s)'. Co-compounds constitute a fairly common morphological structure in Basque with a certain degree of productivity. Most co-compounds join two nouns, but other parts of speech can also create co-compounds.

A number of co-compounds designate groups. Some very common ones result from joining nouns referring to types of family relations as well as other sets of humans or domestic animals. In these, as Jacobsen (1982) shows, the order of the two members of the compound is generally determined by certain semantic principles, such as 'male precedes female' and 'older generation precedes younger generation'. There are, however, exceptions to these semantic principles, some of which can be explained by appealing to a rhythmic pattern, dictating that the shorter of the two members

should be placed first (as Jacobsen also notes). These compounds are always plural (examples are given with the determiner):

senar-emazteak 'husband and wife'
seme-alabak 'sons and daughters'
anai-arrebak 'brothers and sisters'
aitamak (*aita-amak*) 'father and mother'
aita-semeak 'father and son(s)'
ama-alabak 'mother and daughter(s)'
izeba-osabak 'aunt(s) and uncle(s)'
jaun-andreak 'gentlemen and ladies'
errege-erreginak 'king and queen'
neska-mutilak 'girls and boys'
ardi-bildotsak 'sheep and lambs'

Other co-compounds join words referring to entities or events which naturally occur together or which are felt to constitute a unit of some sort. The resulting co-compound is generally plural, but a few of them are grammatically singular (e.g. those referring to a substance consisting of two ingredients):

zeru-lurrak 'heaven and earth'
haragi-hezurak 'flesh and bones'
janari-edariak 'food and drinks'
ogi-ardoak 'bread and wine' (also *ardo-ogiak*)
plater-pitxeruak 'plates and pitchers' (in the folk song *Aldaz torrea*)
Bizkai-Gipuzkoetan 'in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa'
sagar-udareak 'apples and pears'
kafesnea 'coffee with milk' (*kafe* + *esne*)
ur-ardoa 'water with wine'
buru-belarri 'intensely, with full attention' (lit. 'head-ear'), adverb

In a number of co-compounds the two members are in an antonymy relation:

gora-beherak 'ups and downs'
on-gaitzak 'good and bad things, advantages and disadvantages'
zuri-beltzak 'troubles' (lit. white-black-PL)
joan-etorria 'going and coming (round trip)', noun
sal-erosi 'sell and buy'

harreman 'relation, give and take' (*har[tu]* 'take' + *eman* 'give')
han-hemen 'here and there' (lit. 'there-here')
ezker-eskuinera 'left and right'
argi-ilun 'light and dark'
luze-labur 'size' (long-short)
luze-zabal 'extension' (long-wide)
gazi-geza 'degree of saltiness' (salty-unsalty)
gutxi-asko 'little or much'

Less common are examples where the two members are near-synonyms; e.g.: *lan-nekeak* 'work and fatigue', *irri-barre* 'laughter', *eder-galant* 'beautiful and gallant', *atsegin-kontentuak* 'pleasure and happiness'.

As the examples show, when there is a difference in the number of syllables (or the reversal of the two members would create a longer compound), in most cases the principle of placing the shorter member first is obeyed. When there is a natural order (e.g. in those compounds referring to units of time), this natural order is respected:

gaur-biharretan 'today and tomorrow'
goiz-arratsaldeetan 'mornings and afternoons'
izen-deiturak 'name and surname'

Color adjectives can be freely combined, giving rise to co-compounds such as *txuri-urdinak* 'the white and blue' (Donostia's football team), *zuri-gorri* 'white and red', etc. There are a few other compound adjectives referring to coexisting qualities; e.g.: *txiki-mehar* 'small and narrow'.

Co-compounds are, for the most part, lexicalized formations and are not productively created in the oral language; but such freedom of creation does exist in both literary and technical writing; e.g.: *bihotz-begietan* 'in heart and eyes', title of a poem by Lizardi, *maisu-maistrak* 'male teachers and female teachers', *aho-lumetan* 'orally and in writing' (lit. 'in mouths and pens'), *langile-nekazariak* 'factory workers and farmers', *atzizki-aurrizkiak* 'suffixes and prefixes'.

Co-compounds may have more than two members, but these are not common; e.g.: *han-hor-hemen* 'everywhere, here, there and yonder' (lit. 'over there-there-here'), *seme-senar-gurasoentzat* 'for the son, the husband and the parents' (example from Azkarate 1993).

3.8.2. *N+N sub-compound nouns*

Sub-compound noun formation is a very productive morphological process in Basque. As in English, the modifier precedes the head of the compound:

txori-kaiola 'bird cage' (bird-cage)
oilo-zopa 'chicken soup'
behi-esne 'cow's milk' (cow-milk)
esne-behi 'milk cow'
talde-lan 'group work'
lan-talde 'work group'
basa-jaun 'mythological lord of the forest' (forest-lord)
eguzki-lore 'type of thistle; sun flower' (sun-flower)
atzerri-hizkuntza 'foreign language' (abroad-language)
hitz-elkarketa 'compounding' (word-gathering)
istilu-iturri 'source of problems' (problem-source)

N+N sub-compounds may be formally identical to co-compounds. For instance from *ate* 'door' and *leiho* 'window' we may obtain *ate-leihoak* interpretable as a sub-compound 'door windows' or as a co-compound 'doors and windows', whereas *leiho-ateak* can have the interpretation 'window doors' besides a co-compound interpretation. For the most part, real ambiguities in interpretation do not arise, because of the meaning of the elements that tend to be combined in each case. Thus, for instance, *idi-behiak* (ox-cow-PL) will always be interpreted as the co-compound 'oxen and cows', whereas *esne-behiak* (milk-cow-PL) will be understood as the sub-compound 'milk cows' (and not as 'milk and cows'). Similarly, *erbi-zakurrak* (hare-dog-PL) is naturally interpreted as the sub-compound 'hare dogs' (i.e. dogs for hunting hares) and not as a co-compound 'hares and dogs'.

The head of the compound may be a nominalized verb (-*t[z]e* form); e.g.: *buru-hauste* 'headache' (head-break)

In old compounds (and analogically created more recent formations) the first member of the compound (the modifier) may appear in a special form, the compositional form, which, for items presenting this allomorphy, is derived according to the rules described in section 2.1.6.1:

bet-ile 'eyelash' (cf. *begi* 'eye')
bet-azal 'eyelid'
usa-kume 'pigeon chick' (cf. *uso* 'pigeon')

usa-tegi 'dovecote' (lit. 'pigeon-place')

usa-kaka 'pigeon excrement'

bida-gurutze 'crossways' (*bide* 'way' + *gurutze* 'cross'), also *bidegurutze*

In contrast, compositional forms are not used in co-compounds.

3.8.3. V+N sub-compound nouns

In a number of sub-compound nouns, the first member (i.e. the dependent) is a verb in its root form:

bil-toki 'meeting place'

jar-leku 'seat' (sit-place)

bizi-leku 'residence' (live-place)

bizi-lagun 'neighbor' (live-companion)

ezkont-egun 'wedding day'

jan-toki 'dining room, diner' (eat-place)

joka-molde 'behavior' (play-type)

iriz-pide 'criterion' (*iriz*[i] 'opine' + *bide* 'way')

balia-bide 'means' (*balia*[tu] 'make use of' + *bide* 'way')

esa-nahi 'meaning' (*esan* 'say' + *nahi* 'desire')

egin-behar 'obligation' (*egin* 'do' + *behar* 'need')

Examples such as *aukeratu beharra* 'the need to choose' which involve a perfective participle form of the verb appear to be better treated as syntactic formations rather than as morphological compounds.

3.8.4. N + ADJ exocentric compounds

There is a type of exocentric compound which is created by combining a noun and an adjective in their normal syntactic order. Generally, the interpretation of an N+ADJ exocentric compound is 'someone who has an N which is ADJ'. These constitute a fairly productive class:

buru-handi 'big headed' (head-big), e.g. *mutil buru-handia* 'a big-headed boy'

tripa-handi 'big bellied'

begi-gorri 'red eyed' (eye-red)

sudur-luze 'having a long nose'
belarri-luze 'with long ears'
txapel-gorri 'having a red beret'

Some of these compounds have a metaphorical interpretation:

aho-bero 'someone who exaggerates' (mouth-hot)
aho-handi 'talkative' (mouth-big)
esku-zabal 'generous' (hand-wide)

Instead of an adjective, we may have a participle:

maite-kutsatu 'love struck'
ipurt-erre 'grumpy' (buttocks-burnt)

In some western dialects these compounds are accentually distinguished from otherwise homophonous phrases. In Gernika, for instance, in the compound there is a lexical accent normally on the last syllable of the first member; cf., e.g.: *buru aundidxe da* 'it is a big head' vs. *burú-aundidxe da* 'it is the big-headed one' (this also applies to other types of compounds). A similar distinction is made in many other western varieties. Depending on the variety, the lexical accent of the compound may tend to occur on the last syllable of the first member or the first syllable of the second member. In addition, it should be noted that some compounds of this type are not confusable with phrases because the noun appears in its compositional form.

3.8.5. *N+ADJ endocentric noun compounds*

These compound nouns, which constitute a small, unproductive group, have the same structure as the productive class of exocentric compounds in 3.8.4. They differ from them in their meaning. Their original literal meaning would be 'an N which is ADJ', but the fact is that, due to semantic shift and metaphorical interpretation, in many of these examples the actual meaning is not predictable from the meaning of the N and the ADJ:

mutilzahar 'old bachelor' (*mutil* 'boy' + *zahar* 'old')
neskazahar 'spinster'
saguzahar 'bat' (mouse-old)
sardinzahar 'dried sardine'

katagorri 'squirrel' (*kata-*, compositional form of *katu* 'cat' + *gorri* 'red')
arkazte 'lamb' (*art-*, compositional form of *ardi* 'sheep' + *gazte* 'young')
artantzu 'barren sheep' (*art-* 'sheep' + *antzu* 'barren')
asteme 'female donkey' (*asto* 'donkey' + *eme* 'female')
oilobusti 'coward' (*oilo* 'chicken' + *busti* 'wet')
arnasestu 'lack of breath, pant' (*arnasa* 'breath' + *estu* 'narrow');
arnasestuka 'panting'

3.8.6. Compound verbs

Typically, in sub-compound verbs an uninflected noun is placed before the verbal participle. The vast majority of these formations involve the verb *egin* 'do, make' (or its causative *eragin* 'make do, causative'; see 4.1.4.5.1). Other verbs occurring in a sizable number of compounds are *eman* 'give' (4.1.4.5.2.2) and *har(tu)* 'take' (4.1.4.5.2.1). The verb *ets(i)* 'consider' (also 'accept; give up') gives rise to a number of compounds with nouns and adjectives with the meaning 'consider, to take as N/ADJ'. There are few examples with any other verbs:

- a. *lo egin* 'sleep'
lan egin 'work'
negar egin 'cry'
hitz egin 'speak' (*hitz* 'word')
alde egin 'leave' (*alde* 'side')
farre egin 'laugh'
zin egin 'swear'
kontu egin 'pay attention'
kaka egin 'defecate'
topo egin 'find'
- b. *amore eman* 'give up'
antzeman 'guess'
aurpegi eman 'confront' (*aurpegi* 'face')
gibel eman 'turn away' (*gibel* 'back')
musu eman 'kiss'
parte har(tu) 'take part'
onar(tu) 'accept' (*on* 'good')
hitzar(tu) 'promise' (*hitz* 'word')
su har(tu) 'take on fire'
arnasa har(tu) 'breath' (also *arnasartu*)

- c. *onets(i)* 'accept as good' (*on* 'good')
gaitzets(i) 'reject, disapprove of, consider bad' (*gaitz* 'bad')
zuzenets(i) 'consider correct or fair' (*zuzen* 'correct, straight')
ederrets(i) 'consider beautiful, admire' (*eder* 'beautiful')
- d. *odolust(u)* 'bleed' (*odol* 'blood' + *hustu* 'empty')
itxuralda(tu) 'transform' (*itxura* 'aspect' + *aldatu* 'change')
indarberri(tu) 'recuperate' (*indar* 'strength' + *berritu* 'renew')
lur jo 'collapse' (*lur* 'ground' + *jo* 'hit')
ate jo 'knock at the door'; *ate-joka* 'knocking at the door'
behaztopa(tu) 'stumble' (*behatz* 'toe' + *topa[tu]* 'make contact', cf. also *behaztopo* 'obstacle')

Some of these compound verbs allow partitive inflection on the noun in negative contexts; e.g.: *ez dut lorik egin* 'I have not slept'.

Generally, in these N+V compounds the noun is interpretable as the object of the verb. Exceptionally, in *harjo* (*har* 'worm' + *jo* 'hit', normally used in its participial form, as an adjective, *harjoa* 'eaten by worms'), the noun corresponds to the subject. Another possible interpretation of the origin of this compound is that we have an instrumental complement, since this etymological structure appears to underlie other examples such as *odolustu* 'bleed' and *maite-min(du)* 'fall in love' (lit. love-hurt), where the corresponding syntactic structures appear to be *odolez hustu* 'become empty of blood', *maitez min(du)* 'be hurt by love'. In *gurutziltza(tu)* 'crucify' (*gurutz* 'cross' + *iltza[tu]* 'nail') the noun stem corresponds to a locative complement.

There are some constructions with *egin* where instead of a noun we find an element which does not have independent existence and in many cases appears to have an onomatopoetic origin; e.g.: *laprast egin* 'slip', *klok egin* 'eat one's fill'

Although not true compounds from a morphological point of view, in a number of lexicalized expressions a verb appears accompanied by a noun in a specific case (absolute, locative, instrumental) and number. Some examples are the following:

- kontuan har(tu)* 'take into account'
- gogoan eduki* 'keep in mind', *gogoan har(tu)* 'remember'
- buruz ikas(i)* 'learn by heart' (*buruz* 'by head')
- kontuak atera* 'calculate' (*kontuak* 'calculations' + *atera* 'take out')
- botoa eman* 'vote'

An interesting example is *lo(a)k hartu* ~ *lokartu* 'fall sleep' or 'be taken by sleepiness' where *lo(a)k* 'sleep' is in the ergative case.

There are a few examples involving locative expressions, which perhaps can be understood as cases of prefixation (see section 3.7.5):

aurreikus(i) 'foresee' (*aurre* 'front')

azpimarka(tu) 'underline' (*azpi* 'under')

gainbegira(tu) 'supervise' (*gain* 'top')

goraipa(tu) 'praise' (*gora* 'upwards' + *aipa[tu]* 'mention')

There is a relatively large number of verbal expressions involving a noun or adjective in its uninflected form and the intransitive or transitive auxiliary; e.g.: *beldur naiz* 'I am afraid', *beldur izango naiz* 'I will be afraid'; *uste dut* 'I think' (lit. 'I have opinion'), *uste izango dut* 'I will think'. These verbal expressions are not morphological compounds and are studied in section 4.1.4.6.4.

3.8.7. Other types of compounds

In this subsection, we gather several small compounding patterns not considered above. The adjective *berri* is suffixed to the perfective participle form of the verb, or in the case of some lexicalized forms, to the verb root, to give rise to adjectives/nouns with the meaning 'just V-ed'; e.g.: *sortu-berri* 'just born', *ezkonberri* 'just married, newly wed', *hilberri* 'having recently died', *etorriberri* 'newcomer'.

The postposition *gabe* 'without' appears in a number of lexicalized formations; e.g.: *nahigabe* 'displeasure' (*nahi* 'want'), *paregabe* 'peerless', *bidegabe* 'injustice' (*bide* 'way'), *ezkongabe* 'unmarried', *lotsagabe* 'shameless'. In some of these compounds, the initial velar is irregularly devoiced; e.g.: *ustekabe* 'accident' (*uste* 'opinion, idea'), *atsekabe* 'disfortune' (*atsegin* 'pleasure'), *dohakabe* 'unfortunate' (*doha[tu]* 'provide').

The adjective *erdi* 'half' can be prefixed to adjectives and verbs and sometimes to other parts of speech; e.g.: *erdi-itsu* 'half blind', *erdi-lotan* 'half asleep', *erdi-hil* 'half dead', *erdi-galduta* 'haft lost', *erdi-entzun* 'half hear', *erdipurdi* 'badly' (lit. 'in a half-assed way').

3.8.8. *Morphological reduplications*

Adjectives can be repeated for emphasis. The first repeated adjective is left uninflected. This is a productive procedure (examples are given with the singular determiner):

argi-argia 'very clear'
zuri-zuria 'very white'
bete-betea 'completely full'
berdin-berdina 'completely identical'
bilbotar-bilbotarra 'very Bilbaoan'
oinarri-oinarrizkoa 'very basic' (*oinarri* 'base' = *oin* 'foot' + *harri* 'stone')
 (*oinarrizko-oinarrizkoa*)
ber-bera 'the very same'

This type of reduplication is also used with certain adverbial expressions, but with less productivity:

poliki-poliki 'very slowly'
emeki-emeki 'very softly and carefully'
ixil-ixilik 'quietly'
zabal-zabalik 'wide open'
geldi-geldirik 'very slowly'
astero-astero 'every week'
aurre-aurrean 'exactly in front'
itsu-itsuan 'blindly' (blind-blind.DET.LOC)
zuzen-zuzenean 'directly'
bat-batean (*bapatean*) 'suddenly' (one-one.DET.LOC)
hasiera-hasieratik 'from the very beginning'
bihotz-bihotzez 'sincerely' (heart-heart-INSTR)

In a few fixed expressions with a distributive meaning the inflection is repeated:

aldian-aldian 'each at its time'
banan-banan 'one by one'

There is another repetitive construction, perhaps best treated as syntactic rather than morphological, in which an inflected word, generally occurring

in the instrumental indefinite (-*z*) or the partitive (-*rik*), is followed by an uninflected copy of the same word:

hitzez hitz 'word by word, literally'
herriz herri 'from town to town'
etxez etxe 'from house to house'
etxerik etxe 'from house to house'
menderik mende 'century after century'
kasuan kasu 'each case separately'
tokian toki 'each place separately'

These expressions can take the relational suffix -*ko*, e.g.: *tokian tokiko hizkerak* 'local dialects'.

There are several patterns of sound-symbolic reduplications. In one such pattern, the stem is repeated replacing the first consonant by *m-* in the reduplicant (or adding initial *m-* to stems starting by a vowel):

zehatz-mehatz 'very precisely' (*zehatz* 'exact')
duda-muda 'doubt, incertitude' (*duda* 'doubt')
zoro-moro 'a little crazy' (*zoro* 'crazy')
esamesa 'rumor' (*esan* 'say')
isilka-misilka 'silently' (*isil* 'silent, quiet')
ikusi-makusi 'I spy with my little eye' (*ikus[i]* 'see')
hazur-mazurrak 'remains of a meal' (B *hazur* 'bone')
kako-makoak 'schemes' (*kako* 'hook; key')
nahas-mahas 'confusion, mess' (*nahas[i]* 'mix')
inguru-minguruka 'in a roundabout way' (*inguru* 'surroundings')
auzi-mauzika 'disputing' (*auzi* 'dispute')

In a number of these reduplicative compounds the unduplicated stem does not have independent existence in the language:

aiko-maiko 'indecisive'
zarra-marra 'rubbish'
ziri-miri 'drizzle'
zurru-murru 'rumble'

Occasionally we find a consonant other than *m-* or an entirely different initial syllable in the reduplicant; e.g.: *txitean-pitean* 'constantly', *nahaste-borraste* 'mess' (*nahas[i]* 'mix, to mess up').

In another type of sound-symbolic formation, there is a vowel alternation, generally with *i* in the first component and *a* in the second, although other patterns are also found in a few examples:

fristi-frasta 'any which way'
zipirri-zaparra 'clumsily'
ziri-zara 'restlessness'
zirt edo zart 'decisively'
kirriz-karraz 'noise of shoes in walking'
tiki-taka 'walking step by step'
dinbi-danba 'hitting with blows'
zirti-zarta 'helter-skelter'
kili-kolo 'insecure'

In addition, there are onomatopoetic formations where the same element is repeated twice without any changes; e.g.: *pil-pil* 'boiling softly' (*pilpilean* 'hot, current'), *marmar* 'whispering', *mara-mara* 'falling softly (generally said of snow or rain)', *parra-parra* 'profusely', *dardar* 'trembling'. A few nouns and verbs clearly have their origin in such onomatopoetic reduplicative formations: e.g.: *marmara* 'whisper', *dardara* 'vibration', *dirdira* 'shine, glitter', *dirdira(tu)* 'shine'. It is likely that the word *gogor* 'hard' is a reduplication of *gor* 'deaf' (for the meaning, cf. Sp *duro de oído* 'hard of hearing').

Chapter 4

Syntax

4.1. Valency and argument structure in the Basque verb

R. Etxepare

4.1.1. Valency and the auxiliary system: an outline

Leaving aside a small set of verbs (see 3.5.3), Basque finite verbs are composed of a morphologically independent lexical verb carrying aspectual information, and a clitic auxiliary bearing Tense, Agreement and Modal affixes. The choice of auxiliaries in Basque seems to be largely dependent on the valency of the predicate. Intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive auxiliaries typically correspond to monovalent, bivalent and trivalent predicates. The arguments of the verb (participants in the event, such as agents, themes or patients, and beneficiaries) are mapped systematically by person and number morphology corresponding to grammatical functions such as subject, object and indirect object. Changes in the argument structure of the verb (as in the causative/inchoative alternation) are also signaled in the choice of the auxiliary. However, in some cases the correlation between valency and choice of auxiliary does not obtain. The mismatch between valency and morphology is due in these cases to the contribution of an aspectual dimension (see section 4.1.1.3).

In order to maintain the two domains clear (lexical structure and morphology), I will refer to the valency of the verb with categories such as *monovalent*, *bivalent* or *trivalent*, and to its morphological expression with categories such as *intransitive* and *transitive*. The latter are familiar from the structural analysis of basic verbal paradigms (in section 3.5.3) and are based on the presence/absence of ergative morphology. When ergative morphology is present in the paradigm corresponding to a finite form, I will refer to that form as transitive. Otherwise, I will refer to that form as intransitive.

In sentences with transitive verbs, the subject is morphologically marked as ergative and the direct object in the absolutive case (zero suffix). As for one argument-verbs, Basque expresses morphologically a distinction between two types of monovalent predicates that has been noted syntactically in other languages. This is the distinction between unaccusative and unerga-

tive predicates (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1981). Subjects of unergative predicates take the ergative case; subjects of unaccusative predicates, on the other hand, take the absolutive case. In accord with case marking, unergative predicates take the transitive auxiliary, and unaccusative predicates the intransitive one:

- (499) a. *Jonek ardoa ekarri du.* (transitive)
 Jon.ERG wine.DET.(ABS) bring AUX
 ‘Jon brought the wine.’
 b. *Jonek saltatu du.* (unergative)
 Jon.ERG jump AUX
 ‘Jon jumped.’
 c. *Jon etorri da.* (unaccusative)
 Jon(ABS) come AUX
 ‘Jon came.’

This means that some, but not all, monovalent predicate subjects are marked like transitive objects. The case marking pattern is of an ‘extended’ ergative type (Dixon 1979, 1994; also Levin 1983).

This section (4.1) is structured as follows: in section 4.1.2, I will discuss intransitive monovalent structures; in section 4.1.3, intransitive bivalent structures (predicates with two arguments but no ergative case marking); in section 4.1.4, transitive structures, and in section 4.1.5, ditransitive ones. In section 4.1.6 we will turn to possessive constructions and the valency-marking alternations they give rise to. In section 4.1.7, verbs of saying, thinking and judging and their valency structure are discussed.

4.1.2. *Intransitive monovalent structures*

4.1.2.1. Simple existence

The simplest intransitive monovalent structure in Basque is constituted by the verb *izan* ‘be’ as a lexical verb, in statements of existence:

- (500) *Izan ala ez izan, horra auzia.*
 be or not be here.to question
 ‘To be or not to be, that’s the question.’

- (501) *Ni naiz nirez, nire borondatez.*
 I am by.myself my will.INSTR
 'I am by myself, by my own will.'

Existence can also be stated through the borrowing *esistitu* 'exist':

- (502) *Esistitzen al da horrelako izakirik?*
 exist.IMPF Q AUX such being.PRTT
 'Could there exist any such being?'

4.1.2.2. Copular constructions

4.1.2.2.1. Stage and individual-level predications

Basque makes a distinction between stage-level predications (those which attribute some transitory property to the subject of predication) and individual-level predications (those which attribute some standing property to the subject of predication) in the auxiliaries selected to express them. Transient properties are assigned by the verb *egon* 'be in a location', whereas standing properties are assigned through the verb *izan* 'be'. The distinction, which is for the most part limited to western dialects, is reminiscent of the one found in Spanish between *ser* and *estar* (see 4.2.1). *Izan* is also used in equative sentences.

- (503) *Haien mende gaude gu, haien mende dago*
 their control are.*egon* we their control is.*egon*
Euskara.
 Basque
 'We are under their will, Basque is under their will.' [Ib. I.H.:68]
- (504) *Nekatuta / etxean dago.*
 tire.PTCP home.at is.*egon*
 'He is tired/home.'

- (505) *Gu ez gara nor, gu ez gara*
 we not are.izan anybody, we not are
ezer, gu ez gara aberri-lorreak ari
 anything, we not are country.carrying be.engaged.in
garen txindurri txatxar batzuk besterik.
 are.COMP ant miserable some other.PRTT
 'We are nobody, we are nothing, we are but miserable ants carrying
 the country.' [Ib. I.H.:288]

- (506) *Xabier argia da.*
 Xabier intelligent.DET is.izan
 'Xabier is intelligent.'

- (507) *Jekill doktorea Mr. Hide zen.*
 Jekill doctor Mr. Hide was.izan
 'Dr.Jekill was Mr.Hide.'

Nouns expressing jobs can be accompanied by either *izan* or *egon*, with two different interpretations:

- (508) a. *Xabier zerbitzari dago kafetegi horretan.*
 Xabier waiter is.egon café that.in
 'Xabier is working as a waiter in that café.'
 b. *Xabier zerbitzari(a) da.*
 Xabier waiter(DET) is.izan
 'Xabier is a waiter.'

Whereas in (a) it is implied that Xabier is just in a temporary position (a job preceded by and probably followed by, some others), (b) implies that Xabier has this characterizing job.

4.1.2.2.2. Physical and mental states

Predications involving mental and physical states occur with *egon* (see also section 4.1.2.7 and 4.2.1). The predicate is constructed with a bare stage level adjective or a participle, never a locative phrase:

- (509) a. *Bero/hotz nago.* b. *Egarri/ gose nago.*
 hot/cold am.egon thirsty/ hungry
 'I am hot/cold.' 'I am thirsty/hungry.'
 c. *Haserre nago.* d. *Gaiso dago gaur.*
 angry am.egon sick is.egon today
 'He is angry.' 'He is sick today.'

Other adjectival predicates which follow that same pattern are *ados egon* 'be in accord, agree', *alde egon* 'be in favor', *kontra egon* 'be against', *lasai egon* 'be calm', *uzkur egon* 'be reticent', *harro egon* 'be proud', *kexu egon* 'complain (be in complaint)', *ikara egon* 'be scared (be in tremble)', *beltzuri egon* 'be frowning/sad', *jelos egon* 'be jealous', *urduri egon* 'be nervous', *larri egon* 'be in a critical condition', *oker egon* 'be wrong', *triste egon* 'be sad', *ziur egon* 'be sure', *haurdun egon* 'be pregnant', *oinuts egon* 'be barefoot'.

Although the great majority of stage-level adjectives take *egon*, there is a subset of them that takes *izan*. They are the following: *ahalke* (eastern), *lotsa izan* 'be ashamed', *aiher izan* (eastern) 'be desirous', *bekaitz, inbiri izan* 'be envious', *fio izan* 'trust (be in trust)', *antsi izan* (eastern) 'be anxious', *herabe izan* (eastern) 'be fearful, shy', *damu izan* 'be regretful', *haizu izan* (eastern) 'be allowed'.

- (510) a. *Lotsa naiz/*nago.*
 shame am.izan/am.egon
 'I am ashamed.'
 b. *Damu naiz/*nago.*
 regretful am.izan/am.egon
 'I am regretful.'

Of those predicates, *inbiri* 'envy', *damu* 'regretful', *lotsa* 'shame' and *herabe* 'fearful' can also be constructed with the transitive auxiliary, giving rise to a possessive construction where the mental state is the possessed term and the experiencer the subject:

- (511) a. *Inbiri(a) dut.*
 envy.DET have
 'I am envious (I have envy).'
 b. *Lots haundia dut.*
 shame big.DET have
 'I am very ashamed (I have a big shame).'

Other (individual level) adjectives that are constructed with *izan* are only possible in the third person. They usually take a clausal complement, or a demonstrative referring to a proposition:

- (512) a. *Neke/errez da.* b. *Zilegi da.*
 hard/easy is.*izan* permitted is.*izan*
 ‘It is hard/easy.’ ‘It is permitted.’

4.1.2.3. Existential sentences

Existential sentences are constructed with the verb *egon* in most Basque dialects (cf. 4.1.2.1):

- (513) a. *Badago gizon bat atean.*
 is.*egon* man a door.at
 ‘There is a man at the door.’
 b. *Gizon bat atean dago.*
 man a door.at is.*egon*
 ‘There is a man at the door/A man is at the door.’

Eastern dialects can use *izan* in existential sentences.

4.1.2.4. Verbs of location and directional motion

4.1.2.4.1. Purely intransitive predicates

The following verbs of location and directional motion are necessarily employed with intransitive morphology and thus accompanied by the intransitive auxiliary *izan* (except for synthetic forms): *etorri* ‘come’, *joan* ‘go’, *ailegatu* ‘arrive’, *erori* ‘fall’, *partitu* ‘depart (eastern)’, *jaiki* ‘get up’; *egon* ‘be (in a location)’, *gelditu* ‘stay’, *kabitu* ‘fit’.

4.1.2.4.2. Aspectual structure and transitivity alternations with motion and location verbs

Motion and location verbs in Basque give rise to a transitivity alternation that involves clear aspectual notions such as the affected status of an object or the measuring out of the event denoted by the verb, in the sense of Tenny (1994). The transitive structures are produced by changing the choice of auxiliary from *izan* 'be' to **edun* 'have' (and the marking of the subject, if expressed, from absolutive to ergative).

This transitivity alternation involves motion verbs such as *igo* 'go up' (except in Bizkaian, where this verb always takes transitive morphology), *igaro* 'pass by', *jaitsi* 'go down, descend' and *ibili* 'walk', whose lexical structure specifies a path along which the movement proceeds. In these cases the transitive alternate produces an "affected" reading, where the whole surface of the movement gets "used up":

- (514) a. *Mendi horretara igo naiz/dut.*
 mountain that.to rise AUX
 'I climbed on that mountain.'
 b. *Mendi hori igo dut.*
 mountain that climb AUX.TR
 'I climbed that mountain.'
- (515) a. *Ibai hartatik igaro dira.*
 river that.through pass AUX.INTR
 'They went through that river.'
 b. *Ibai hura igaro dute.*
 river that cross AUX.TR
 'They crossed that river.'
- (516) a. *Jaitsi da.*
 go.down AUX.INTR
 'He went down, descended.'
 b. *200 metro jaitsi ditu oinutsik.*
 200 mts descend AUX.TR barefoot
 'He descended 200 meters barefoot.'
- (517) a. *Bertatik hiru egunez ibili naiz.*
 there.through three days.for walk AUX.INTR
 'I walked over there/for three days.'

- b. *Harainoko bidea/hiru kilometro ibili dut/ditut.*
 there.to.REL way/three kilometer walk AUX.TR(3A/3A.PL)
 'I walked three kilometers/the way to there.'

In dialects other than Bizkaian, transitive *igo* 'climb', for instance, may not be used in fully affected contexts such as (b):

- (518) a. *Mendi horretara igo naiz, baina ez*
 mountain that.to climb AUX.INTR but not
naiz tontorreraino iritsi.
 AUX top.to get
 'I climbed on that mountain, but I didn't get to the top.'
- b. *Mendi hura igo dut, #baina ez naiz*
 mountain that climb AUX.TR
tontorreraino iritsi.
 'I climbed that mountain, #but I didn't get to the top.'

Some of these verbs, for instance *igo* and *jaitsi*, can be bivalent, in which case the nominal complement is understood as the patient or theme of the event. The auxiliary accompanying the verb is transitive in that case too, and the transitivity alternation involved is of the causative/inchoative type (see section 4.1.4.2):

- (519) a. *Kaxa guziak igo ditut.*
 box all.DET.PL take.up AUX.TR
 'I took all the boxes up.'
- b. *Kaxak jaitsi ditut.*
 boxes take.down AUX.TR
 'I took the boxes down.'

The specified distance and the object can occur together in these cases. Agreement is with the theme argument:

- (520) *Kaxa 200 metro igol/jaitsi dut.*
 box 200 mts take.up/take. down AUX.TR
 'I took up/took down the box 200 meters.'

An interesting subcase of this sort of transitivity alternation is provided by two verbs of movement: *iritsi* and *heldu*, both meaning 'arrive, get somewhere' (*heldu* also means 'ripen, mature'). Their transitive counterpart

means 'reach' in the case of *iritsi*, and 'grab' in the case of *heldu*. The latter requires a ditransitive auxiliary: *iritsi da* 'has arrived', *iritsi du* 'has reached it'; *heldu da* 'has arrived', *heldu dio* 'has grabbed him'. *Heldu*, in eastern dialects, can also have a causative meaning of the sort 'make (something) arrive', in which case it adopts a transitive form, (a). Typically, though, that meaning requires a causative morpheme, (b):

- (521) a. *Hel ezazu nere negarra Jainkoagana.*
 get AUX.TR my tear God.to
 'Take my tears to God.'
 b. *fedea bazter guztietara helarazteko*
 faith place all.to get.CAUSE.to
 'in order to spread faith everywhere'

Both *iritsi* and *heldu*, meaning 'arrive', contrast sharply with *ailegatu*, also meaning 'arrive', which cannot be converted into a transitive verb.

A similar distinction affects eastern *partitu* 'depart' and *joan* 'go, leave', which can only be used intransitively, and *abiatu* 'set off', which can be used transitively. *Abiatu* shows an alternation similar to the *jaitsi* 'descend' and *igaro* 'pass by' cases seen above. Observe the contrast below:

- (522) a. *Abiatu da.*
 set.off AUX.INTR
 'S/he set off.'
 b. *Konpainiak proiektu berri bat abiatu du.*
 company project new one set.off AUX.TR
 'The company set off a new project.'
 c. **konpainiak hiru langile abiatu ditu*
 company three worker set.off AUX.TR

Whereas the transitive *abiatu* allows for an object such as *proiektu berri bat* 'a new project', it does not admit an animate object such as *hiru langile* 'three workers'. The reason is that *proiektu berri bat* is an affected object, one that is constructed as the event goes on. *Hiru langile* 'three workers', on the other hand, cannot be affected that way: the only interpretation the complement can give rise to is one in which it is a theme, an object set in motion by an agent. This latter alternation would be of the inchoative/causative type. But in this case to get a causative interpretation we need a causative affix:

- (523) *Konpainiak hiru langile abiarazi ditu.*
 company.ERG three workers set.off.CAUSE AUX.TR
 'The company set off three workers.'

Verbs of location can also be classified according to their ability to transitivize. Consider for instance the verb *gelditu* which means either 'remain' or 'stop' in its intransitive use. When it is used transitively, only the 'stop' meaning remains. The transitive alternate means 'cause x to stop'. The alternation is thus of the causative/inchoative type. *Egon* 'stay, be in a location' only takes the intransitive auxiliary:

- (524) a. *Zakurra bidean gelditu da.*
 dog way.in stop/remain AUX.INTR
 'The dog stopped/remained in the way.'
 b. *Jonek zakurra gelditu du.*
 Jon.ERG dog stop AUX.TR
 'Jon stopped the dog.'
- (525) *Zakurra denbora luzez egon da etzanda.*
 dog time long.for be/stay AUX.INTR lying
 'The dog stayed lying/laid for a long time.'

4.1.2.5. Verbs of occurrence and appearance

The availability of a transitive alternate distinguishes between two subsets among the verbs of occurrence: *gertatu* 'happen, result in' and *pasatu* 'happen, come by, go through' on the one hand, *jazo* (B) 'happen, occur' on the other. The meanings of *gertatu* are illustrated below:

- (526) *Ezbehar bat gertatu da.*
 accident one happen AUX.INTR
 'An accident occurred.'
- (527) *euskal arimaren mintzabide gerta dadin*
 Basque spirit.of expression result AUX(SUBJ).INTR
 'so that it may result in the expression of the Basque spirit'
 [Mitx. EIG III:118]

- (528) *Irrigarri gertatu gara.*
 ridiculous result AUX.INTR
 'We found ourselves in ridicule.'
- (529) *Horrelako beharrean gertatu naiz.*
 such need.in result AUX.INTR
 'I found myself in such a need.'

In the first example, *gertatu* is just a verb denoting occurrence, while in the remaining ones it is clearly a resultative verb, allowing secondary predication of a result state. The different meanings of *pasatu* are illustrated in the following examples:

- (530) a. *Hala pasatu da.*
 so happen AUX.INTR
 'So it happened.'
- b. *Jende anitz pasa da.*
 people many pass.by AUX.INTR
 'A lot of people came by.'
- (531) *Ibaian zehar / ibaitik pasatu naiz.*
 river.LOC through river.ABL pass AUX.INTR
 'I went through the river.'

There is no transitive equivalent of *gertatu* 'happen' or *pasatu* 'happen, come by'. Only the resultative *gertatu* can be transitivized, with the meaning of 'prepare, arrange', and only the path-structure *pasatu* takes a transitive auxiliary:

- (532) a. *Afaria gertatu dugu.*
 dinner prepare AUX.TR
 'We prepared the dinner.'
- b. *Gertatu zuten urkamendia.*
 arrange AUX.TR scaffold
 'They arranged the scaffold.'
- (533) a. *Ibaia pasatu dut.*
 river cross AUX.TR
 'I crossed the river.'

- b. *Gorriak pasatu ditu.*
 hardships pass AUX.TR
 'He went through/endured hardships.'

This transitivity alternation thus recalls the one found in motion verbs such as *igo* 'climb' or *jaitsi* 'descend', between the activity and the affected readings. *Pasatu* can also have a bivalent transitive form, in the same way that verbs such as *jaitsi* or *igo* can, taking a theme argument complement:

- (534) *Kontrabandoa pasatu dute.*
 contraband pass AUX.TR
 'They passed the contraband.'

Jazo 'happen' cannot be transitivized, as it does not have a resultative or a bounded space reading:

- (535) a. *Hori jazo da.*
 that happen AUX.INTR
 'That happened.'
 b. **Parregarri jazo gara.*
 ridicule happen AUX.INTR
 'We found ourselves in ridicule.' (intended meaning)
 c. **hori jazo du*
 that happen AUX.TR

Verbs that express occurrence as a matter of chance, such as *suertatu*, *tokatu*, *fortunatu* are followed invariably by an intransitive auxiliary:

- (536) *Halaxe/hori suertatu/fortunatu/tokatu da oraingoan.*
 so/that happen.by.chance AUX.INTR this.time
 'So it happened this time./That happened this time (by chance).'

Other verbs of appearance such as *agertu* 'show up, appear (somewhere)', and *azaldu* 'show up, pop up, surface' give rise to an inchoative/causative alternation. When they are transitivized they become 'show' and 'explain, expose' respectively:

- (537) a. *Untzi bat agertu da ostertzean.*
 ship one appear AUX.INTR horizon.in
 'A ship appeared in the horizon.'

- b. *Azkenaldian problemak azaldu dira.*
 lately problems pop.up AUX.INTR
 'Problems have popped up lately.'
- (538) a. *Nere borondatea agertu nion.*
 my will show AUX.DITR
 'I showed him my willingness.'
- b. *Teorema azaldu nion.*
 theorem explain AUX.DITR
 'I explained the theorem to him.'

Not all verbs of appearance can enter into such an alternation. For instance, *desagertu* 'disappear' cannot. To convert *desagertu* into a transitive verb we need to invoke the causative affix *-erazi*:

- (539) *Gorpua desagertarazi dute.*
 corpse disappear.CAUSE AUX.TR
 'They have made the corpse disappear.'

4.1.2.6. Verbs of change of state

Verbs of change of state can also be divided into those that do and those that do not partake in the causative/inchoative alternation. Consider for instance the difference between *jaio* 'be born' and *sortu* 'come into existence'. Whereas the first only involves a result state, the second one is a complex causative event. Only *sortu* allows transitivization with a causative meaning:

- (540) a. *Irunen jaio da.*
 Irun.in be.born AUX.INTR
 'He was born in Irun.'
- b. *Irunen sortu da.*
 Irun.in come.into.existence AUX.INTR
 'He came into existence in Irun.'
- (541) a. **Jaio du.*
 be.born AUX.TR
 'He created it/gave it birth.'

- b. *Sortu du.*
 create AUX.TR
 'He created it/gave it birth.'

A similar distinction affects *garatu* 'sprout, develop', *ugaldu* 'multiply, increase in number', *ondu* 'ripen', on the one hand, and *loratu* 'bloom', *lilitu* 'blossom', *heldu* 'mature' on the other. The latter do not transitivity, the former do, with the following meanings: *garatu* 'develop (TR)', *ugaldu* 'multiply (TR)', *ondu* 'ripen (TR)'.

Verbs which denote the transition between two successive states, such as *bihurtu* 'become' and *bilakatu* 'develop into', can be conjugated either with the intransitive or the transitive auxiliary. With the transitive auxiliary, they mean 'convert x into y' and 'develop x into y', respectively:

- (542) a. *Aberats bihurtu da.*
 rich become AUX.INTR
 'He became rich.'
- b. *Famatua bilakatu da.*
 famous.DET develop.into AUX.INTR
 'He developed into a famous person.'
- (543) a. *Eraikin hura zahar-etxe bihurtu dute.*
 building that old.folk's.home convert AUX.TR
 'They converted that building into an old folk's home.'
- b. *Aberatsentzako elkartokia bilakatu dute.*
 rich.for meeting.club.DET develop.into AUX.TR
 'They developed it into a meeting-club for the rich.'

The verb *jarri* 'put', when used intransitively, with an animate subject and following a stage level adjective or an adverb denoting a mental state, also has the meaning of 'become':

- (544) *Triste / pozik jarri da.*
 sad / glad put AUX.INTR
 'He became sad/glad.' (cf. Sp *se puso triste/contento*)

Deadjectival verbs usually follow this pattern.

4.1.2.7. Weather verbs

The event configuration of weather verbs also allows for transitivity alternations. Non-eventive predications are formed with a nominal expression and the verb *egon* 'be in a location':

- (545) *Bero / Hotz / Ilun / Ateri dago.*
 hot / cold / dark / clear is
 'It is hot/cold/dark/clear.'

As soon as we focus on the resultative state of a weather change, we are forced to use the transitive auxiliary (except for *goibeldu* 'cloud over', which takes the intransitive auxiliary):

- (546) *Berotu / hoztu / ilundu / atertu du*
 warm / cold / dark / clear AUX.TR
 'It has become hot/cold/dark/clear.'

The empty subject is non-referential (*berotu*, *hoztu* and *ilundu*, but not *atertu*, can also occur with referential arguments in the inchoative/causative pattern). When the weather condition involves events, such as 'rain', or 'snow', the transitive auxiliary is again the main option, but the noun must appear as complement to the aspectual verb *ari* (see 4.1.2.8.1):

- (547) *Euria / elurra / izotza ari du.*
 rain / snow / freeze be.engaged.in AUX.TR
 'It is raining/snowing/freezing.'

Generic statements on atmospheric conditions involve *egin* 'do' with the transitive auxiliary, rather than *egon* (cf. Sp *hace calor*, Fr *il fait chaud*):

- (548) a. *Herri horietan bero haundia egiten du/?dago.*
 country those.in hot big do.IMPF AUX.TR/is.*egon*
 'In those countries it is very hot (as a property of those countries).'
 b. *Ifar poloan hotz haundia egiten du/?dago.*
 north pole.in cold big do.IMPF AUX.TR/is.*egon*
 'In the north pole, it is very cold (as a property of the pole).'

The transitive forms can also be used, together with the noun+*egon* forms, to express punctual situations:

- (549) a. *Jamaikan bero haundia dago (oraintxe).*
 Jamaica.in hot big.DET is.egon right.now
 'In Jamaica it is very hot right now.'
- b. *Jamaikan bero haundia egiten du (oraintxe).*
 Jamaica.in hot big.DET do.IMPF AUX.TR right.now
 'In Jamaica it is very hot right now.'

4.1.2.8. Aspectual and control verbs

4.1.2.8.1. Aspectual verbs

Basque has a seemingly purely intransitive aspectual verb *ari izan* 'be engaged in something', which is used to indicate progressive aspect. This aspectual verb follows a locative nominal expressing an event, or a nominalized clause (see section 3.5.5.1.1):

- (550) a. *Lanean ari da.* b. *Lanean aritu da.*
 work.in ari AUX.INTR work.in ari.PRF AUX.INTR
 'He is working.' 'He has been working.'

With the same function western Basque also has *egon* 'be in a location':

- (551) a. *Lanean dago.* b. *Lanean egon da.*
 work.in is.egon work.in be AUX.INTR
 'He is working.' 'He has been working.'

The verb *hasi* has also an aspectual, monovalent use ('begin to'), when accompanied by a locative phrase containing a bare nominal or a nominalized clause. In this case it is accompanied by the intransitive auxiliary *izan*:

- (552) a. *Lanean hasi naiz.*
 work.in begin AUX.INTR
 'I began to work.'
- b. *Idazten hasi naiz.*
 writing begin AUX.INTR
 'I began to write/writing.'

Hasi 'begin' can also be a bivalent verb, in which case it is followed by a transitive auxiliary:

- (553) *Nobela berri bat hasi du.*
 novel new one begin AUX.TR
 'He began a new novel.'

The verb *ibili* 'walk' is also intransitive when it is used as a frequentative aspectual auxiliary (3.5.5.1.2):

- (554) *Bere burutazioak idazten ibiltzen da.*
 his memories write.NOM.LOC walk.IMPFX AUX.INTR
 'He is/keeps writing his thoughts.' (cf. Sp *anda escribiendo sus pensamientos*)

The verb *joan* 'go' can be used as an aspectual verb denoting gradual change. In that case, it is preceded by a nominalized clause inflected as locative, formally identical to the imperfective participle (see section 3.5.5.1.2):

- (555) *Ohitzen joan da.*
 accustom.NOM.LOC go AUX.INTR
 'He has got used to it gradually.' (cf. Sp *se ha ido acostumbrando*)

Amaitu, *bukatu* 'finish' can also be used as aspectual verbs expressing the end-boundary of an event. Their complement is also a locative nominal, and they take the auxiliary transitive (although no other overt complement is allowed):

- (556) *Gerla eta Bakea itzultzen bukatu du.*
 war and peace translate.NOM.LOC finish AUX.TR
 'He finished translating *War and Peace*.'

Segitu and *jarraitu* 'continue' can also be used aspectually, with a transitive auxiliary and locative complement too:

- (557) *Gauetz lan egiten segitzen du.*
 night.by work do.NOM.LOC continue.IMPFX AUX.TR
 'He continues working by night.'

4.1.2.8.2. Control verbs: the *try* class

Control verbs of the *try* class, are always conjugated with the intransitive auxiliary *izan* (qua control verbs). The nominalized complements of these verbs receive the locative suffix. Consider for instance *saiatu* and *ahalegindu* ‘try, attempt’ and *ausartu* ‘dare’:

- (558) *Xabier irrifarre egiten saiatu/ahalegindu da.*
 Xabier smile do.NOM.LOC try AUX.INTR
 ‘Xabier tried to smile.’

Saiatu can also be used as a transitive verb with a nominal, non-clausal, complement as ‘try (something)’:

- (559) *Mirenek soineko berria saiatu du.*
 Miren.ERG dress new try AUX.TR
 ‘Miren tried a new dress.’

Neither *ahalegindu* nor *ausartu* have transitive counterparts.

4.1.2.9. Reflexives and reciprocals

In Basque, reflexivization operates either with the addition of reflexive arguments (*X-ren burua* ‘X-self’; literally ‘X’s head’) or by detransitivizing the auxiliary, which becomes the intransitive *izan* ‘be’ (see 4.9):

- (560) a. *Jonek bere burua ispiluan ikusi du.*
 Jon.ERG his head mirror.in see AUX.TR
 ‘Jon saw himself in the mirror.’
 b. *Jon ispiluan ikusi da.*
 Jon mirror.in see AUX.INTR
 ‘Jon saw himself in the mirror.’

The alternation is not entirely free, however. Many predicates can only take the reflexive argument, and cannot reflexivize via detransitivization, whereas other predicates can only form their reflexive by detransitivizing. Still, a third class of predicates can be reflexivized in either of the two ways.

A sample of verbs that do not reflexivize with the intransitive auxiliary would include: *maite izan* ‘love’, *atsegin izan* ‘like’, *erakutsi* ‘exhibit’, *er-*

representatu 'represent', *irudikatu* 'represent, picture', *ito* 'drown, asphyxiate', *erre* 'burn', *jantzi* 'get dressed', *adoretu* 'encourage', *akatu* 'kill', *miretsi*, *ederretsi* 'admire', *ezagutu* 'know', *hobetsi* 'favor', *iraunarazi* 'perpetuate, preserve', *nabarmendu* 'show off', *nahastu* 'mess up', *puztu* 'boast', *zuritu* 'justify'. These verbs divide into three classes: those verbs whose intransitive forms are inchoatives, such as *erre*, *ito*, *puztu*, *zuritu*, *puztu*, *nabarmendu*, *nahastu*; verbs which are stative, such as *maite izan*, *atsegin izan*, *ezagutu*, *miretsi*, *ederretsi* and *hobetsi*, and then a handful of eventive verbs involving (active) representation, such as *errepresentatu*, *irudikatu*, and *erakutsi*.

Those predicates whose reflexive argument is mapped into a grammatical function which is not marked absolutive, obligatorily take a reflexive noun phrase (case or postposition of the non-absolutive argument in parentheses): *burlatu* 'make fun of' (INSTR), *leporatu* 'impute' (DAT), *egotzi* 'attribute' (DAT), *galdetu* 'ask' (DAT), *fidatu* 'trust' (INSTR), *solastatu* 'talk with' (COM), *ahaztu* 'forget' (INSTR), *arduratu* 'take responsibility for' (INSTR), *axolagabetu* 'become unconcerned' (INSTR), *etsaitu* 'become enemies' (COM), *etsitu* 'despair' (INSTR), *jaramon egin* 'pay attention' (DAT), *kexu izan* 'be uneasy with' (INSTR), *kasu egin* 'pay attention' (DAT), *sinetsi* 'believe in' (LOC):

- (561) a. *Bere buruarengan sinesten du.* (**sinisten da*)
 his head.in believe AUX.TR AUX.INTR
 'He believes in himself.'
- b. *Bere buruari galdetu dio.* (**galdetu da*)
 his head.DAT ask AUX.TR AUX.INTR
 'He asked himself/wondered.'

Predicates that reflexivize by either a reflexive argument or by an intransitive auxiliary constitute the largest group. Among them: *aurkeztu* 'introduce', *bota* 'throw (e.g. oneself under the bridge)', *estimatu* 'appreciate', *laudatu*, *goraipatu* 'praise', *gobernatu* 'look after oneself', *libratu* 'set free', *armatu* 'arm', *babestu* 'protect', *behartu* 'force', *defendatu* 'defend', *desondratu* 'dishonor', *engainatu* 'deceive', *gaitu* 'enable', *gertatu*, *prestatu* 'prepare, arrange', *ikusi* 'see', *juzkatu* 'judge', *konparatu* 'compare', *saldu* 'sell (e.g. to the enemy)', *zaindu* 'take care of':

- (562) a. *Xabier etengabe goraipatu da.*
 Xabier continuously praise AUX.INTR
 'Xabier has praised himself continuously.'

- b. *Xabierrek etengabe bere burua goraipatu du.*
 Xabier.ERG continuously his head praise AUX.TR
 'Xabier has praised himself continuously.'

The two alternative forms are not always equivalent. This is particularly clear with constructions that specify a path structure. Take for instance a verb like *babestu* 'protect', which can be reflexivized either through detransitivization or by a reflexive noun phrase:

- (563) a. *Babestu gara.*
 protect AUX.INTR
 'We protected ourselves.'
 b. *Gure buruak babestu ditugu.*
 our heads protect AUX.TR
 'We protected ourselves.'

If we introduce an allative modifier and create a path structure, detransitivization becomes the only available strategy:

- (564) a. *Gerrilariak basora babestu dira.*
 partisans wood.to protect AUX.INTR
 'The partisans protected themselves into the woods.'
 b. **Gerrilariak beren buruak basora babestu dituzte.*
 partisans their heads wood.to protect AUX.TR
 'The partisans protected themselves into the woods.'

The reflexive noun phrase is again possible if the modifier is locative, and expresses the place where the partisans protect themselves:

- (565) *Gerrilariak basoan babestu dituzte beren buruak.*
 partisans.ERG wood.LOC protect AUX.TR their heads
 'The partisans protected themselves in the wood.'

Consider now the verb *bota* 'throw', a verb that inherently specifies direction of motion. The alternate with the reflexive phrase gives rise to an ambiguous interpretation of modifiers in a way that the intransitive alternates do not:

- (566) a. *Xabier zubiazpian bota da.*
 Xabier bridge.under.LOC throw AUX.INTR
 'Xabier threw himself under the bridge.'
- b. *Xabierrek bere burua zubiazpian bota du.*
 Xabier.ERG his head bridge.under.LOC throw AUX.TR
 'Xabier threw himself under the bridge.'

In (b) the locative modifier 'under the bridge' is ambiguous between two readings: one that modifies the beginning of the event (that is, the place from which the jumping takes place) or the endpoint of the event (the place where the jump ends). Xabier may have thrown himself from under the bridge or to under the bridge. In (a) no such ambiguity arises: *zubiazpian* 'under the bridge' only localizes the place from which the jumping takes place. The ambiguity in (b) disappears if the postposition is directional. In this case the modifier marks the place to where the jumping occurred:

- (567) *Xabierrek bere burua zubiazpira bota du.*
 Xabier.ERG his head bridge.under.ALL throw AUX.TR
 'Xabier threw himself (to) under the bridge.'

The ambiguity in the scope of the locative suggests that reflexive forms constructed with a noun-phrase reflexive have a more complex structure than the intransitive reflexive forms.

So-called inherent reflexives only admit the intransitive reflexive form: *gorde* 'hide', *jantzi* 'dress', *apaindu* 'make up', *garbitu* 'wash', *zikindu* 'soil', *idortu*, *lehortu* 'dry'. Intransitive forms of these verbs do not always have a reflexive meaning, they can also have an inchoative meaning:

- (568) a. *Jantziak lehortu dira.*
 clothes dry AUX.INTR
 'The clothes dried.'
- b. *Leihoak zikindu dira.*
 windows soil AUX.INTR
 'The windows soiled.'
- c. *Eguzkia gorde da.*
 sun hide AUX.INTR
 'The sun hid.'
- d. *Zelaia lorez jantzi da.*
 field flower.INSTR dress AUX.INTR
 'The field became dressed with flowers.'

All of them have also transitive forms in which the arguments are not coindexed and which are associated to the inchoatives:

- (569) a. *Xabierrek zakurra garbitu du.*
 Xabier.ERG dog wash AUX.TR
 'Xabier washed the dog.'
 b. *Xabier garbitu da.*
 Xabier wash AUX.INTR
 'Xabier washed.'

However, none of them can take a reflexive NP:

- (570) a. *Mirenek panpina jantzi du.*
 Miren.ERG doll dress AUX.TR
 'Miren dressed her doll.'
 b. **Mirenek bere burua jantzi du.*
 Miren.ERG her head dress AUX.TR
 'Miren dressed up.'

- (571) ??*Mirenek bere burua garbitu du.*
 Miren.ERG her head wash AUX.TR
 'Miren washed.'

- (572) a. *Mirenek ilea idortu du.*
 Miren.ERG hair dry AUX.TR
 'Miren dried up her hair.'
 b. **Mirenek bere burua idortu du.*
 Miren,ERG his head dry AUX.TR
 'Miren dried herself up.'

Reciprocal readings also arise either through a specific reciprocal argument, *elkar* 'each other' or by detransitivizing the verb. The distribution of the two strategies however, is somewhat different when compared to reflexivization. Detransitivizing is not available with verbs whose intransitive forms are inchoative (see above). It is possible with some of the stative verbs: *maite izan* 'love', *ezagutu* 'know', *miretsi* 'admire'; but not others: *atsegin izan* 'like', or *hobetsi* 'prefer'. The latter have a transparently complex structure of the sort Adj+*etsi* 'judge', and can be considered as underlyingly biclausal (see section 4.1.4.6.2). Intransitive reciprocals are also available with verbs expressing representation, such as *irudikatu* 'picture',

errepresentatu ‘represent’ or *margotu* ‘paint’. Those predicates whose reciprocal argument is mapped into a grammatical function which is not marked absolutive require an overt reciprocal argument, as reflexives do. Finally, among the set of predicates that allow both a reflexive argument and detransitivization, all complex events require an overt reciprocal (in this set I include *bota* ‘throw’, *libratu* ‘set free’, *armatu* ‘arm’, *babestu* ‘protect’, *engainatu* ‘deceive’, *prestatu* ‘prepare’, *saldu* ‘sell to the enemy’, *defendatu* ‘defend’). Other verbs such as *estimatu* ‘appreciate’, *zaindu* ‘take care of’ can be reciprocalized with the intransitive auxiliary. These are events which do not have an explicit endpoint.

4.1.3. Intransitive Bivalent Structures (dative-absolutive constructions)

Dative-absolutive auxiliaries can be found with four different verb classes: (i) motion verbs; (ii) psych verbs of the *gustatu* ‘like, please’ class; (iii) ‘dative of interest’ constructions; and finally, a small set of verbs that alternate between dative-absolutive auxiliaries and ditransitive auxiliaries. Psych verbs are extensively discussed in section 4.1.4.6. ‘Dative of interest’ constructions are treated in section 4.1.6, as possessive constructions. Here I will deal briefly with the first and last subclasses.

4.1.3.1. Motion verbs

Purely intransitive motion verbs may incorporate a dative agreement marker, as the verb *joan* ‘go’ below:

- (573) a. *joan da* b. *joan zaio*
 go AUX.3A go AUX.3A/3D
 ‘s/he went’ ‘s/he went to/from him/her’

In verbs of motion, the dative argument has the role of (animate) endpoint of the motion. Consider for instance the aspectual difference between (a) and (b) above:

- (574) a. *Xabier ordubietan Jonengana joan da.*
 Xabier two.at Jon.to go AUX.3A
Lauretarako iritsi gabea zen (oraindik).
 four.by arrived without.DET was yet
 'Xabier went to Jon at two o'clock. By four o'clock he wasn't yet there.'
- b. *Xabier Mireni ordubietan joan zaio.*
 Xabier Miren.DAT two.at go AUX.3A/3D
#Lauretarako iritsi gabea zen.
 four.by arrive without.DET was
 'Xabier went to Miren at two o'clock. By four o'clock he wasn't yet there.'

The dative can also express a relation of possession or interest between the absolutive subject and the argument marked by dative case (section 4.1.6). In those cases, the dative constructions can be paraphrased by a phrase internal possessive. No aspectual effect arises in these cases:

- (575) a. *Jonen adiskide bat joan da.*
 Jon.GEN friend one leave AUX.3A
 'A friend of Jon left.'
- b. *Joni adiskide bat joan zaio.*
 Jon.DAT friend one leave AUX.3A/3D
 'A friend of Jon left.' (cf. Sp *a Juan se le fue un amigo*)

4.1.3.2. Alternating verbs

A few verbs show two auxiliary choices: *baliatu* 'be profitable for someone' and *atxeki* 'attach to, stick', for instance, take either a dative-absolutive auxiliary or an ergative-absolutive one:

- (576) a. *Hori baliatu zaio Joni.*
 that profit AUX.3A/3D Jon.DAT
 'That was profitable to Jon.'
- b. *Hori baliatu du Jonek.*
 that profit AUX.3A/3E Jon.ERG
 'Jon made that profitable.'

- (577) a. *Atxiki zaio.* b. *Atxiki du.*
 stick AUX.3A/3D stick AUX.TR
 'It stuck to him/her.' 'He retained it.'

When in the ergative/absolute pattern, *balio* and *atxiki* mean, respectively, 'make something profitable' and 'retain'. Only the former gives rise to a causative meaning in its transitive variant. One noun+auxiliary construction that is not a mental state and which also shows the same kind of alternation as the previous one is *eskas*, *falta* +auxiliary 'lack':

- (578) a. *Zopak gatza falta du.*
 soup.ERG salt lack AUX.TR
 'The soup needs salt.'
 b. *Zopari gatza falta zaio.*
 soup.DAT salt lack AUX.3A/3D
 'The soup lacks salt.'

A handful of verbs such as *jarraitu* 'follow' and *jazarri* 'rebel' use both the dative-absolutive and the ditransitive auxiliaries interchangeably. The historical record shows that those verbs were originally employed only with the dative-absolutive auxiliary. The ditransitive auxiliary has spread in the last couple of centuries. *Jariatu* 'spill' admits indistinctly both the dative-absolutive and the transitive (ergative-absolutive) auxiliaries. In its synthetic form, the dative-absolutive is the most common, although some varieties admit transitive bipersonal forms:

- (579) a. *Zauriari odola dario.*
 wound.DAT blood spill.3A/3D
 'The wound bleeds.'
 b. *Etxeetako tximiniak kea dariote.*
 houses.REL chimney.ERG smoke spill.3A/3E.PL
 'The chimneys of the houses send up smoke.' [Liz. BB:156]

Some noun+auxiliary constructions take the dative-absolutive auxiliary among a wider range of choices. For instance *balio* +auxiliary 'be worth' and *axola* +auxiliary 'matter':

- (580) a. *balio du*
 value AUX.3E
 'it is worth'

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----|------------------------------|
| b. | <i>balio zaio</i> | c. | <i>balio dio</i> |
| | value AUX.3A/3D | | value AUX.3A/3D/3E |
| | 'it is worth/useful for him' | | 'it is worth/useful for him' |

4.1.3.3. An aspectual verb: *lotu* 'tie; engage in'

The verb *lotu*, which has a transitive use as 'tie', has an aspectual use in its dative-absolutive form as 'engage in':

- (581) a. *Lokarriak lotu ditu.*
 ties tie AUX.TR
 'He tied his laces.'
- b. *Lanari lotu zaio.*
 work.DAT tie AUX.3A/3D
 'He tied himself to work (he engaged in working).'

4.1.4. Transitive Structures

4.1.4.1. Unergatives

A class of predicates in Basque takes the transitive auxiliary but typically prohibits, or severely constrains, the availability of an overt object. This class corresponds roughly to the class of unergative predicates of other languages (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1981, Levin 1983). Unergative predicates have an ergative subject, typical of transitive structures (The terms are somewhat confusing, but they are already established in the literature on this topic). Compare in this regard a standard transitive verb such as *erosi* 'buy', and an unergative verb such *distiratu* 'shine':

- (582) a. *Jonek etxe berria erosi du.*
 Jon.ERG house new.ABS buy AUX.TR
 'Jon bought a new house.'
- b. *Leihoko kristalak distiratu du.*
 window.REL glass.ERG shine AUX.TR
 'The glass in the window shone.'
- c. **Kristalak lurra distiratu du.*
 glass.ERG floor shine AUX.TR
 'The glass shone the floor (made the floor shine).'

Verbs of this sort are also *dirdiratu* 'glimmer', *botatu* (western) 'bounce', *bozkatu* 'vote', *eskiatu* 'sky', *nabigatu* 'navigate', *txitatu* (western) 'set on eggs', *gogoetatu* 'meditate', *eutsi* 'withstand', *irakin* 'boil', *iraun* 'persist', *bazkaldu* 'have dinner (midday meal)', *afaldu* 'have supper', *usaitu* 'smell', *dimititu* 'resign'.

When unergative verbs admit objects, these are either cognate objects, or in the case of motion verbs, complements indicating spatial length:

- (583) a. *Gene Kellyk dantza famatu bat dantzatzen*
 Gene Kelly.ERG dance famous one dance.IMP
du film horretan.
 AUX.TR film that.LOC
 'Gene Kelly dances a famous dance in that film.'
- b. *Jolas polit bat jolastu zuten.*
 play nice one play AUX.TR
 'They played a nice play.'
- c. *Abraracourcix-ek borroka luze bat borrokatzen*
 Abraracourcix.ERG fight long one fight.IMP
du istorio horretan.
 AUX.TR story that.LOC
 'Abraracourcix fights a long fight in that story.'
- (584) a. *Jauzilari kubarrak bi metro saltatu ditu.*
 jumper Cuban.ERG two meter jump AUX.TR
 'The Cuban athlete jumped two meters.'
- b. *Bi kilometro korritu ditut oinutsik.*
 two kilometers run AUX.TR barefoot
 'I ran barefoot two kilometers.'

Alternatively (and most commonly), unergative verbs in Basque are complex predicates, composed of a (typically) bare noun that specifies the kind of event involved, and a verb indicating action: *egin* 'do' (see section 4.1.4.5). Many unergative verbs can occur in either of those two forms (585). The possibility of having a cognate object disappears in the complex predicate alternate (Uribe-Etxebarria 1989):

- (585) a. *Jonek korritu du.*
 Jon.ERG run AUX.TR
 'Jon ran.'

- b. *Jonek korri egin du.*
 Jon.ERG run do AUX.TR
 'Jon ran.'

- (586) a. *Jonek dantza bat dantzatu du.*
 Jon.ERG dance one dance AUX.TR
 'Jon danced a dance.'
- b. **Jonek dantza bat dantza egin du.*
 Jon.ERG dance one dance do AUX.TR
 'Jon danced a dance.'

However, that correlation does not always hold: there are cases where a simplex verb with intransitive auxiliary and absolutive subject corresponds to a complex predicate formed with a bare noun or locative phrase (see section 4.1.4.5) and the verb *egin* 'do'. Among them we find: *hegatu* 'fly' (< *hegan/hegaz egin*), *dardaratu* 'tremble' (< *dardar egin* 'do trembling'), *irristatu* 'slip' (< *irrist egin* 'do slip'), *behaztopatu* 'stumble' (< *behaztopa egin* 'do stumble'), *solastu* 'chat' (< *solas[ean] egin* 'chat [LOC] do') and *zintzatu* 'sneeze' (< *zintz egin* 'do sneeze'). This pattern is illustrated in the following examples:

- (587) a. *Jonek solas(ean) egin du gurekin.*
 Jon.ERG chat.LOC do AUX.TR us.COM
 'Jon chatted with us.'
- b. *Jon gurekin solastu da.*
 Jon us.COM chat AUX.INTR
 'Jon chatted with us.'
- c. **Jonek gurekin solastu du.*
 Jon.ERG us.COM chat AUX.TR
 'Jon chatted with us.'

Other unergative verbs optionally admit an intransitive variant. These are: *jolastu* 'play', *borrokatu* 'fight', *gudukatu* 'wage war', *saltatu* 'jump', *dantzatu* 'dance', *barautu* 'fast':

- (588) a. *Jonek Urtainen kontra borrokatu du.*
 Jon.ERG Urtaain.GEN against fight AUX.TR
 'Jon fought against Urtain.'

- b. *Jon Urtainen kontra borrokatu da.*
 Jon Urtain.GEN against fight AUX.TR
 'Jon fought against Urtain.'

All those verbs also have transitive structures with an overt object, where the object measures the length of the event (with *jolastu*, *saltatu*, *dantzatu*, *barautu*), or the target of the event (with *borrokatu* and *gudukatuko*):

- (589) a. *Jonek bi dantza dantzatu ditu.*
 Jon.ERG two dance dance AUX.TR
 'Jon danced two dances.'
- b. *Berrogei egun eta berrogei gau barautu zituen.*
 forty day and forty night fasten AUX.TR
 'He fasted for forty days and forty nights.'
- (590) a. *Urtain borrokatu du Jonek.*
 Urtain fight AUX.TR Jon.ERG
 'Jon fought Urtain.'
- b. *Gu baino sendoagorik ez dugu ba gudukatuko.*
 us than stronger.PRTT not AUX.TR then war.FUT
 'Won't we then fight those who are stronger than us.'

4.1.4.2. Causative/Inchoative alternation

This transitivity alternation typically affects those change of state verbs that are constructed out of adjectives such as *garbi* 'clean', *ilun* 'dark', *argi* 'clear', *zikin* 'dirty' or *arin* 'light'. The alternation can be transparently described by adding a causative layer to the intransitive counterpart; for instance with *garbitu* 'clean':

- (591) a. *garbitu da*
 clean AUX.INTR
 'has become clean'
- b. *garbitu du*
 clean AUX.TR
 'has cleaned it (made it become clean)'

Other verbs not derived from adjectives can also produce this alternation. For instance, verbs of directed motion:

- (592) a. *Xabier sartu da.*
 Xabier enter AUX.INTR
 'Xabier has entered.'
 b. *Xabierrek kotxea sartu du.*
 Xabier.ERG car enter AUX.TR
 'Xabier has put the car inside.'
- (593) a. *Xabier atera da.*
 Xabier get out
 'Xabier has come out.'
 b. *Xabierrek kotxea atera du.*
 AUX.INTR Xabier.ERG car take.out
 'Xabier has taken the car out.'

The alternation is also found with verbs constructed from a noun specifying the endpoint of a motion and an allative suffix that encodes direction:

- (594) a. *Etxe-ra-tu da.*
 home-to-PRF AUX.INTR
 'S/he went home.'
 b. *Norbait etxe-ra-tu du.*
 someone home-to-PRF AUX.TR
 'S/he took someone home.'
- (595) a. *Ohe-ra-tu da.* b. *Norbait ohe-ra-tu du.*
 bed-to-PRF AUX.INTR someone bed-to-PRF AUX.TR
 'S/he went to bed.' 'S/he put someone to bed.'

4.1.4.3. Locative alternation

A few transitive verbs give rise to a locative alternation of the type we find in English with verbs such as 'spray' and 'load' (see Rebuschi 1982:347): In the (a) structure there is a direct object and a locative. In the (b) structure, the locative of the (a) structure is the direct object, and the direct object of the (a) structure is marked in the instrumental case:

- (596) a. *Patxik soroan garia erein du.*
 Patxi.ERG field.in wheat sow AUX.TR
 'Patxi sowed wheat in the field.'

- b. *Patxik soroa gariz erein du.*
 Patxi.ERG field wheat.INSTR sow AUX.TR
 'Patxi sowed the field with wheat.'
- (597) a. *Patxik sagarrak kamioian kargatu ditu.*
 Patxi.ERG apples truck.LOC load AUX.TR
 'Patxi loaded the apples in the truck.'
- b. *Patxik kamioia sagarrez kargatu zuen.*
 Patxi.ERG truck apple.INSTR load AUX.TR
 'Patxi loaded the truck with apples.'

4.1.4.4. *Pit-* verbs

A small class of verbs of change of state, all of them related to growing, gives rise to a special alternation. In this alternation, the transitive counterpart is interpreted as expressing a removal of the thing grown. Consider for instance the following unaccusative verbs:

- (598) a. *Artaburuak aletu dira.*
 corn.ears pit AUX.INTR
 'The corn (ears of) grew pits.'
- b. *Adarrak kimatu dira.*
 branches bud AUX.INTR
 'The branches budded.'
- c. *Txitak lumatu dira.*
 chicks grow.feathers AUX.INTR
 'The chicks grew feathers.'
- (599) a. *Artaburuak aletu dituzte.*
 corn pit AUX.TR
 'They pitted the corn.'
- b. *Adarrak kimatu dituzte.*
 branches trim AUX.TR
 'They trimmed the branches.'
- c. *Txitak lumatu dituzte.*
 chicks pluck AUX.TR
 'They plucked the chicks.'

Not all verbs of growing give rise to this alternation: *lilitu* ‘flower’, *loratu* ‘bloom’, *abartu* ‘grow branches’, *hostatu*, *orritu* ‘sprout leaves’ do not admit it, although all of them have zero-related nominals (*abar* ‘branch’, *hosto*, *orri* ‘leave’). A relation of inalienable possession or part-whole underlies this alternation (see Levin 1993:130, for the same alternation in English). But that condition alone doesn’t seem to exclude nonexistent potential cases such as **abartu* ‘remove branches’, or **hostatu* ‘remove leaves’.

4.1.4.5. Complex predicates

4.1.4.5.1. Complex predicates with *egin* ‘do’

4.1.4.5.1.1. Basic pattern

Basque has a very productive way of creating new predicates out of the combination of the verb *egin* ‘do’ and a bare nominal indicating the kind of action entertained. These complex predicates are typically equivalent to unergative predicates of other languages (Levin 1983, Ortiz de Urbina 1989a, Uribe-Etxebarria 1989, Laka 1993b). The result is a syntactically transitive construction, whose subject is marked ergative:

- (600) a. *Jonek lan egiten du.*
 Jon.ERG work do.IMPF AUX.TR
 ‘Jon works.’
 b. *Mikelek salto egin du.*
 Mikel.ERG jump do AUX.TR
 ‘Mikel jumped.’

Here is a sample of predicates formed in this way:

a. Verbs of emission:

a.1. Verbs of sound emission:

Auhen egin ‘lament (do lament)’, *deiadar egin* ‘scream (do scream)’, *intziri egin* ‘moan (do moan)’, *uhurilulu egin* ‘howl (do howl)’, *hasperen egin* ‘sigh (do sigh)’, *oihu egin* ‘yell (do yell)’, *negar egin* ‘cry (do cry)’, *orro egin* ‘roar (do roar)’, *marrixka egin* ‘meow (do meow)’, *irri egin* ‘laugh (do laugh)’, *kirrinka egin* ‘creak (do creak)’.

a.2. Light emission:

Dir-dir egin 'shine', *diz-diz egin* 'glow, sparkle', *nir-nir egin* 'twinkle, flicker'.

a.3. Verbal emission:

Birao egin 'blaspheme (do blaspheme)', *burla egin* 'make fun', *errieta egin*, *agiraka egin* 'reprehend, scold', *oles egin* 'summon', *marmar egin* 'grunt', *dei egin*, *hots egin* 'call', *zin egin* 'swear'.

b. Internal body motion:

Dar-dar egin 'tremble (do tremble)', *bor-bor egin* 'boil noisily (do boiling noise)'.

c. Physical activities

c.1. Actions against an object or an individual:

Ausiki egin 'bite (do bite)', *tiro egin* 'shoot (do shoot)', *bultza egin* 'push (do push)', *saka egin* 'press, push, shove (do press, etc)', *indar egin* 'make an effort', *gogor egin* 'struggle (do force)', *buru egin* 'face, hold (do head)', *zizt egin* 'puncture (do puncture)', *laztan egin* 'caress (do caress)', *putz egin* 'blow (do blow)', *iskin egin* 'elude (do corner)'.

c.2. Motion verbs:

Laster/korri egin 'run (do run)', *ihes egin* 'flee (do flee)', *salto egin* 'jump (do jump)', *igeri egin* 'swim (do swim)', *hanka egin* 'escape rapidly (do leg)', *alde egin* 'leave (do distance)', *zirkin egin* 'move (do move)'.

c.3. Bodily functions:

Aharrausi egin 'yawn (do yawn)', *kaka egin* 'shit (do shit)', *txiza egin* 'urinate (do urine)', *zintz egin* 'blow one's nose', *izerdi egin* 'sweat (do sweat)', *usin egin* 'sneeze (do sneeze)', *arnas egin* 'breathe (do breath)', *hatz egin* 'scratch (do finger)', *lo egin* 'sleep (do sleep)'.

d. Mental activities:

Duda egin 'doubt (do doubt)', *gogoeta egin* 'meditate (do meditation)', *hausnar egin* 'ruminate (fig). (do rumination)', *kasu egin* 'pay attention (do attention)', *kontu egin* 'take into account (do count)', *hitz/berba egin* 'talk (do word)', *otoitz egin* 'pray (do pray)', *amets egin* 'dream (do dream)', *solas egin* 'chat (do chat)'.

e. Behavioral verbs:

Axut/desafio egin 'challenge (do challenge)', *mehatxu egin* 'threaten (do threaten)', *planto egin* 'stop by refusing to follow a game (do stop)', *paso egin* (western) 'be uninterested (do pass)', *muzin egin* 'be unfriendly, disdainful (do a gesture of disdain)'.

Not all complex predicates with *egin* require a bare nominal. Some of them require a locative or an adverbial (*-ka* or *-z*):

- (601) a. *Haginka egin dit.*
 Tooth.ADV do AUX.DITR
 'It bit me.' (lit. 'it did me by tooth')
- b. *Hegan egin du.*
 Wing.LOC do AUX.TR
 'It flew.' (lit. 'it did by wing')
- c. *Gainez egin du.*
 Top.INSTR do AUX.TR
 'It overflow.' (lit. 'it did by top')

Finally, some of those complex predicates admit, but do not require, a structure such as the one above with a locative or adverbial complement:

- (602) a. *Dantza(n) egin dute.*
 Dance.LOC do AUX.TR
 'They danced.'
- b. *Laster(ka) egin dute.*
 Run.ADV do AUX.TR
 'They ran'

- c. *Borroka(n) egin dute.*
 fight.LOC do AUX.TR
 'They fought.'
- d. *Oihu(ka) egin dute.*
 scream.ADV do AUX.TR
 'They screamed, yelled.'
- e. *Errieta(n) egin dute.*
 dispute.LOC do AUX.TR
 'They disputed.'
- f. *Jauzi(ka)/salto(ka) egin dute.*
 jump.ADV do AUX.TR
 'They jumped.'

In these cases, the event denoted by the complex predicate takes on an iterative meaning: it is implied that those events happened once and again in a given time.

4.1.4.5.1.2. Syntax

These complex predicates are not instances of incorporation of the polysynthetic sort. As shown by Uribe-Etxebarria (1989), Ortiz de Urbina (1989a), and Laka (1993b), the bare nominal and the verb *egin* can be separated by a number of syntactic operations, and the bare nominal can take partitive case:

- (603) a. *Jonek dantza egin du.*
 Jon.ERG dance do AUX.TR
 'Jon danced.'
- b. *Nork egin du dantza? (wh-questions)*
 who.ERG do AUX.TR dance
 'Who danced?'
- c. *JONEK egin du dantza. (focalization)*
 Jon.ERG do AUX.TR dance
 'JON danced.'
- d. *DANTZA egin du Jonek.*
 dance do AUX.TR Jon.ERG
 'Jon DANCED.'

- e. *Dantza, Jonek EGITEN du.*
 dance Jon.ERG do.IMPF AUX.TR
 'As for dancing, Jon does dance.'

- (604) a. *Ez du zirkinik egiten.*
 not AUX.TR move.PRTT do.IMPF
 'He doesn't move (at all).'

- b. *Ez du eztulik egin.*
 not AUX.TR cough.PRTT do
 'He didn't cough (a single time).'

Not all complex predicates admit partitive-marked bare nominals, however. Only those complex predicates denoting delimited events can. For instance, *eztul egin* 'cough' and *zirkin egin* 'move' can, as can also *huts egin* 'miss', *tiro egin* 'shoot', *behaztopa egin* 'stumble', *birao egin* 'blaspheme', *salto egin* 'jump', *auhen egin* 'lament', *txalo egin* 'applaud, clap', *kalte egin* 'damage'. Activities with no clear delimiting point do not take the partitive: light emission verbs, such as *dir-dir egin* 'shine', *nir-nir egin* 'glimmer', aspectual activities such as *bultza egin* 'push', *laster egin* 'run', *tiro egin* 'shoot', *hatz egin* 'scratch', *gogoeta egin* 'think, meditate', *solas egin* 'chat', *buru egin* 'face', *gogor egin* 'retaliate'. Achievements do not admit partitives either: *leher egin* 'explode', *tupust egin* 'collide with', *topo egin* 'meet casually', *bat egin* 'unite', *eztanda egin* 'explode'. The behavior of other verbs is harder to predict from their semantics: *amets egin* 'dream', *lo egin* 'sleep' admit the partitive, as do other mental activity verbs, such as *kasu egin* 'pay attention', *kontu egin* 'take into account' and *duda egin* 'doubt'. Finally, what I called behavioral verbs do not admit a partitive nominal. Activity verbs of speaking such as *hitz egin* 'talk' do admit partitive objects.

Another argument in favor of viewing bare nominals in *egin* constructions as true arguments is that they behave as canonical arguments in causative formation in eastern dialects. Subjects of transitive verbs appear as indirect objects of causativized structures. Complex predicates of the nominal+*egin* sort behave as transitive verbs in this regard (Ortiz de Urbina 1989a:47):

- (605) a. *Jonek dantza egin du.*
 Jon.ERG dance do AUX.TR
 'Jon danced.'

- b. *Joni dantza eginarazi diote.*
 Jon.DAT dance do.CAUSE AUX.TR
 'They made Jon dance.'

The same is not the case with simple unergatives:

- (606) a. *Jonek dantzatu du.*
 Jon.ERG dance AUX.TR
 'Jon danced.'
 b. *Jon dantzarazi dute.*
 Jon.ABS dance.CAUSE AUX.TR
 'They made Jon dance'
 c. *?Joni dantzarazi diote.*
 Jon.DAT dance.CAUSE AUX.DITR
 'They made Jon dance.'

4.1.4.5.1.3. Simple counterparts of complex predicates

Many of the complex predicates with *egin* have simplex verbal counterparts (see 4.1.4.5):

- (607) a. *Jonek dantza egin du.*
 Jon.ERG dance do AUX.TR
 'Jon danced.'
 b. *Jonek dantzatu du.*
 Jon.ERG dance AUX.TR
 'Jon danced.'

There is an aspectual difference between complex predicates and their corresponding simplex verbs that can be described in the following terms: whereas the complex predicate describes an attempted action without specifying whether the action affected the object, the simplex verb denotes an action that affects the object:

- (608) a. *Zoro batek oinezko biri harrika egin zien.*
 fool one.ERG pedestrian two.DAT stone.ADV do
 AUX.DITR
 'A fool threw stones at two pedestrians.'

- b. *Zoro batek oinezko bi harrikatu zituen.*
 fool one.ERG pedestrian two stone.ADV AUX.TR
 'A fool stoned two pedestrians.'
- (609) a. *Zakurrak hondakinei usna egin zien.*
 Dog.ERG garbage.DAT smell do AUX.DITR
 'The dog smelled at the garbage.'
 b. *Zakurrak hondakinak usnatu zituen.*
 dog.ERG left.overs smell AUX.TR
 'The dog smelled (all) the garbage.'
- (610) a. *Jonek mahaiari (*bazterrera) bultza egin zion.*
 Jon.ERG table.DAT corner.ALL push do AUX.DITR
 'Jon pushed at the table (*to the corner).'
 b. *Jonek mahaia bazterrera bultzatu zuen.*
 Jon.ERG table corner.ALL push AUX.TR
 'Jon pushed the table to the corner.'

Whereas in (608b) the simplex cognate verb implies that the stone throwing affected the walkers (by hurting them) in (608a) there is no implication of that sort. In (609b) the simplex verb implies a thorough examination of the garbage, whereas (609a) does not imply that. In (610b) telicity can be imposed on the simplex verb by the presence of an allative modifier, but not on the complex predicate.

Simple verbs are almost always conjugated with a transitive auxiliary (the only exception being *lehertu* 'explode'), but they differ on whether they admit an overt object or not and on whether the object is a cognate object (a pure extension of the meaning of the predicate) or not. They also differ in the interpretation of ditransitive structures if they have one available. Cognate verbs can thus be divided into four classes. The first class is constituted by those verbs that take a cognate object, such as *dantzatu* 'dance', *jolastu* 'play', and *borrokatu* 'fight'. When the verb does not have an overt object, and gives rise to a simple activity reading, it alternates freely between transitive and an intransitive auxiliary:

- (611) a. *Jonek jolas polit bat jolastu du.*
 Jon.ERG play nice one play AUX.TR
 'John played a nice game.'

- b. *Jonek jolastu du.*
 Jon.ERG play AUX.TR
 'Jon played.'
- c. *Jon jolastu da.*
 Jon play AUX.INTR
 'Jon played.'

Perhaps we could place in this context a dialectal distinction in the auxiliary choice of *jardun* 'be busy with, spend time in', which takes an intransitive auxiliary in some western varieties and a transitive one in others.

The second class corresponds to the simplex equivalents of physical activity verbs such as *bultza egin* 'push' (*bultzatu*) and *saka egin* 'push' (*sakatu*) or verbs of verbal emission such as *dei egin* (*deitu*) 'call'. Those verbs can be conjugated with both monovalent transitive and ditransitive auxiliaries. The choice of the ditransitive produces a non-affected reading of the sort we discussed for the complex predicate form:

- (612) a. *Mikel bazterrera bultzatu du.*
 Mikel corner.to push AUX.TR
 'He pushed Mikel to the corner.'
- b. *Mikeli (*bazterrera) bultzatu dio.*
 Mikel.DAT corner.to push AUX.DITR
 'He pushed at Mikel (*to the corner).'

The third class comprehends a few verbs that have transitive morphology but no overt object. They correspond to aspectual activities such as *dudatu* 'doubt' and *iraun* 'persist, stand':

- (613) a. *(*Hori) dudatu dut.* b. *Iraun dut.*
 that doubt AUX.TR stand AUX.TR
 'I doubted that.' 'I stood.'

Finally, we have the class of predicates that can take an object or not. They are aspectual activities, on which an overt object imposes a boundary:

- (614) a. *Bi metro saltatu ditu.* b. *Saltatu du.*
 two meter jump AUX.TR jump AUX.TR
 'He jumped two meters.' 'He jumped.'

- (615) a. *Bi kilometro korritu ditu.* b. *Korritu du.*
 two kilometers run AUX.TR run AUX.TR
 ‘He ran two kilometers.’ ‘He ran.’

There is also a group constituted by those verbs that necessarily take an object: *laztandu* (<*laztan egin*) ‘caress’, *mindu* (<*min egin*) ‘hurt’, *birrindu* (*birrin-birrin egin*) ‘powder’, *txikitu* (<*txiki-txiki egin*) ‘break into little pieces’, *ausiki* (*ausiki egin*) ‘bite’. These can be considered transitive verbs. This is further evidence for the idea that complex predicate formation is in itself a process larger than unergative predicate formation.

4.1.4.5.2. Other complex predicates

4.1.4.5.2.1. Noun + *hartu* ‘take’

Other complex predicates are formed by a bare noun and the verb *hartu* ‘take’. Examples are: *min hartu* ‘get hurt (lit. ‘take pain)’, *atseden hartu* ‘rest (lit. take rest)’, *gain hartu* ‘dominate, surpass’, *hats hartu* ‘breathe (lit. take breath)’, *hitz hartu* ‘compromise (lit. take word)’ and *kargu hartu* ‘reproach (take charge)’. Syntactically, they behave exactly as the complex predicates with *egin*: the parts of the predicate can be separated by a number of syntactic rearrangements, such as wh-movement:

- (616) *Nork hartu du min?*
 who.ERG take AUX.TR pain
 ‘Who got hurt?’

4.1.4.5.2.2. Noun + *eman* ‘give’

A last class of complex predicates is formed by a bare noun and the verb *eman* ‘give’: *aurpegi eman* ‘face (give face)’, *buru eman* ‘counter (give head)’, *begi eman* ‘look at (give eye)’, *amore eman* ‘surrender (give surrender)’, *antz eman* ‘notice (give look)’, *min eman* ‘hurt (give pain)’, *bide eman* ‘yield passage (give way)’, *bihotz eman* ‘encourage (give heart)’, *hitzeman* ‘promise (give word)’, *musu eman* ‘kiss (give face/kiss)’. These complex predicates show different degrees of coalescence: while *hitzeman* ‘promise’ cannot be separated, *min eman* for instance can be separated by all sorts of syntactic operations, as most *egin*-predicates can. Like the com-

plex predicates with *hartu*, these are also incompatible with accomplishment adverbials, but most of them (leaving aside *hitzeman*) are compatible with a duration adverbial. Most of these predicates (all except *hitzeman* and *amore eman*) are conjugated with the ditransitive auxiliary, differently from regular instances of *eman* + object, which do not require it:

- (617) a. *Jonek antz eman diol/*du.*
 Jon.ERG look give AUX.DITR/TR
 ‘Jon noticed it.’
 b. *Jonek min eman diol/*du.*
 Jon.ERG pain give AUX.DITR/TR
 ‘Jon hurt him.’

4.1.4.6. Psychological predicates

There are three types of psychological predicates in Basque: dative-absolutive (4.1.4.6.1), ergative-absolutive (4.1.4.6.2), and those that vary between an intransitive (absolutive) and a transitive (ergative-absolutive) auxiliary (4.1.4.6.3). Complex expressions are described in 4.1.4.6.4.

4.1.4.6.1 Intransitive psych verbs (dative-absolutive and absolutive)

In the dative-absolutive construction with psych verbs, the experiencer receives dative case, and the theme/stimulus argument surfaces as the subject of the sentence. Verbs in this class comprehend: *gustatu* ‘like (cf. Sp *gustar*)’, *laketu* (eastern) ‘like’, *interesatu* ‘interest’, *dolutu* ‘repent’, *damutu* ‘repent’, *bururatu*, *otu* ‘occur to, come to mind’, and *gaitzitu* (eastern) ‘be offensive to’. All of them except *gustatu*, *bururatu* and *otu*, can also select a monovalent intransitive auxiliary. In that case, the experiencer takes absolutive case and the stimulus takes instrumental or locative marking:

- (618) a. *Hori damutu/dolutu zaio.*
 that regret AUX.3A/3D
 ‘That has hurt him/her.’
 b. *Horretaz damutu/dolutu da.*
 that.INSTR regret AUX.3A
 ‘S/he regrets that’(is regretful of that).’

- (619) a. *Interesatu zaio.*
 interest AUX.3A/3D
 'It interested him/her.'
- b. *Horretan interesatu da.*
 that.in interest AUX.3A
 'S/he got interested in it.'
- (620) a. *Laketu zaio.*
 like AUX.3A/3D
 'S/he liked it (it pleased him/her).'
- b. *Laketu da.*
 like AUX.3A
 'S/he has become fond of it.'
- (621) a. *Gustatu/bururatu/otu zaio.*
 like/occur AUX.3A/3D
 'S/he liked it/it occurred to him/her.'
- b. **Gustatu /bururatu/otu da.*
 like/occur AUX.3A

4.1.4.6.1. Purely transitive constructions (ergative-absolutive)

In these constructions, the experiencer always occurs as the ergative subject, and the stimulus as the absolutive object. Verbs in this class include: *etsi* 'despair, be resigned', *miretsi* 'admire', *ederrets*, *gurtu* 'worship, revere', *gutxietsi* 'despise', *gaitzetsi* 'condemn', *onetsi* 'accept', *estimatu* 'esteem, appreciate', *errespetatu* 'respect', *desiratu* 'desire', *irrikatu* 'yearn for', *ametit* *onartu* 'admit, accept' and *eraman* 'bear':

- (622) a. *Jonek estimatzen zaitu.*
 Jon.ERG appreciates AUX.TR
 'Jon appreciates you.'
- b. *Jonek eskeintza onartu du.*
 Jon.ERG offer accept AUX.TR
 'Jon accepted the offer.'

Verbs in this class differ in their aspectual configuration: whereas some verbs such as *errespetatu*, *desiratu*, *irrikatu*, and *eraman*, are purely stative verbs, others such as *gutxietsi*, *gaitzetsi*, *onetsi*, *onartu* and even *ederrets*,

involve a judgement process and an end state, the result or verdict of the judgement process. All of them are morphologically complex from an etymological point of view, having an adjective that marks the result of the judging process and a judgement verb such as *etsi* 'consider' or *hartu* 'take (for)':

- (623) *onetsi* < *on* 'good' + *etsi* 'consider'
ederretsi < *eder* 'beautiful' + *etsi*
gaitzetsi < *gaitz* 'bad' + *etsi*
gutxietsi < *gutxi* 'little' + *etsi*
onartu < *on* 'good' + *hartu* 'take'

The two sets of predicates differ in their interpretation when they take a participial form. The set in (623) can receive a punctual interpretation, the others cannot:

- (624) a. *Proposamena goizeko bilkuran*
 proposal morning.REL meeting.LOC
onetsi/onartu dute.
 accept AUX.TR
 'They accepted the offer in this morning's meeting.'
 b. *Abertzale gehienek atentatua gaitzetsi dute.*
 nationalist most.ERG terrorist.act condemn AUX.TR
 'Most nationalists condemned the terrorist action.'
 c. *?Ehun urte eta gero, pintura zahar horiek*
 hundred year and then painting old those
ederretsi dituzte.
 consider.beautiful AUX.TR
 'One hundred years later, they have considered those old pictures as beautiful.'
- (625) a. **Jonek hori atzo irrikatu/desiratu zuen.*
 Jon.ERG that yesterday desire AUX.TR
 'Jon desired that yesterday.'
 b. *Jonek ez du hori eraman.*
 Jon.ERG not AUX.TR that bring
 'Jon didn't bring that/*Jon didn't bear that (yesterday).'
 c. *Jonek ezin du hori eraman.*
 Jon.ERG cannot AUX.TR that bear
 'Jon cannot bear/stand that.'

Some non-complex verbs such as *errespetatu* and *adoratu*, can have complex event readings, with a process part and a resultant state. With those verbs there is a clear difference in interpretation between the perfective and imperfective forms. The state readings are only possible with imperfective forms, whereas the perfective forms denote either activities or accomplishments:

- (626) a. *Jon adoratzen dute han.*
 Jon adore AUX.TR there
 ‘They adore/worship Jon there.’
 b. *Haurtxoa adoratu dute.*
 little.child worship AUX.TR
 ‘They have worshipped the child (Jesus).’

The complex event reading implies that the subject engages in some action that counts as a stative attitude towards the object. Consider for instance *errespetatu* ‘respect’. The state reading is only possible with imperfective forms, whereas the perfective form is interpreted as ‘showing respect’:

- (627) a. *Nere adiskideek errespetatzen naute.*
 my friends.ERG respect.IMPF AUX.TR
 ‘My friends respect me/have respect for me.’
 b. *Nere adiskideek errespetatu naute.*
 my friends.ERG respect.PRF AUX.TR
 ‘My friends showed me respect.’

The (b) example can only be interpreted as my friends having behaved in such a way that it implied respect towards me.

4.1.4.6.2. Transitive-intransitive psych-verbs (ergative-absolutive and absolutive)

There is a class of verbs of change of mental state that admit both a transitive (causative) and intransitive (inchoative) construction. In the transitive construction the stimulus/cause is mapped as the ergative subject of the clause. This class includes the following verbs: *asaldatu* ‘scare, be scared, perturbed’, *nerbiostulurduritu* ‘excite, get (someone) nervous’, *harritu* ‘surprise, get surprised’, *txunditu* ‘astound, get astounded’, *aspertu* ‘bore, get

bored', *kontsolatu* 'comfort, console (oneself)', *piztu* 'hearten', *alaitu* 'make/become merry', *poztu* 'make/become joyful', *zapuztu* 'frustrate, get frustrated', *kezkatu* 'worry, become worried', *gogoratu* 'remember', *zoratu* 'madden', *haserratu* 'angry, become angry', *liluratu* 'dazzle', *aztoratu* 'confuse, get confused', *nahastu* 'confuse, get messed up', *ikaratu*, *beldurtu* 'frighten, become frightened', *engainatu* 'deceive (oneself)', *unatu* 'tire (mentally)'. Many of these verbs are derived from either adjectives (*urduri*, *nerbios* 'nervous', *alai* 'merry', *zoro* 'mad') or nouns (*kezka* 'worry', *beldur*, *ikara* 'fear', *lilura* 'dazzle', *poz* 'joy', *harri* 'stone'):

- (628) a. *Zoratuko naute.* b. *Zoratuko naiz.*
 madden.FUT AUX.TR madden AUX.INTR
 'They will madden me.' 'I will become mad.'

- (629) a. *Beldurtu naute.* b. *Beldurtu naiz.*
 frighten AUX.TR frighten AUX.INTR
 'They frightened me.' 'I became frightened.'

4.1.4.6.3. Noun + auxiliary constructions

Besides the verb participle form, mental states can also be expressed through constructions that combine a noun and an auxiliary form. Depending on the mental state denoted by the noun, the auxiliary is of the ergative-absolutive form only, or alternates between an ergative-absolutive and an absolutive-dative form. Most noun+auxiliary constructions have verb-participle counterparts. The difference between them is aspectual. Noun+auxiliary constructions are purely stative, whereas verb-participle constructions can have (depending on the aspectual mark they incorporate) the whole range of aspectual meanings. Consider for an example the following pair:

- (630) a. *Hura desira dut.*
 that desire AUX.TR
 'I desire that.'
- b. *Gertatzea desira-tzen/-tu dut.*
 happen.NOM.DET desire-IMPF/-PRF AUX.TR
 'I desire/have desired that it should happen.'

- (631) a. **Gertatzea desira ari naiz.*
 happen.NOM.DET desire be.engaged.in AUX.INTR
 'I keep wishing for it to happen.'
- b. *Gertatzea desirutzen ari naiz.*
 happen.NOM.DET desire.NOM.LOC AUX.INTR
 'I keep wishing for it to happen.'

Also, the verbal form can occur without a patient argument, in generic contexts, unlike the noun plus auxiliary construction:

- (632) a. *Animaliek desio dute.*
 animals.ERG desire AUX.TR
 'Animals desire it.'
- b. *Animaliek desirutzen dute.*
 animals.ERG desire.IMPF AUX.TR
 'Animals desire it.'
 'Animals (have the capacity to) desire'

Whereas reflexivization through auxiliary selection is possible with the verbal form (at least for some speakers), the noun+auxiliary form obligatorily requires an overt reflexive phrase:

- (633) a. *Jonek bere burua gorroto du.*
 Jon.ERG his head hate AUX.TR
 'Jon hates himself.'
- b. **Jon gorroto da.*
 Jon hate AUX.INTR
 'Jon hates himself.'
- (634) a. *Jonek bere burua gorrotatzen du.*
 Jon.ERG his head hate.IMPF AUX.TR
 'Jon hates himself.'
- b. *Jon gorrotatzen da.*
 Jon hate.IMPF AUX.INTR
 'Jon hates himself.'

Agreement (in number) is obligatory with the object:

- (635) *Xabierrek barazkiak gorroto ditu.*
 Xabier.ERG vegetables hate AUX.TR.3A.PL/3E
 'Xabier hates vegetables.'

Nouns expressing modal notions, such as *nahi* 'want', *behar* 'need', *asmo* 'intention' and *gogo* 'wish' select for nominalized and/or participial (see 3.5.6) complements.

Nouns expressing mental states that are followed by an ergative-absolutive auxiliary only include: *maite* 'love', *plazer* 'pleasure', *susmo* 'suspicion', *amets* 'dream', *asmo* 'plan, purpose', *desira* 'desire', *erruki* 'pity', *gupida* 'mercy', *irriki* 'vehement desire', *hastio*, *gorroto* 'hate'. Also in this group are nouns expressing modality: *nahi* 'want', *behar* 'necessity, need' and (somewhat literary) *gogo* 'wish', which are constructed following the noun + auxiliary pattern. The object in those cases can be either a participial or a noun phrase (the latter only *nahi* and *behar*):

- (636) a. *Hori nahi/behar dut.*
 that want/need AUX.TR
 'I want/need that.'
 b. *Hori bisitatu nahi/behar dut.*
 that visit want/need AUX.TR
 'I want/need to visit that.'
 c. *Hori bisitatu gogo du.*
 that visit wish AUX.TR
 'S/he wishes to visit that.'

Behar is singled out among those verbs by the fact that it does not necessarily invoke a transitive auxiliary. If the participial clause is intransitive, the auxiliary can also be intransitive (in both root and epistemic readings; see 3.5.6.1.2):

- (637) a. *Jonek etorri behar du.*
 Jon.ERG come need AUX.TR
 'Jon must come.'
 b. *Jon etorri behar da.*
 Jon come need AUX.INTR
 'Jon must come.'

Nouns expressing mental states that are followed by either an ergative-absolutive auxiliary or an absolutive-dative one are: *atsegin*, *laket* 'pleasure', *higuin* 'loathing':

- (638) a. *Nik hori atsegin dut.*
 I.ERG that pleasure AUX.3A/1E
 'I like that.'
 b. *Hori atsegin zait.*
 that pleasure AUX.3A/1D
 'That pleases me.'

In (a), the experiencer is the ergative subject and the stimulus is the absolutive object. In (b), the stimulus is the absolutive object, and the experiencer is the dative subject (as in the English glosses that are provided with the examples).

Nouns expressing mental states that are followed by an intransitive auxiliary only are: *lotsa*, *ahalke* 'shame' and *fio* 'trust'. Their complements are genitive and instrumental, respectively (section 4.1.2.2):

- (639) a. *Horren lotsa naiz.*
 that.GEN shame AUX.INTR
 'I am ashamed of that.'
 b. *Horretaz fio naiz.*
 that.INSTR trust AUX.INTR
 'I trust that.'

Some eastern dialects have, in addition, mental state nouns followed by either an intransitive or an ergative-absolutive auxiliary. Some examples are *aiher* 'inclination' and *herabe* 'reluctance':

- (640) a. *Herabe naiz hori egitera.*
 reluctance AUX.INTR that do.NOM.ALL
 'I am reluctant to do that.'
 b. *Herabe dut hori egitera.*
 reluctance AUX.TR that do.NOM.ALL
 'I am reluctant to do so.'

Finally, some mental state nouns such as *beldur* 'fear' and *haserre* 'anger', are used with *egon* 'be in a location' (cf. Section 4.1.2.2):

- (641) *Haserre/beldur daude.*
 Anger/fear are.egon
 'They are angry/fearful.'

4.1.5. Ditransitive Structures

4.1.5.1. Trivalent ditransitive

In this group we include all those verbs that can increase their valency with the addition of a dative-marked argument fulfilling the role of recipient or beneficiary. They all have therefore a more basic transitive bivalent use. I exclude from the group those ditransitives that encode a possession relation between the dative and some other argument of the verb (see section 4.1.6), the so-called 'datives of interest'. Verbs in this group are (among many others) *eman* 'give', *erosi* 'buy', *saldu* 'sell', *esan* 'tell', *eskeini* 'offer', *era-kutsi* 'show', *ekarri* 'bring', *kontatu* 'tell', *esan* 'say' and *erantzun* 'answer'. They all involve a notion of transfer from an agent or causer to a recipient or beneficiary. Verbs that cannot be interpreted as involving a transfer can have ditransitive forms, but they are invariably of the possessive sort.

The dative argument is doubly marked by case on the noun-phrase and dative affixes on the auxiliary (see section 4.1.3.6.2 for important restrictions; also Albizu 1997a):

- (642) a. *Jonek ardoa ekarri du.*
 Jon.ERG wine bring AUX.TR
 'Jon brought (the) wine.'
- b. *Jonek Mireni ardoa ekarri dio.*
 Jon.ERG Miren.DAT wine bring AUX.DITR
 'Jon brought (the) wine for Miren.'

4.1.5.2. Bivalent ditransitive verbs

A few verbs in Basque require ditransitive morphology while showing only two arguments. They are *eritzi* 'think, have an opinion about' (see section 7), *eutsi* 'retain, hold on', and the aspectual verbs *ekin* 'engage in' and *eragon* 'keep on, hold on to', as well as *eman* 'give' in an aspectual usage illustrated in (643 c). Among the aspectual verbs, the last two take noun

phrase or nominalized clausal complements, and *eman* only noun phrases with an eventive meaning:

- (643) a. *Lanari ekin dio.*
 work.DAT engage.in AUX.DITR
 ‘He began to work, he engaged in working.’
 b. *Eragon beti gauza onen bati.*
 hold.on always thing good.GEN one.DAT
 ‘Hold on to some good thing always.’
 c. *Emaztea hil eta gero, negarrari eman zion.*
 wife die and after cry.DAT give AUX.DITR
 ‘After his wife died, he cried very often (gave himself to crying).’

None of these verbs admits any overt absolutive argument.

4.1.5.3. Alternating verbs

A few bivalent verbs alternate between a transitive and a ditransitive auxiliary: *deitu* ‘call’, *lagundu* ‘help’, *bultzatu* ‘push’, *jarraitu* ‘follow’, *begiratu* ‘look at’, *barkatu* ‘pardon’, *eraso* ‘attack’, *esetsi* ‘attack’, *itxaron* ‘wait’, *abisatu* ‘notify’, *erregaratu* (western) ‘pay attention’, *utzi* ‘allow’. Among them we shall draw two groups: first, those verbs where both the transitive and the ditransitive form accompany an (apparently) bivalent verb. In this group we have *deitu*, *abisatu*, *bultzatu*, *esetsi* and *lagundu*.

- (644) a. *Xabier deitu dute.*
 Xabier call AUX.TR
 ‘They called Xabier.’
 b. *Xabierri deitu diote.*
 Xabier.DAT call AUX.DITR

Although the two forms seem to be equivalent at first glance, there are important aspectual differences that show up when we add modifiers. If we add an allative modifier to (a) and (b), we get different interpretations (the same is true for *abisatu*):

- (645) a. *Xabier bulegora deitu dute.*
 Xabier office.ALL call AUX.TR
 ‘They called Xabier to the office.’

- b. *Xabierri bulegora deitu diote.*
 Xabier.DAT office.ALL call AUX.DITR
 'They called Xabier to the office.'

Whereas (a) is ambiguous between a reading in which Xabier is in his office and they called him there (i.e. on the phone), and a reading where Xabier is called from an office and ends there, (b) has only the first reading. The structure of (a) is rich enough to allow different scope positions for the allative modifier. The usage in (b) is in this regard identical to its complex predicate alternate *dei egin* '(do) call', which behaves as the ditransitive form. Similarly with *bultzatu* 'push':

- (646) a. *Autobusera bultzatu gaituzte.*
 bus.ALL push AUX.TR
 'They pushed us into the bus.'
 b. *Autobusean/?autobusera bultzatu digute.*
 bus.LOC/ALL push AUX.DITR
 'They pushed us in the bus.'
 c. *?Autobusera bultza egin digute.*
 bus.ALL push do AUX.DITR
 'They pushed us into the bus.'

In the case of *lagundu* 'help, accompany', the transitive form is more accurately translated as 'help', whereas the ditransitive form is ambiguous between 'accompany' and 'help':

- (647) a. *Ezezagun batzuek lagundu gaituzte.*
 unknown some.ERG help AUX.TR
 'Unknown people helped us.'
 b. *Ezezagun batzuek lagundu digute.*
 unknown some.ERG help/accompany AUX.DITR
 'Unknown people helped/accompanied us.'

The second group includes those alternating verbs whose ditransitive alternates always involve a syntactic structure with two arguments (subject and object), whereas their transitive forms are monovalent: in this group are *ixaron* 'wait', *begiratu* 'look', *eraso* 'attack', *erregutu* 'supplicate', *erreparratu* 'pay attention'. In their transitive form, these verbs are unergative:

- (648) a. *Jonek itxaron du.*
 Jon.ERG wait AUX.TR
 ‘Jon waited.’
 b. *Jonek itxaron dit.*
 Jon.ERG wait AUX.DITR
 ‘Jon waited for me.’
 c. *Begiratu dut.*
 look AUX.TR
 ‘I looked’.
 d. *Joni begiratu diot.*
 Jon.DAT look AUX.DITR
 ‘I looked at Jon.’

4.1.6. Possessive constructions

4.1.6.1. Attributive

4.1.6.1.1. Individual-level attributions

Basque, like many other languages, has the ability to encode possession relations not only through specific verbs or noun phrase morphology, but also directly in the argument structure of the verb. The finite morphology of the verb or the auxiliary then expresses the addition of a possessor. We can illustrate the alternation between noun phrase internal and noun phrase external possession with the following contrast in Basque:

- (649) a. *Mikel bere anaia da.*
 Mikel his brother is
 ‘Mikel is his brother.’
 b. *Jonek Mikel (??bere) anaia du.*
 Jon.ERG Mikel his brother has
 ‘Mikel is Jon’s brother (‘Jon has Mikel as a brother’).’

The structure of (b) involves a predication relation between the possessed term and the term expressing the kind of possession relation: they both optionally agree in number. The auxiliary, on the other hand, agrees in person and number with both the subject possessor and the possessed:

- (650) *Nik alproja horiek adiskide(ak) ditut.*
 I.ERG cur those friend(s) have
 'Those curs are my friends.'

The two alternates have slightly different interpretations though, as we can see from the glosses. Whereas 'intransitive' (a) admits an interpretation where the subject is not referential, 'transitive' (b) doesn't:

- (651) *Nork deitzen du? Beren anaia da /*
 who call AUX.TR their brother is /
 ??*Anaia dute.*
 brother they.have
 'Who's calling? It is their brother/??He is their brother.'

Noun-phrase-internal possessions typically express a wider range of relations than noun-phrase-external ones. In order for the noun-phrase-external transitive possession to be admissible, it must be either of the inalienable kind or pertain to something like the 'personal sphere'. The personal sphere includes, besides affective notions such as friend or family (652), professional relations (653), and familiar objects (654). Part/whole relations are also accessible through this construction (655). Possessive relations that fail to express any of those relations are inadmissible in an external possession structure (656)-(657):

- (652) a. *Jonen anaia da*
 Jon's brother is
 'He/it is Jon's brother.'
- b. *(Hango hura) Jonek anaia du.*
 there that.one Jon.ERG brother has
 'That one over there is Jon's brother.'
- (653) a. *Kotxeak Jonen lanbidea dira.*
 cars Jon's occupation are
 'Cars are Jon's occupation.'
- b. *Jonek kotxeak lanbide ditu.*
 Jon.ERG cars occupation has
 'Cars are Jon's occupation.'

- (654) a. *Hori nere ohea da.* b. *Hori ohea dut.*
 that my bed is that bed have
 'That is my bed.' 'That is my bed.'

- (655) a. *Gela hori etxearen ganbara da.*
 room that house.GEN attic is
 'That room is the attic of the house.'

- b. *Etxeak gela hori ganbara du.*
 House.ERG room that attic has
 'That room is the attic of the house.'

- (656) a. (*Hango hura*) *Eusko Jaurlaritzaren*
 there.REL that.one Basque Government.GEN
bozeramailea da.
 spokesman/woman is
 'That one over there is the spokesperson of the Basque Govern-
 ment.'

- b. **(Hango hura) Eusko Jaurlaritzak*
 Basque Government.ERG
bozeramaile du.
 spokesman/woman has
 'That one is the spokesperson of the government.'

- (657) a. *Hori nere liburua da.* b. **Hori liburua dut.*
 that my book is that book I.have
 'That is my book.' 'That is my book.'

Not all possessive relations expressed through a transitive structure exclude an overt possessive. In this there seems to be a difference between purely inalienable relations (658), on the one hand, and professional relations (659) and familiar objects on the other (660). Only the former exclude the possessive:

- (658) a. *Hori nere anaia da.*
 that my brother is
 'That is my brother.'

- b. *Hori (??nere) anaia dut.*
 that my brother I.have
 'That is my brother (lit. I have that (as) brother).'

- (659) a. *Hori nere lanbidea da.*
 that my job is
 ‘That is my job.’
 b. *Hori (nere) lanbidea dut.*
 that (my) job I.have
 ‘That is my job.’
- (660) a. *Hori nere ohea da.* b. *Hori (nere) ohea dut.*
 that my bed is that my bed I.have
 ‘That is my bed.’ ‘That is my bed.’

Inalienable possession and other types of possession that enter into this type of construction also differ in the entailments they give rise to, despite their (apparent) formal identity:

- (661) a. *Jonek Aitor anaia du.*
 Jon.ERG Aitor brother has
 ‘Aitor is Jon’s brother.’
 b. *Jonek kotxeak lanbide ditu.*
 Jon.ERG cars job has
 ‘Cars are Jon’s occupation.’

Whereas from (a) it follows that Jon must have a brother, it does not follow from (b) that Jon must own any car.

4.1.6.1.2. Stage-level attributions

Possessive relations involving a temporary or transient condition can also be expressed either through a noun-phrase-internal relation or through a noun-phrase-external relation. The transitive, noun-external, structure does not admit an overt possessor when the possession relation is of the inalienable kind (662). Otherwise it is optional (663):

- (662) a. *Nere eskuak ikara/bero daude.*
 my hands trembling/warm are.egon
 ‘My hands are trembling/warm.’
 b. *(*Nere) eskuak ikara/bero ditut.*
 my hands trembling/warm I.have.them
 ‘I have my hands trembling/warm.’

- (663) a. *Nere ohea bero dago.*
 my bed warm is.egon
 ‘My bed is warm.’
 b. *Nik (nere) ohea bero dut.*
 I.ERG my bed warm I.have
 ‘I have my bed warm.’

4.1.6.2. Lexical verbs

The possessive forms can also be extended to intransitive and transitive lexical verbs. Consider for instance the following alternation, of the ‘ethical dative’ sort:

- (664) a. *Bere ama hil da.*
 his mother die AUX.3A
 ‘His mother died.’
 b. *Ama hil zaio.*
 mother die AUX.3A/3D
 ‘His mother died (on him).’

Motion verbs give rise to an interesting ambiguity when they occur in the dative-absolutive form. Consider the following cases:

- (665) a. *Eskutitza iritsi zaio.*
 letter arrive AUX.3A/3D
 ‘The letter got to him.’
 ‘His letter arrived at its destination.’
 b. *Irakaslea joan zaio.*
 teacher go AUX.3A/3D
 ‘The teacher went to him.’
 ‘His teacher left.’

The dative argument can represent either a hidden possessor or a goal (a true argument of the verb). In the first case, the verb is bivalent: the absolutive constituent marks the theme and the dative marks the goal. In the second case, the dative only marks a possessive-like relation with the absolutive. Again, this is a case of ‘ethical dative’.

Verbs of inherently specified motion (such as *igo* ‘climb’, *jaitsi* ‘go down, descend’ or *igaro* ‘cross’) give rise to two sorts of transitive struc-

tures: on the one hand, transitive structures in which the object is a theme (a); on the other, affected transitive structures in which the object is some sort of measure (b):

- (666) a. *Jonek patata zakuak jaitsi ditu.*
 Jon.ERG potato sacks take.down AUX.TR
 'Jon took down the potato sacks.'
 b. *Jonek 50 metro jaitsi ditu urpean.*
 Jon.ERG 50 meters descend AUX.TR underwater
 'Jon descended 50 meters under water.'

Possessive ditransitive constructions can only be construed from (a), but not from (b):

- (667) a. *Jonek patatak jaitsi dizkit.*
 Jon.ERG potatoes take.down AUX.DITR
 'Jon took down my potatoes/Jon took down the potatoes on my interest.'
 b. **Jonek 50 metro jaitsi dizkit urpean.*
 Jon.ERG 50 meters descend AUX.DITR underwater
 'Jon descended 50 meters underwater on my interest.'

Transitive verbs may also encode possession in the argument structure of the verb. In that case, the auxiliary becomes ditransitive. Consider for instance *hautsi* 'break':

- (668) a. *Mikelek Jonen kotxea hautsi du.*
 Mikel.ERG Jon.GEN car break AUX.TR
 'Mikel broke Jon's car.'
 b. *Mikelek Joni (bere) kotxea hautsi dio.*
 Mikel.ERG Jon.DAT his car break AUX.DITR
 'Mikel broke Jon's car.' lit. 'Mikel broke his_i car to Jon_i.'

If the possession relation is of the inalienable sort, the noun phrase internal possessor must disappear:

- (669) a. *Mikelek Jonen sudurra hautsi du.*
 Mikel.ERG Jon.GEN nose break AUX.TR
 'Mikel broke Jon's nose.'

- b. *Mikelek Joni (*bere) sudurra hautsi dio.*
 Mikel.ERG Jon.DAT his nose break AUX.DITR
 'Mikel broke Jon his nose.'

The ban on the overt presence of the possessive in inalienable constructions disappears if the possessed element is one in a set of identical elements:

- (670) a. *Mikelek Jonen beso bat hautsi du.*
 Mikel.ERG Jon.GEN arm one break AUX.TR
 'Mikel broke one of Jon's arms.'
- b. *Mikelek Joni bere beso(etako) bat hautsi dio.*
 Mikel.ERG Jon.DAT his arm(PL.REL) one break
 AUX.DITR
 'Mikel broke Jon one of his arms.'

There is a difference in meaning between the noun-phrase-internal possessive construction and the noun-phrase-external one in the case of inalienable possession. The noun-phrase-external construction implies that the dative-marked element and the absolutive-marked element enjoy material integrity (form a unit). Consider the contrast below:

- (671) a. *San Vicenteren besoa hautsi dute.*
 Saint Vincent.GEN arm break AUX.TR
 'They broke Saint Vincent's arm.'
- b. *San Vicenteri besoa hautsi diote.*
 Saint Vincent.DAT arm break AUX.DITR
 'They broke Saint Vincent's arm.'

Whereas in (b) it is necessary that Saint Vincent has an arm as part of his material integrity which results broken as a result of pagan or heretic violence, in (a) this is not necessary: it could be for instance the relic in the cathedral of Valencia, involuntarily broken by some unattentive tourist. Family relations also give rise to an equivalent contrast:

- (672) a. *Jonen ama hil da.*
 Jon.GEN mother die AUX.INTR
 'Jon's mother died.'

- b. *Joni ama hil zaio.*
 Jon.DAT mother die AUX.3A/3D
 'Jon's mother died.'

Whereas to utter (b), Jon must be directly affected (and therefore alive) when his mother dies, this is not necessary to utter (a). The latter can be uttered in a situation in which Jon is dead a long time ago, and now his mother dies.

In very colloquial (and stigmatized) registers of western Basque, inalienable reflexive relations can be expressed, besides by noun-phrase-internal possession, by reflexivizing (detransitivizing) the auxiliary:

- (673) a. *Mikelek besoa hautsi du.*
 Mikel.ERG arm break AUX.TR
 'Mikel broke his arm.'
 b. *Mikel besoa hautsi da.*
 Mikel arm break AUX.INTR
 'Mikel broke his arm.'

There is a difference between the two: only the former, transitive, form admits agentive modifiers:

- (674) a. *Mikelek besoa nahita hautsi du.*
 Mikel.ERG arm voluntarily break AUX.TR
 'Mikel broke his arm voluntarily.'
 b. *??Mikel besoa nahita hautsi da.*
 Mikel arm voluntarily break AUX.INTR
 'Mikel broke his arm voluntarily.'

Surprisingly enough, these intransitive forms admit plurals in a very restricted way and when so, with marginal results:

- (675) a. **Adiskideak besoak hautsi dira.*
 friends arms break AUX.INTR
 'My friends broke their arms.'
 b. *?Adiskideak besoa hautsi dira.*
 friends arm break AUX.INTR
 'My friends broke (each) an arm.'

- c. **Adiskidea besoak hautsi da/dira.*
 friend arms break AUX.INTR.3A/3A.PL
 'My friend broke his arms.'

4.1.7. Verbs of saying, thinking and judging

4.1.7.1. Intransitive

Some factive verbs (verbs of thinking whose finite complement is understood factively) are conjugated with the intransitive auxiliary in Basque: *akordatu* 'remember', *jabetu* 'come to realize', *ohartu* 'realize'. Two others admit both a transitive and an intransitive auxiliary: *gogoratu*, *gomutatu* 'recall'. The finite complement of intransitive auxiliaries is probably not a canonical object. Two pieces of evidence can be brought up in favor of this view: (i) nominal objects of those verbs are never absolutive and (ii) Basque has a general ban on relativizing certain non-argumental elements (Artiagoitia 1992), and relativizing the finite complement or a *de dicto* demonstrative is impossible with intransitive verbs of saying, thinking and judging. Verbs such as *gogoratu* 'recall', that have both transitive and intransitive alternates are significant in this regard. In the transitive usage the complement is absolutive and admits relativization, but not in the intransitive one:

- (676) a. *Horretaz gogoratu naiz.*
 that.INSTR recall AUX.INTR
 'I recalled that.'
 b. *Hori gogoratu dut.*
 that recall AUX.TR
 'I recalled that.'
- (677) a. **Gogoratu naizena hori/horretaz da.*
 recall AUX.INTR.COMP.DET that/INSTR AUX.INTR
 'What I recall is that.'
 b. *Gogoratu dudana hori da.*
 recall AUX.TR.COMP.DET that AUX.INTR
 'What I recall is that.'

A verb of speech, *mintzatu* 'talk', is intransitive, and is conjugated with the auxiliary *izan* 'be':

- (678) *Horretaz mintzatu naiz.*
 that.INSTR talk AUX.INTR
 'I talked about that.'

Finally, the verb *egon* 'be (in a location)' can be used as a verb of judgement, with the meaning of 'be in the opinion that':

- (679) *Nago ez direla garaiz etorriko.*
 am.egon not AUX.that in.time come.FUT
 'I think (am in the opinion) that they will not be on time.'

This verb cannot be negated:

- (680) **Ez nago etorriko dir-elal-enik*
 not am.egon come.FUT AUX-COMP/COMP.PRTT
 'I don't think that they will come.'

4.1.7.2. Transitive verbs

Most of the verbs of saying, thinking and judging are transitive. Among them we have *aditu* 'hear, understand, perceive', *adierazi* 'express, let someone know', *adostu* 'agree on something', *agertu*, *azaldu* 'explain', *agindu* 'promise, order', *aholkatu* 'advise', *aipatu* 'mention', *salatu* 'denounce', *sortu*, *zabaldtu* 'invent, spread the false idea that', *amestu* 'dream', *asmatu* 'invent', *aurreratu* 'anticipate that', *iragarri* 'announce', *hitzeman* 'promise', *dudatu/duda egin* 'doubt', *deklaratu* 'declare', *aldarrikatu* 'proclaim', *entzun* 'hear', *erabaki* 'decide', *esan* 'say', *erakutsi* 'show', *erantzun* 'answer', *eskatu* 'ask for', *galdetu* 'ask', *berretsi* 'confirm', *hotsegin* 'call (saying that)', *idatzi* 'write', *leitu*, *irakurri* 'read', *ihardetsi* 'reply', *ikasi* 'learn', *jakin* 'know', *kontatu* 'tell', *xuxurlatu* 'whisper', *oihu egin* 'shout (that)', *igarri* 'guess, divine', *pentsatu* 'think', *sinetsi* 'believe', *uste edun* 'believe (have an opinion)' and *ukatu* 'deny'. Among the transitive verbs of saying, thinking and judging, there are some that have been adapted to such functions from apparently more basic meanings: *egin* 'do', *eman* 'give', *jo* 'hit'. The first (*egin*) is used for conjectures, the second (*eman*) to denote hypothetical events:

- (681) a. *Egingo nuke Xabier taberna horretan*
 do.FUT AUX.TR.POT Xabier pub that.in
dagoela.
 is.egon.that
 'I would say that Xabier is in that pub.'
- b. *Egin nuen nere arterako lan hura ez*
 do AUX.TR my own.for work that not
zela komeni.
 was.that convenient
 'I said to myself that that work wasn't convenient.'
- (682) a. *Emango nuke uzta ederra izango*
 give.FUT AUX.TR.POT harvest good.DET be.FUT
dugula.
 AUX.TR.that
 'I would say that we will have a good harvest.'
- b. *??Eman nuen ez zela etorriko.*
 give AUX.TR not AUX.INTR.that come.FUT
 'I conjectured that he would not come.'

Jo 'hit' is used as an equivalent of 'take for' when the complement is prolativ:

- (683) *Tontotzat jo dute.*
 dumb.as hit AUX.TR
 'They considered him (as) dumb.'

Raising verbs of saying, thinking and judging are morphologically transitive: *iduri* 'seem' and *eman* 'seem':

- (684) a. *Iduri du Jon haserre dagoela.*
 seem AUX.TR Jon angry is.egon.that
 'It seems that Jon is angry.'
- b. *Jonek iduri du haserre dagoela.*
 Jon.ERG seem AUX.TR angry is.egon.that
 'Jon seems to be angry (lit. Jon seems that he is angry).'

The embedded subject of (a) is raised in (b), and takes ergative case. Evidence for raising is provided by the fact that no overt element can occur as

the subject of the embedded clause when there is an overt subject in the matrix (but see 4.10.1.1.9):

- (685) **Jonek iduri du bere taldeak galdu duela.*
 Jon.ERG seem AUX.TR his team.ERG lose AUX.TR.that
 'Jon seems that his team lost.'

Similarly for *eman*. When *iduri/irudi* takes an aspectual mark, it is automatically conjugated with the dative-absolutive auxiliary. The result is a non-raising verb that can have two different overt subjects in the matrix and the embedded clause, respectively:

- (686) *Joni irudi-tultzzen zaio Xabier ez dela etorriko.*
 Jon.DAT seem-PRF/IMPF AUX.3A/3D Xabier not
 AUX.INTR.that come.FUT
 'It seems to Jon that Xabier will not come (lit. 'Jon seems that...').'

Raising of the absolutive embedded subject is not possible (with flat, non-focus intonation):

- (687) **Nonbait, Xabier Joni iruditu zaio ez*
 apparently Xabier Jon.DAT seem AUX.3A/3D not
dela joango.
 AUX.INTR.that go.FUT
 'Apparently, Xabier seems to Jon that (Xabier) will not come.'

4.1.7.3. Ditransitive verbs

There are two morphologically ditransitive verbs of saying and judging in Basque. One is *eritzi* 'judge', which has both synthetic and periphrastic forms, and the other one, which can only be conjugated synthetically, is **io* 'say'. Part of the latter's defective paradigm is formally identical to some forms of the ditransitive auxiliary. To the ditransitive auxiliary accompanying a verb like 'bring', corresponds a formally identical synthetic verb with a transitive meaning of 'someone saying something'. There are no such forms involving anything other than third person absolutes and datives. The verb **io* has also ditransitive forms, but those include a further dative marker *-ts-* and a person affix referring to the dative argument:

- (688) a. *Jonek Xabier etorriko dela dio.*
 Jon.ERG Xabier come.FUT AUX.INTR.that 3A.say.3E
 'Jon says that Xabier will come.'
- b. *Jonek etorriko dela diosku. (<dio+ts+gu)*
 Jon.ERG come.FUT AUX.INTR.that 3A.say.1D.PL/3E
 'Jon tells us that Xabier will come.'

The verb *eritzi* 'judge' is also conjugated as a ditransitive verb, although it takes no overt absolutive argument:

- (689) *Nik horri interesgarri deritzot.*
 I.ERG that.DAT interesting judge.3D/1E
 'I judge that as interesting.'

See section 3.5.2.4.5.

4.2. Nominal Predication: copulative sentences and secondary predication

I. Zabala

4.2.1. Basic copula verbs

Western and eastern dialects differ substantially with respect to basic copulative verbs: the former have two basic copula verbs, *izan* and *egon*, whereas the latter only employ the verb *izan*. As we will argue later, this difference is crucial for the syntactic instantiation of nominal predicates subcategorized by these verbs. As one could expect from this dialectal distribution, the more restrictive and marked of these copula verbs is *egon* (Villasante 1980), which selects stage-level predicates (Zabala 1993, Artiagoitia 1997), that is, more or less transitory or delimited states or activities. This copula proves therefore ungrammatical with individual-level predicates, that is, those expressing more or less permanent characteristics of the subject.

- (690) a. *Miren haurdun dagolda.*
 Miren pregnant is.*egon/is.izan*
 'Miren is pregnant.'

- b. *Miren bilbotarra *dago/da.*
 Miren Bilbaoan.DET is.egon/is.izan
 'Miren is from Bilbao.'

Leaving aside this aspectual restriction, predicates belonging to very different grammatical categories are possible as complements of the verb *egon*: first, adjectives and nouns (a,b); second, certain inflected noun phrases (c), either locatives expressing location, states or activities, or sociative and privation phrases (d); third, adverbs expressing mood or activity (e); fourth, perfective participles (f) with different adverbial or agreement endings (*-ta*, *-rik*, *-a[k]*); fifth, inessive nominalizations expressing activities (g); and finally, clauses (h):

- (691) a. *Mikel urduri dago.* (AP)
 Mikel nervous is.egon
 'Mikel is nervous.'
- b. *Jon irakasle dago MIT.n* (NP)
 Jon lecturer is MIT.LOC
 'Jon is working as a lecturer at MIT.'
- c. *Beñat etxean/lanean/langabezian dago.* (PP)
 Beñat home/work/unemployment.LOC is
 'Beñat is at home/working/unemployed.'
- d. *Garazi zurekin/lanik gabe dago.* (PP)
 Garazi you.with/work.PRTT without is
 'Garazi is with you/without a job.'
- e. *Itziar txarto/oihuka dago.* (ADVP)
 Itziar badly/scream.ADV is
 'Itziar feels bad/is screaming.'
- f. *Ander nekatuta / nekaturik / nekatua dago.* (PTCP)
 Ander tired.PTCP/ tired.PTCP/ tired.DET is
 'Ander is tired.'
- g. *Nerea abesten dago.*
 Nerea sing.NOM.LOC is
 'Nerea is singing.'
- h. *Amaia zer egin ez dakiela dago.*
 Amaia what do not knows.COMP is
 'Amaia just stands there not knowing what to do.'

In eastern dialects, most of the examples in (691) can be constructed with the verb *izan*. Therefore, the verb *izan* allows both stage-level and individual-level predicates.

- (692) a. *Peru gaztea da.*
 Peru young.DET is.*izan*
 ‘Peru is young.’
 b. *Peru urduri da.*
 Peru nervous is
 ‘Peru is nervous.’

Furthermore, speakers that use the copula *egon* often employ the verb *izan* not only for individual-level predicates but also for clear stage-level predicates such as locatives:

- (693) a. *Peru etxean / langabezian/ / zurekin /*
 Peru home.in / unemployment.in / you.with /
 lanik gabe da.
 work.PRTT without is
 ‘Peru is at home/unemployed/with you/without a job.’
 b. *Ander nekatulik / nekatua da.*
 Ander tired.PTCP / tired.DET is
 ‘Ander is tired.’

As Rebuschi (1982) points out, constructions containing both the participle bearing the affix *-ta* and the verb *izan* are not found (**Ander nekatuta da*) because the ending *-ta* is used in Bizkaian, a dialect which chooses the verb *egon* in these cases.

Moreover, there are some stage-level predicates, such as those expressing psychological or physical states (*beldur*, *ikara* ‘fear’, *gose* ‘hunger’, *egarri* ‘thirst’, *lotsa*, *ahalge* ‘shyness’, *haserre* ‘annoyance’, *izerdi* ‘sweat’, *hotz* ‘cold’, *bero* ‘heat’) which require the verb *izan* in all dialects (694); location of events also requires the verb *izan* (695):

- (694) *Haurra beldur da/*dago.*
 child fear is.*izan*/is.*egon*
 ‘The child is frightened.’

- (695) *Jaia Mirenen etxean da/*dago.*
 party Miren.GEN house.in is
 'The party is at Miren's house.'
 (cf. *Sp la fiesta es en casa de Miren*)

When used with activities, the verb *izan* needs the aspectual verb *ari* (see 3.5.5.1.1); otherwise the construction is ungrammatical (696d). *Beñat lanean da* without the aspectual particle *ari* is as grammatical as (696c), but it is interpreted as a locative, that is, 'Beñat is at the place where he works':

- (696) a. *Nerea abesten ari da.*
 Nerea sing.NOM.LOC be.engaged.in AUX
 'Nerea is singing.'
 b. *Itziar oihuka ari da.*
 Itziar shout.ADV be.engaged.in AUX
 'Itziar is shouting.'
 c. *Beñat lanean ari da.*
 Beñat work.at be.engaged.in AUX
 'Beñat is working.'
 d. **Nerea abesten/oihuka da.*

Finally, equative constructions require the verb *izan* in all dialects (697) but existentials allow for both copulative verbs (698).

- (697) *Haren aita Peru da/*dago.*
 his father Peru is
 'His father is Peru.'

- (698) *Badal/badago hori egin dezakeen jende asko.*
 ba.is that do AUX.POT.COMP people a.lot
 'There are a lot of people who can do that.'

Both predicative and equative constructions can be constructed with the dyadic auxiliary verb *edun*. Constructions of this type allow both stage-level (699c) and individual-level (699b) predicates (in examples such as [699] *-zu* in the auxiliary is an allocutive morpheme corresponding to the listener and not an argument of the verb or the nominal predicate):

- (699) a. *Hau Mikel duzu.*
 this Mikel have.3A/2E
 'This is Mikel.'
- b. *Miren bilbotarra/gaztea duzu.*
 Miren Bilbaoan.DET/young.DET have.3A/2E
 'Miren is from Bilbao/young.'
- c. *Jon txarto/ oihuka/ Mirenekin/*
 Jon badly/ shout.ADV/ Miren.with/
langabezian/ etxean duzu.
 unemployment.in/ home.in have.3A/2E
 'Jon feels bad/is shouting/is with Miren/is unemployed/is at home.'

Nevertheless, dyadic auxiliary verbs both of the ergative/absolutive or absolutive/dative type often instantiate arguments of the nominal predicate, as in (700). Constructions bearing true arguments contrast with allocutives in (699) because they lack person restrictions:

- (700) a. *Zapata horiek handiak ditu haurrak.*
 shoe those big.DET AUX.3A.PL/3E child.ERG
 'Those shoes are too big for the child.' (lit. 'he has them big')
- b. *Dirua beharrezkoa du Jonek proiektua*
 money necessary AUX.3A/3E Jon.ERG project
aurrera eramateko.
 forward carry.out.to
 'Jon needs money in order to carry out the project.' (lit. 'Jon has money necessary...')
- c. *Dirua beharrezkoa zaio Joni proiektua*
 money necessary AUX.3A/3D Jon.DAT project
aurrera eramateko.
 forward carry.out.to
 'Jon needs money in order to carry out the project.' (lit. 'Money is necessary to him in order to...')

Different kinds of (auxiliary) verbs appear with participles depending on the number of arguments, as in the following example. Note that with the auxiliary *edun* 'have' in (701b), two different readings are obtained: a predicative reading and an active perfective one:

- (701) a. *Liburua apurtua da.*
 book break.PRF.DET is
 'The book is ruined.'
- b. *Liburua apurtua duzu.*
 book break.PRF.DET have.3A/2E
 'That book you've got is ruined/You have ruined the book.'
- c. *Mila aldiz esana diot hori*
 thousand time.INSTR say.PRF.DET AUX.3A/3D/1E that
Mireni.
 Miren.DAT
 'I have said this to Miren a thousand times.'

With the verb *izan*, different arguments of the participle such as agents, themes or goals can be instantiated without agreement, only if the participle bears the article. The construction in (702a) is semantically similar to a passive, but there is no change in case assignment if we compare it with an active construction, since the 'theme' takes absolutive case and the 'agent', ergative case. The construction in (702b) is an antipassive, since the 'agent' takes the absolutive case instead of the ergative. When an argument of the participle does not agree with the auxiliary verb, it must be adjacent to the participle and the ordering is therefore very restricted (Ortiz de Urbina & Uribe-Etxebarria 1991) (**zuk gutun hau idatzia da*; **gutun hau idatzia da zuri*; **gutun hau idatzia da zuk niri*).

- (702) a. *Gutun hau zuk idatzia da.*
 letter this.ABS you.ERG write.PRF.DET is
 'This letter has been written by you.'
- b. *Ni gutun asko idatzia naiz.*
 I letter a.lot.ABS write.PRF.DET am
 'I have written a lot of letters.'
- c. *Gutun hau zuri idatzia da.*
 letter this.ABS you.DAT write.PRF.DET is
 'This letter has been written to you.'
- d. *Gutun hau zuk niri idatzia da.*
 letter this.ABS you.ERG I.DAT write.PRF.DET is
 'This letter has been written by you to me.'

4.2.2. Syntactic instantiation of nominal predicates with the basic copula verbs *izan* and *egon*

Nominal predicates often show the affix *-a/-ak*, which agrees in number with the subject and is, at least morphologically, identical to the determiner attached to argument noun phrases (see 3.1.2.2). Some scholars claim that the presence of this affix in nominal predicates is a relatively recent phenomenon (Michelena 1978) due to the influence of Romance number inflection. From a synchronic point of view, the nature of this affix is also controversial: it has been claimed to be a number agreement morpheme (Zabala 1993) or a determiner (Artiagoitia 1997). In any case, copulative constructions with the verb *izan* are sometimes ambiguous, since they can be interpreted both as equative or as predicative. For example (a, b) below can be interpreted respectively as 'Jon is a teacher' or 'Jon is the teacher' and 'Jon and Miren are teachers' or 'Jon and Miren are the teachers'.

- (703) a. *Jon irakasle-a da.*
 Jon teacher-DET is
 'Jon is a/the teacher.'
- b. *Jon eta Miren irakasle-a-k dira.*
 Jon and Miren.ABS teacher-DET-PL are
 'Jon and Miren are (the) teachers.'

This ambiguity is analogous to that resulting in argument noun phrases containing mass nouns or plural count nouns (704), which shows that the Basque article is not directly connected with definiteness. This fact explains, at least in part, the more or less surprising combination 'predicate+determiner'.

- (704) a. *Ardo-a edango dugu.*
 wine-DET drink.FUT AUX.3A/1E.PL
 'We will drink some/the wine.'
- b. *Liburu-a-k erosi ditugu.*
 book-DET-PL buy AUX.3A.PL/1E.PL
 'We bought some/the books.'

Lafitte (1944) points out that Zuberoan uses the article with equatives (*gutun hau ona da* 'this is the good letter') but not with predicative constructions (*gutun hau on da* 'this is a good letter') and that, in contrast, in Navarro-Labourdin (Low Navarrese-Lapurdian), these constructions are

disambiguated by changing word order: *gutun hau ona da* 'this is a good letter' / *gutun hau da ona* 'this is the good letter'.

Nevertheless, the morphemes *-a/-ak* affixed to arguments and predicates differ with respect to obligatoriness, since articleless arguments are always ungrammatical (705), whereas different behaviors are observed amongst nominal predicates: some nominal predicates are ungrammatical without an article (706a); with a second group of nominal predicates the article is optional depending on speakers and dialects (706b,c), and finally, there is a group of predicates which always proves ungrammatical with the article (706d,e):

- (705) *Ardoal/*ardo edango dugu.*
 wine.DET/wine drink.FUT AUX.3A/1E.PL
 'We will drink some wine.'

- (706) a. *Miren bilbotarra/*bilbotar da.*
 Miren Bilbaoan.DET/Bilbaoan is
 'Miren is from Bilbao.'
- b. *Mikel gazte(a) da.*
 Mikel young(DET) is
 'Mikel is young.'
- c. *Mikel lodi(a) dago.*
 Mikel fat(DET) is.
 'Mikel is fat.'
- d. *Haurra beldur/*beldurra da.*
 child fear/fear.DET is
 'The child is frightened.'
- e. *Miren haurdun/*haurduna dago.*
 Miren pregnant/pregnant.DET is
 'Miren is pregnant.'

Traditionally, the presence/absence of the article has been associated with permanent/transitory properties of the subject respectively (Lafitte 1944, Txillardegi 1978, Villasante 1980, Goenaga 1980, Rebuschi 1982, Euskaltzaindia 1985). In fact, the presence of the article in nominal predicates is closely related to the distinction 'individual-level'/'stage-level' (Zabala 1993, Artiagoitia 1997): lexical items that are always instantiated as stage-level predicates are ungrammatical with the article (707a,b); while, in contrast, lexical items that are always instantiated as individual-level predicates are ungrammatical without the article (707c):

- (707) a. *Etxea salgai(*-a)/eginkizun(*-a) dago.*
 house for.sale(-DET)/to.be.done(-DET) is
 'The house is on sale/still to be built.'
- b. *Haurra beldur(*-a)/gose(*-a)/egarri(*a) da.*
 child fear/hunger/thirst is
 'The child is frightened/hungry/thirsty.'
- c. *Lehendakaria bilbotar*(-a)/emakume*(-a) da.*
 president Bilbaoan/woman is
 'The president is from Bilbao/a woman.'

Some lexical items can be instantiated both as stage-level or as individual-level predicates and there is a clear tendency to disambiguate them by using the article. This tendency should be logically more visible in eastern dialects with a single copula verb. In fact, Lafitte (1944) states for the Navarro-Labourdin dialect that some adjectives have a different sense with and without the article: *eri* 'sick' / *eria* 'sickly'; *kexu* 'irritated' / *kexua* 'irritable'. In any event, even in dialects with the copula *egon*, some adjectives are unacceptable with the article when instantiated as stage-level predicates (708b), whereas some others are acceptable both with and without the article (708a):

- (708) a. *Garazi oso lodi(-a)/ handi(-a)/ gazte(-a)/*
 Garazi very fat(-DET)/ big(-DET)/ young(-DET)/
zahar(-ra)/polit(-a) dago.
 old(-DET)/pretty(-DET) is
 'Garazi is very fat/big/young/old/pretty.'
- b. *Garazi oso urduri(*-a)/lasai(*-a)/gaixo(*-a) dago.*
 Garazi very nervous(-DET)/calm(-DET)/sick(-DET) is
 'Garazi is very nervous/calm/sick.'

Nouns never allow the article when instantiated as stage-level predicates:

- (709) *Miren irakasle(*-a)/neskame(*-a) dago.*
 Miren teacher(-DET)/maid(-DET) is
 'Miren is working as a teacher/maid.'

When the adjectives and nouns in (708) and (709) are instantiated as individual-level predicates, western speakers normally attach the article. This is also the most standard practice, since it is in fact the option promoted by the

Basque Academy (Euskaltzaindia 1985). Nevertheless, in some eastern dialects the examples in (710) are also acceptable without the article.

- (710) a. *Garazi polita eta lasaia da.*
 Garazi pretty.DET and serene.DET is
 ‘Garazi is pretty and serene.’
 b. *Garazi irakaslea da.*
 Garazi teacher.DET is
 ‘Garazi is a teacher.’

The article is necessary when instead of a bare noun or adjective we have a noun modified by an adjective or any kind of adnominal (711b,c). Some speakers construct these sequences with the indefinite article *bat* ‘a’ (711d); this practice is however considered as an innovation due to the influence of Spanish and French.

- (711) a. *Garazi polit(a)/irakasle(a) da.*
 Garazi pretty(DET)/teacher(DET) is
 ‘Garazi is pretty/a teacher.’
 b. *Garazi irakasle bikain-a da.*
 Garazi teacher fantastic-DET is
 ‘Garazi is a fantastic teacher.’
 c. *Garazi ingelesezko irakasle-a da.*
 Garazi English.of teacher-DET is
 ‘Garazi is an English teacher.’
 d. *Garazi irakasle bikain/ingelesezko irakasle bat da.*
 Garazi teacher fantastic/English.of teacher a is
 ‘Garazi is a fantastic teacher/an English teacher.’

The article *-a/-ak* is also necessary with the superlative affix *-en*, since an uniquely referring reading is required (712a). Needless to say, the indefinite article *bat* ‘a’ is not possible in this context. Nominal predicates bearing a genitive affix also require the article *-a/-ak*.

- (712) a. *Garazi irakaslerik onen-a da.*
 Garazi teacher best-DET is
 ‘Garazi is the best teacher.’
 b. *Poltsa plastikozko-a/Itziarren-a da*
 bag.DET plastic.of-DET/Itziar.GEN-DET is
 ‘The bag is (made) of plastic.’/‘The bag is Itziar’s.’

On the other hand, when the adjective takes the comparative affix *-ago* or the excess affix *-egi*, there is a tendency in all dialects to instantiate the adjective without the article:

- (713) *Hau erraza da baina hori are errazago(a)*
 this easy.DET is but that still easy.more(DET)
eta hura errazegi(a).
 and that easy.too(DET)
 'This is easy but that is still easier and that over there is too easy.'

Some stage-level predicates show the partitive affix *-(r)ik* (referred to as 'partitive article' in Lafitte 1944), which in nominal arguments has a complementary distribution with the article *-a/-ak*. This affix always results in an indefinite reading with arguments, and predicates bearing it are always interpreted as stage-level predicates. We find this partitive affix with either predicates that are always of the stage-level kind (714a) or predicates with the stage/individual option (714b); (714c,d) exemplify the contrasting individual reading obtained without this affix:

- (714) a. *Haurra pozik/goserik/beldurrik/gaixorik da(go).*
 child happy/hunger/fear/sick.PRTT is
 'The child is happy/hungry/frightened/sick.'
 b. *Haurra isilik/bakarrrik/zutik da(go).*
 child quiet/alone/standing.PRTT is
 'The child is quiet/alone/standing.'
 c. *Haur isila/bakarra da Peru.*
 child quiet/only.DET is Peru
 'Peru is a quiet/the only child.'
 d. *Hau lerro zuta da.*
 this line vertical.DET is
 'This is a vertical line.'

Surprisingly, stage-level predicates which express psychological or physical states can also be instantiated with the definite ergative affix, if accompanied by the copula *egon* (715a). Summarizing, this kind of predicate can be instantiated as in (715a), (715b) and (715c). However, these possibilities are not equally productive: with *beldur* 'fear' and *gose* 'hunger', the most frequent one is (715c), but with *poz* 'happiness' it is (715b). The ergative patterns in (715a) seem largely fossilized.

- (715) a. *Miren beldurrak/goseak/pozak dago/*da.*
 Miren fear/hunger/happiness.ERG is
 b. *Miren beldurrik/goserik/pozik da/dago.*
 Miren fear/hunger/happiness.PRTT is
 'Miren is frightened/hungry/happy.'
 c. *Miren beldur / gose / poz da / *dago.*
 Miren fear / hunger / happiness is
 'Miren is frightened/hungry/happy.'

Finally, some nominal predicates with clausal complements disallow the article in all dialects (716):

- (716) a. *Argi(*-a) dago [honela egin behar dugula].*
 clear(-DET) is in.this.way do must AUX.that
 'It is clear that we must do it in this way.'
 b. *Posible(*-a)/zilegi(*-a)/hobe(*-a) da [ezer ez esatea].*
 possible/legal/better(-DET) is anything not
 say.NOM.DET
 'It is possible/legal/better not to say anything.'

Nevertheless, some others are normally used with the article, at least in western dialects, but can also be instantiated without article. In fact, in eastern dialects the predicates in (717) are normally articleless:

- (717) a. *Gezurralegia/segurua da [honela egin behar dugula].*
 lie/true/certain.DET is in.this.way do must AUX.that
 'It is a lie/true/certain that we must do it in this way.'
 b. *Ona / komenigarria / beharrezkoa / erraza / zaila da [hori egitea].*
 good / advisable / necessary / easy / difficult.DET is that do.NOM.DET
 'It is good/advisable/necessary/easy/difficult to do that.'

Notice that clausal arguments of nominal predicates appear postposed in the neutral order and, thus, the copulative verb intervenes between the nominal predicate and the clausal argument. In equative constructions the verb also intervenes between the two members of the equation. This ordering contrasts with the neutral order in predicative and equative constructions with nominal arguments, in which the verb-final ordering is the most neutral one.

- (718) [*Egin behar duguna*] *da* [*mundu guztiari*
do must AUX.COMP.DET is world all.DAT
esatea].
say.NOM.DET
‘What we must do is tell everybody.’

4.2.3. Opinion verbs with predicative complements

We can distinguish three kinds of opinion verbs (see section 4.1.7) taking into account the case assigned to the subject of the nominal predicate: first, we have the verbs *hartu* ‘take’, *jo* ‘hit’, *eduki* ‘have’ and *eman* ‘give’, all meaning ‘take for, consider’ in this case. These assign absolutive case to the subject of the nominal predicate. Secondly, the verbs *iruditu*, *iduri edun* ‘seem’ and *eman* in its meaning ‘appear’ assign ergative case to this subject. Finally the verb *iritzi* assigns dative case:

- (719) a. *Mikel azkartzat daukat.*
Mikel intelligent.as have.3A/1E
‘I consider Mikel intelligent.’
b. *Mikelek azkarra dirudi.*
Mikel.ERG intelligent.DET seem.3A/3E
‘Mikel seems intelligent.’
c. *Zure lanari interesgarria deritzot.*
your work.DAT interesting.DET consider.3A/3D/1E
‘I think your work is interesting.’

Nominal predicates with the verbs *hartu*, *jo*, *eduki* and *eman* always take the prolativ suffix *-tzat*, which is invariable in number. With the verb *eman*, this suffix often appears attached to a participle; nevertheless, it can also appear with other categories (720b). This verb also differs from the other three verbs because it expresses an action controlled by the subject.

- (720) a. *Lana bukatutzat eman dut.*
work finished.as give AUX
‘I consider the work finished.’

- b. *Bere arimaz grinatzen ez dena*
 his soul.INSTR worry.IMPF not AUX.COMP.DET
emazu zorotzat.
 give mad.as
 'Consider mad anyone who doesn't worry about his soul.' [Lafitte 1944:126]

As for aspect, the verb *eduki* gives an imperfective reading, whereas the other three are perfective:

- (721) a. *Erretzailatzat neukan baina tabakoari gorrotoa*
 smoker.as had but tobacco.DAT hate
diola ikusi dut.
 has.that see AUX
 'I thought him/her a smoker but I saw that s/he hates tobacco.'
 b. *Sartu naizenean erizaina medikutzat hartu dut.*
 go.into AUX.when nurse doctor.as take AUX
 'When I went in, I took the nurse for a doctor.'

The verbs *iruditu* 'seem', *iduri edun* 'seem' eta *eman* 'take for' assign ergative case to the subject of their predicative complement. They can therefore be considered as raising verbs (see 4.1.7). In this context *iruditu* is always used as a synthetic verb and always has an imperfective reading; nevertheless, this verb can also be used as an absolutive/dative periphrastic verb, assigning absolutive case to the subject of the nominal predicate. With this variant all kinds of aspect can be expressed. The verb *eman* always shows the imperfective aspectual affix *-tzen* and transitive *iduri* never takes any aspectual mark:

- (722) a. *Jonek pozik dirudi.*
 Jon.ERG happy seem.3A/3E
 'Jon seems happy.'
 b. *Jon pozik iruditu zait.*
 Jon happy seem AUX.3A/1D
 'I think that Jon is happy.'
 c. *Hodei horrek txakurra ematen/iduri du.*
 Cloud that.ERG dog seem.IMPF/seem AUX
 'That cloud looks like a dog.'

The predicate can be either of the stage-level or the individual-level kind. When it belongs to the individual-level type, both predicates with the article and bare predicates are allowed (723a). However, the article seems more necessary with non-predicative nouns (723b).

- (723) a. *Peru eta Anderrek jator(rak)/irakasle(ak)*
 Peru and Ander.ERG friendly(DET.PL)/teacher(DET.PL)
dirudite.
 seem.3A/3E.PL
 'Peru and Ander seem friendly/teachers.'
- b. *Landare honek zuhaitza ematen du.*
 plant this.ERG tree.DET seem.IMPF AUX
 'This plant looks like a tree.'

The article is also necessary when the predicate can trigger both the stage-level and the individual-level interpretation.

- (724) *Jonek lasaia dirudi, baina oso urduri ikusi*
 Jon.ERG calm.DET seems but very nervous see
nuen hitzaldian.
 AUX talk.in
 'Jon seems like a calm person, but I saw him very nervous during the talk.'

Finally, the verb *iritzi* 'consider' often takes individual-level predicates as complements, and both predicates with and without the article are allowed. However, manner adverbs such as *ondo*, *ongi* 'well' and *txarto*, *gaizki* 'badly' are also very normal with this verb.

- (725) a. *Jonek oso arriskutsu(a) deritzo*
 Jon.ERG very dangerous(DET) consider.3A/3D/3E
zure jarrerari.
 your attitude.DET
 'Jon considers your attitude very dangerous.'
- b. *Gaizki deritzot zure jarrerari.*
 badly consider.3A/3D/1E your attitude.DAT
 'I don't like your attitude.'

4.2.4. Eventive verbs with predicative complements

We call eventive verbs the unaccusative predicates *ibili* ‘walk = be’, *ger-tatu*, *suertatu*, ‘happen = be’ and *azaldu*, *agertu* ‘appear = be’. Those verbs always take stage-level predicates as complements. The verb *ibili* selects stage-level predicates, but it allows predicative complements belonging to any grammatical category: adjectives (726a), nouns (726b), postpositional and adverbial phrases (726c), participles or gerunds (726d), and finally, clauses (726e).

- (726) a. *Jon gaixolurduri dabil.*
Jon sick/nervous walk.3A
‘Jon is sick/nervous.’
- b. *Peru artzain dabil Gorbea aldean.*
Peru shepherd walk.3A Gorbea area.in
‘Peru works as a shepherd in the Gorbea area.’
- c. *Jendea oihukallanean dabil.*
people shout.ADV/work.in walk.3A
‘People are shouting/working.’
- d. *Miren etsiturik/beldurtuta/abesten dabil.*
Miren despaired.PTCP/frightened.PTCP/sing.NOM.LOC walk.3A
‘Miren is tired out/frightened/singing.’
- e. *Amaia zer egin ez dakiela dabil.*
Amaia what do not knows.COMP walk.3A
‘Amaia just stands there not knowing what to do.’

See also section 3.5.5.1.2. There are some predicates that are compatible with the verb *egon* but are disallowed with *ibili*, and vice-versa, i.e. predicates which are grammatical with *ibili* but not with *egon*. The verb *ibili* requires its subject to be a living being (727a) and disallows nominal predicates with a theme subject (727d).

- (727) a. *Kafea bero-bero dago/*dabil.*
coffee hot-hot is
‘The coffee is very hot.’
- b. *Jon bero-bero dago/dabil bere proposamena*
Jon hot-hot is his proposal
baztertu denetik.
refused AUX.since
‘Jon has his nerves on edge since his proposal was refused.’

- c. *Txakurra hilda dago/*dabil.*
 dog dead is
 'The dog is dead.'
- d. *Jon lodi dago/*dabil.*
 Jon fat is/walks
 'Jon is fat.'

On the other hand, some adjectives which are normally instantiated as individual-level predicates can be used as stage-level predicates with the verb *ibili* but not with the verb *egon*:

- (728) a. *Mikel zintzoalargia da.*
 Mikel serious.DET/clever.DET is
 'Mikel is a serious/clever person.'
- b. *Mike zintzolari ibilil*egon da kontu honetan.*
 Mikel serious/clever walk/stand AUX matter this.in
 'Mikel was serious/clever about this matter.'

The verbs *azaldu* and *agertu* 'appear = be' take the monadic auxiliary *izan*, but *gertatu* and *suertatu* 'happen = be' can also take the absolutive/dative auxiliary. In this case the dative argument is an experiencer of the state expressed by the nominal predicate:

- (729) a. *Ikasleak interesaturik/pozik/prest azaldu dira*
 students interested/happy/ready appear AUX
proiektuari begira.
 project.DAT looking
 'Students appeared interested/happy/ready about the future project.'
- b. *Aldaketa kaltegarri gertatu zaie ikasleei.*
 change harmful happen AUX students.DAT
 'The change turned out harmful to the students.'
- c. *Aldaketa kaltegarri gertatu da ikasleentzat.*
 change.DET harmful happen AUX students.BEN
 'The change turned out to be harmful for the students.'

The restrictions imposed by the verbs *azaldu* and *agertu* 'appear = be' on their predicative complements are very similar to those imposed by *ibili* 'walk = be'. Otherwise, some combinations disallowed by the verb *ibili* are apparently possible with the verbs *azaldu* and *agertu*; however, notice that

those constructions trigger a different interpretation: with living beings the subject is interpreted as controller of the action (729a), and otherwise, when the subject cannot be a controller, the predicate is interpreted as an adjunct oriented to the object and is thus optional.

- (730) a. *Jon oso maitagarri azaldu da nirekin.*
 Jon very kind appear AUX me.with
 ‘Jon was very kind to me.’
 b. *Txakurra (hilda) azaldu da.*
 dog dead appear AUX
 ‘The dog was found dead.’

The verbs *gertatu*, *suertatu* ‘happen = be’ are disallowed with most stage-level predicates (such as *gaixo* ‘sick’, *urduri* ‘nervous’, *artzain* ‘shepherd’, *oihuka* ‘shouting’, *lanean* ‘at work’, *etsiturik* ‘despaired’, *beldurtuta* ‘frightened’, *abesten* ‘singing’ or *zer egin ez dakiela* ‘not knowing what to do’), but also with most individual-level predicates:

- (731) **Jon gazte/bilbotar gertatu da.*
 Jon young/Bilbaoan happen AUX
 ‘Jon happened young/from Bilbao.’

Nevertheless, when an adjective which can be instantiated as an individual-level predicate is used with the verbs *gertatu*, *suertatu* ‘happen’, the interpretation is always that of a stage-level predicate (732):

- (732) *Substantzia hori ez da kaltegarria, baina*
 substance that not is harmful.DET, but
 Mikeli kaltegarri gertatu zaio.
 Mikel.DAT harmful happen AUX
 ‘This substance is not harmful, but it turned out to be harmful to Mikel.’

4.2.5. Change and duration verbs

The most paradigmatic duration verb is *iraun* ‘continue’, which assigns ergative case to the subject of its predicative complement. This verb clearly selects stage-level predicates of different categories and the article is always disallowed:

- (733) a. *Jonek lasailberdin/presolirakasle dirau.*
 Jon.ERG calm/same/imprisoned/teacher continues
 'Jon is still calm/the same/in prison/teaching.'
- b. *Haurrek pozik/zutik/bakarrik diraute.*
 children.ERG happy/standing/alone continue
 'The children are still happy/standing/alone.'
- c. *Miren eta Itziarrek etxean/gurekin/greban diraute.*
 Miren and Itziar.ERG house.in/we.with/strike.in continue
 'Miren and Itziar are still at home/with us/on strike.'
- d. *Herrialde boteretsuek herrialde pobreak zapaltzen diraute.*
 nation powerful.ERG.PL nation poor.DET.PL
 oppressing continue
 'Poor nations are still oppressed by powerful nations.'
- e. *Peruk zer egin ez dakiela dirau.*
 Peru.ERG what do not knows.COMP continues
 'Peru is still standing there not knowing what to do.'

Amongst change verbs taking nominal predicates as complements, two types can be distinguished: on the one hand there are the verbs *jarri*, *ipini* 'put = become', *geratu*, *gelditu* 'stop = remain' and *utzi* 'leave', which always select stage-level predicates (734); on the other hand there are the verbs *bihurtu* eta *bilakatu* 'become, turn', which select individual-level predicates (735):

- (734) *Jon pozik/gure aurrean/*aberats(a)/indartsu(a) jarri da.*
 Jon happy/our front.in/rich(DET)/strong(DET) become AUX
 'Jon became happy/facing us/rich/strong.'
- (735) *Zure laguna *pozik/*gure aurrean/aberats(a)/indartsu(a) bihurtu da.*
 your friend happy/our front.LOC/rich(DET)/strong.(DET) become AUX
 'Your friend became happy/in front of us/rich/strong.'

The synonymous verbs *jarri* and *ipini* are incompatible with most adverbial participles (736a). Only those participles which express positions are possible with these verbs (736b):

- (736) a. **Bustital*/**harrituta*/**idatzita*/**apurtuta* *jarri* *da/dugu*.
 wet/surprised/written/broken become AUX
 'He became/we turned him *wet/*surprised/*written/*broken.'
 b. *Etzanda/zutik/eserita/tentel/okertuta* *jarri* *da/dugu*.
 lying/standing.up/seated/erect/crooked become AUX
 'He got/we got him lying/seated/standing up/crooked.'

The verbs *geratu* and *gelditu*, on top of a change of state, can also express the duration of the state:

- (737) *Gaizki egin genuen eta horrela geratuko da betiko*.
 badly do AUX and like.this stay.FUT AUX for.ever
 'We did it badly and it will stay like this for ever.'

Concerning the syntactic instantiation of nominal predicates, *gelditu*, *geratu*, *ipini*, *jarri* and *utzi* select articleless predicates, since they are always of the stage-level type. The verbs *bihurtu* eta *bilakatu* also disallow the article in most speakers' competence, despite the fact that those predicates are always of the individual-level type. An explanation for this striking fact could be that, since the verb expresses a change of a characteristic of the individual, this characteristic is considered transitory by the speakers. A similar tendency is observed when the verb *izan* is used to express an achievement (738b).

- (738) a. *Ura ardo bihurtu zuen*.
 water wine become AUX
 'He turned the water into wine.'
 b. *Azterketa gainditua zuen eta dagoeneko kimikari zen*.
 test pass.PRF.DET AUX and finally
 chemist was
 'He passed the test and finally became a chemist.'

A similar behavior is observed with verbs such as *hautatu* 'elect', *izendatu* 'appoint', *sartu* 'go into' and *joan* 'go' which always appear with nouns expressing a more or less transitory post or job.

- (739) a. *Miren buru hautatu/izendatu dute*.
 Miren head elect/appoint AUX
 'They elected/appointed Miren head.'

- b. *Jon artzain joan da.*
 Jon shepherd go AUX
 'Jon went (to work) as a shepherd.'
- c. *Peru apaiz sartu da.*
 Peru priest go.into AUX
 'Peru became a priest.'

4.2.6. *Secondary predicates*

Secondary predicates are those which are not necessary for the grammaticality of the clause in which they are embedded. Since they are not part of the subcategorization of the verb, they can appear with most verbs. Nevertheless, just as in other languages, stative verbs and non-controller subjects are disallowed with secondary predicates.

- (740) a. *Jonek lasai hitz egin du.*
 Jon.ERG calm word do AUX
 'Jon spoke calmly.'
- b. **Jonek lasai daki ikasgaia.*
 Jon.ERG calm knows lesson
 'Jon knows the lesson calmly.'
- c. **Jonek musika maite du lasai.*
 Jon.ERG music love AUX calm
 'Jon loves music calmly.'

Otherwise, there are secondary predicates oriented to both ergative and absolutive subjects and also depictive and resultative secondary predicates oriented to the object.

- (741) a. *Haurra_i pozik_i etorri zen Bilbotik.*
 child happy come AUX Bilbao.from
 'The child came from Bilbao happy.'
- b. *Peruk_i pozik_i egin zuen lana.*
 Peru.ERG happy do AUX work
 'Peru did the work happy.'
- c. *Mikelek liburua_i apurtuta_i ekarri zuen.*
 Mikel.ERG book broken bring AUX
 'Mikel brought the book broken.'

- d. *Jonek koadroa_i okertuta_i eskegi du.*
 Jon.ERG picture crooked hang AUX
 'Jon hanged the picture crooked.'

Dative arguments can't be the subject of secondary predicates (742a), the exception being datives in causative constructions which correspond to the subject of the action caused by the subject of the clause:

- (742) a. **Peruk liburu bat oparitu zion bere*
 Peru.ERG book one give AUX his
alabari_i gaixorik_i.
 daughter.DAT sick
 'Peru gave a book to his sick daughter.'
 b. *Irakasleak Mikeli_i bakarrik_i dantzarazi zion.*
 teacher.ERG Mikel.DAT alone dance.CAUSE AUX
 'The teacher made Mikel dance alone.'

As in other languages, secondary predicates must be of the stage-level type. They are instantiated without the article.

- (743) a. *Jonek urduri(*a) hitz egin du.*
 Jon.ERG nervous(DET) word do AUX
 'Jon was nervous when he spoke.'
 b. *Sagarrak merke(*ak) erosi ditugu.*
 apple.DET.PL cheap(DET.PL) buy AUX
 'We bought (the) apples cheap.'

Finally, there are also postpositional secondary predicates. First, the prola-tive suffix *-tzat* is allowed in some dialects with secondary predicates, and postpositions such as *bezala*, *modura* and *gisa* are also used in this context.

- (744) a. *Miren lapurtzat salatu dute.*
 Miren thief.as denounce AUX
 'They denounced Miren as thief.'
 b. *Peruk liburua mailu bezala/modura/gisa*
 Peru.ERG book hammer as
erabili du.
 use AUX
 'Peru used the book as a hammer.'

- c. *Jonek irakasle bezala/modura/gisa hitz egin digu.*
 Jon.ERG teacher as word do AUX
 'Jon spoke to us as teacher.'

4.3. Word order

J. Ortiz de Urbina

4.3.1. *Neutral order*

This section deals with word order at the clausal level, as opposed to ordering constraints inside phrases, which are discussed in the sections devoted to the latter. While phrase internal order is largely fixed, phrase combination is not rigid in Basque. All the permutations of the bracketed constituents in the following example produce grammatical sentences in Basque:

- (745) [*Ene aitak*] [*amari*] [*gona gorria*] [*ekarri dio*].
 my father.ERG mother.DAT skirt red.DET bring AUX
 'My father brought mother a red skirt.'

Different orders produce different prominence configurations, the most important of which, the focal interpretation of preverbal elements, is discussed in section 4.4.

Most Basque grammarians have identified SOV as the 'neutral' or 'basic' order (de Rijk 1969; Villasante 1980:17, also calls it 'aseptic'). Lafitte (1944:46) considers the sequence *subject-adjunct-indirect object-direct object-attribute-verb* the 'neutral' or 'purely grammatical' style, as in the example:

- (746) *Aita Sainduak atzo bi erresumeri aphezpiku*
 father holy.ERG yesterday two nation.DAT bishop
bat ararteko igorri diote.
 one mediator send AUX
 'The Holy Father sent yesterday a bishop to the two nations as mediator.'

The neutral order subject-indirect object-direct object is in a mirror image relationship with respect to the markers which cross-reference these arguments in the tensed verbal form.

The 'neutral' positioning of dative nominals is in fact more complex than Lafitte's template indicates. While it is true that datives precede absolutive objects, they follow absolutive subjects. Thus, (a) is less marked than (b):

- (747) a. *Jon sendagileari joan zaio.*
 Jon doctor.DAT go AUX
 'Jon went to the doctor.'
 b. *Sendagileari Jon joan zaio.*

However, ethical datives or experiencer datives in psychological predicates do sound more neutral when preceding the absolutive subject (Zabala 1995, Zabala & Odriozola 1996):

- (748) *Sendagileari amona hil zaio.*
 doctor.DAT grandmother die AUX
 'The doctor's grandmother died (on him).'

 (749) *Sendagileari kafea gustatzen zaio.*
 doctor.DAT coffee like.IMPF AUX
 'The doctor likes coffee.'

Some fixed ordering phenomena seem to reflect the basic unmarked order. Thus, when there is a constraint on the relative order of arguments, it is always the subject-object order that is required. This is, for instance, the order of interrogative pronouns in double *wh*-questions (4.4.6.3.1.2):

- (750) *Eta zure prestutasunaz ... nork zer erranen du?*
 and your virtue.INSTR who what say.FUT AUX
 'And about your virtue, who will say what?' [Ax. 2]

Similarly, post-auxiliary focalization in negative clauses may affect any element in immediate pre-participial position, but only constituents in their neutral position may be interpreted as emphasized if not to the left of the participle. Moreover, the focalized interpretation may 'spread' from the pre-participial position to include other constituents provided that all of them occupy their 'basic' neutral position (cf. 4.4.7.2.1 for a detailed discussion of these constraints). The basic verb-final character of Basque may also be seen in the fact that when the position of verbs is constrained, they are required to occupy a final position (as in relatives, and, more loosely, in some other embedded contexts, see 4.10.2). Some processing strategies also rely

on 'neutral' order templates. Thus, without a disambiguating context, absolutive sequences are interpreted as subject-object sequences:

- (751) *Jon Mikel ari da ikusten.*
 Jon Mikel ari AUX see.IMPF
 'Jon is seeing Mikel.'

Moreover, as indicated in 4.8.2.3, dative sequences in causatives are least acceptable when they have the same grammatical person, perhaps due to processing difficulty. However, if at all, the preferred interpretation would be one where the first dative (*Mikeli* 'to Mikel' in the following example) refers to the logical subject of the action brought about by the causer (*sal-* 'sell' here), and the second one corresponds to the goal:

- (752) ??*Gurasoek Mikeli Joni etxea salerazi diote.*
 parents.ERG Mikel.DAT Jon.DAT house sell.CAUSE AUX
 'His parents made Mikel/Jon sell the house to Mikel/Jon.'

Along with the verb-finality of relative clauses, parsing ease might underlie these interpretational preferences, but the fact that the preferences are these and not the opposite may stem from basic structural patterns of the language.

While the neutral position of argumental phrases seems to be as described so far, the distributional properties of adjuncts are far less well understood. Osa (1990) already pointed out that some adverbs tend to occur in focal position. Elordieta (2001), on the other hand, points out that there exists a difference between manner VP adverbs (at least simple ones like *txarto* 'badly', *ondo* 'well', *tinko* 'firmly') and sentence adverbs. Manner adverbs typically occur in the preverbal position in neutral, verb-final contexts:

- (753) (**ondo*) *Jonek* (??*ondo*) *azken azterketa (ondo)*
 well Jon.ERG well last exam well
 burutu du.
 complete AUX
 'John completed the last exam well.'

However, in marked sentences where some other element is focalized, their position is freer:

- (754) a. *Jonek AZKEN AZTERKETA burutu zuen ondo.*
 Jon.ERG last exam complete AUX well
 'It was the last exam that Jon completed well.'
- b. *JONEK burutu zuen azken azterketa ondo.*
 'It was Jon who completed the last exam well.'

These adverbs differ from sentential adverbs, which, according to Elordieta (2001) have a freer distribution:

- (755) a. (*atzo*) *Jonek (atzo) ipuinak (atzo) kontatu zituen.*
 yesterday Jon.ERG yest. tales yest. tell AUX
 'Yesterday Jon told some tales.'
- b. (**ondo*) *Jonek (*ondo) ipuinak (ondo) kontatu zituen.*
 well Jon.ERG well tales well tell AUX
 'Jon told some tales well.'

In the preverbal position, the adverb is interpreted as focalized. Moreover, in postverbal position adverbs like *atzo* 'yesterday' may be interpreted as new information, while manner adverbs may not:

- (756) *Jonek ipuinak kontatu zituen atzo.*
 Jon.ERG tales tell AUX yesterday
 'Jon told some tales yesterday.'

When the two adverb types cooccur, the most common order (in positions in which both can appear) is sentential adverb-manner adverb in preverbal position, and the mirror image manner adverb-sentential adverb in postverbal position:

- (757) a. *Jonek ipuinak atzo ondo/*ondo atzo*
 Jon.ERG tales yesterday well/well yesterday
kontatu zituen.
 tell AUX
 'Jon told some tales well yesterday.'
- b. *Jonek ipuin batzuk kontatu zituen *atzo txarto/?txarto atzo.*

4.3.2. *Heavy constituents*

As in English, heavy elements, especially clauses, tend to occur to the right in Basque (Hidalgo 1996). Thus, while the neutral position of nominal objects is the preverbal one, that of clausal objects can be postverbal. As a result, the SVO order need not contain a focalized subject when O is a clause (see also 4.10.1.1.1.8):

- (758) *Jonek esan du Mikelek erlojua galdu*
 Jon.ERG say AUX Mikel.ERG watch. lose
duela.
 AUX.COMP
 'Jon said that Mikel lost the watch.'

In fact, Hualde et al. (1994) report, that, in the Lekeitio dialect, this is virtually the only context where the preverbal element need not bear focal stress (see 4.3.3 below). Altube (1929) also mentions this order as occurring quite frequently in the language, even though, from a normative perspective, he considered it ill-formed.

The tendency for heavy, clausal elements to occur to the right is more marked with subjects of copulative predicates, as pointed out by Zabala (2000):

- (759) *Egia da tenperatura konstantea dela.*
 truth.DET is temperature constant.DET is.COMP
 'It is true that the temperature is constant.'

- (760) *Garbi dago tenperatura konstantea dela.*
 clear is temperature constant.DET is.COMP
 'It's clear that the temperature is constant.'

This is not restricted to intransitive subject clauses, as shown in the following examples, where the embedded clause will not usually occur before the verb unless focalized:

- (761) *Konturatu da etxean inor ez zegoela.*
 realize AUX home.LOC anybody not was.COMP
 'He realized that there was no one at home.'

- (762) *Arazoa da gaixorik dagoela.*
 problem is sick is.COMP
 'The problem is that s/he is sick.'

Similarly, some clauses hardly ever function as foci and tend to occur to the right of the clause. This is the case, for instance, of *eta*, *ze*, *bait* causal clauses (4.10.2.2.1.5) as opposed to *-lako* clauses (4.10.2.2.1.1.3).

Discourse considerations, however, may override heaviness, so that those clause types whose discourse function is typically thematic tend to appear as topics in the left periphery of the clause. This is the case of conditional and concessive clauses (Zabala 2000):

- (763) *Baldintza egokiak izanez gero,*
 condition appropriate.DET.PL have.PRF.INSTR after
ugaldu egiten dira.
 multiply do.IMPF AUX
 'Once they have the appropriate conditions, they multiply.'

- (764) *Baldintza egokiak badituzte, ugaldu*
 condition appropriate.DET.PL if.have multiply
egiten dira.
 do.IMPF AUX
 'If they have the appropriate conditions, they multiply.'

- (765) *Baldintzak egokiak direnez, ugaldu*
 conditions appropriate.DET.PL are.COMP.INSTR multiply
egiten dira.
 do.IMPF AUX
 'Since the conditions are appropriate, they multiply.'

Heavy constituents other than clauses also tend to occur to the right of the clause unless focalized. In the following sentences with direct and indirect object, where neither of them is focalized, topicalized or dislocated, the heaviest one will normally occur to the right of the lighter element, so that the (a) patterns are preferred:

- (766) a. *Neuk emango diot Joni [bileran*
 I.ERG give.FUT AUX Jon.DAT meeting.LOC
eskatutako informazio guztia].
 requested.REL information all.DET
 'I will give Jon the information requested at the meeting yesterday.'
- b. *Neuk emango diot [bileran eskatutako informazioa guztia] Joni.*
- (767) a. *Neuk emango diet informea [atzoko*
 I.ERG give.FUT AUX report yesterday.LOC
bileran eskatu zidatenei].
 meeting.LOC request AUX.DAT
 'I will give the report to those who requested it at the meeting yesterday.'
- b. *Neuk emango diet [atzoko bileran eskatu zidatenei] informea.*

4.3.3. *Neutral order and focalization*

The adjective 'neutral' applied to the SOV order is intended to imply that no constituent is emphasized for contrastive or emphatic purposes over the others. Such 'focalization' gives rise to one of the most robust word order constraints in Basque, discussed at length in 4.4: foci (and wh-words) immediately precede the verbal element. The claim that SOV is the 'basic' word order tries to capture the oft-noted intuition that while the preverbal object in this order need not be interpreted as 'emphatic', any other preverbal argument in any other order (and perhaps the verb itself in the verb-initial orders VSO and VOS) is usually construed as focalized. This is true even in dialects where at least one constituent must bear focal stress (as in the Lekeitio variety described in Hualde et al. 1994), since it is only a preverbal object with focal stress that may be interpreted as informationally unemphatic.

The Lekeitio facts correspond quite closely with Altube's (1929) description, which indicates that the latter is valid for at least some Bizkaian or western dialects. The pattern described by Altube has become a quasi-normative system followed, more or less consciously, by writers of the literary, unified dialect. The oral tradition of other dialects and the written practice before this century, established outside of the normativizing influence of Altube's work, seems to have been different. Hidalgo (1995, 1999) points out that postverbal focalized elements were common, rising to frequencies higher than for preverbal foci the more complements and adjuncts are added

to the verb. The possibility of emphasizing constituents in different positions places fewer constraints on word order in such varieties.

4.3.4. *Non-focalized material in marked contexts: topics*

Any number of constituents may precede or follow the focus-verb unit in marked contexts:

- (768) a. *Jonek Mikeli liburua* [ATZO eman zion].
 Jon.ERG Mikel.DAT book yesterday give AUX
 ‘Jon gave Mikel the book yesterday.’
 b. [ATZO eman zion] *Jonek Mikeli liburua*.

Left-field elements behave like marked topics (*links*, in Vallduvi’s 1990, 1995 terminology), spelling out part of the informational ground of the sentence. They are usually separated from the rest of the clause to their right by a pause and/or a rise in intonation which leads to the major prominence of the clause, that of the focused constituent. Where, as in (768), more than one element function as links, they receive a listing intonation, with intonational breaks after each topical element.

Constituents to the right of the focus+verb unit (*tails*) do not function as marked topics, although they usually represent old information. They lack the intonational characteristics associated with left-field links. Moreover, they differ from right-field constituents in that tails cannot be used as contrastive topics. Thus, in the context provided by a question like (769), contrastive topics usually precede the focalized element:

- (769) *Nork lagunduko die zure lagunei?*
 who.ERG help.FUT AUX your friends.DAT
 ‘Who will help your friends?’
- (770) a. *Joni [Mirenek lagunduko dio], eta Peruri*
 Jon.DAT Mary.ERG help.FUT AUX and Peru.DAT
 [Mikelek (lagunduko dio)]
 Mikel.ERG
 ‘Mary will help Jon, and Mikel (will help) Peru.’
 b. ??*[Mirenek lagunduko dio] Joni, eta [Mikelek (lagunduko dio)]*
 Peruri.

Order among the elements in the right and left field seems to be free.

Marked topics to the left are always associated with a focalized element (4.4.1). Thus, while it is possible to have a sentence with a focused element but without topics (as in [771a]), it is not possible to find a sentence with marked topics and no focus:

- (771) a. NEUK esango diot.
 I.INTS.ERG say.FUT AUX
 'I will tell him.'
 b. *Nik, ordea, esango diot.*
 I.ERG on.the.other.hand say.FUT AUX
 'I, on the other hand, WILL tell him.'

In (b) the verb *esango diot* will have to be interpreted as focalized, since it is the only constituent other than the topic *nik* 'I' (a contrastive topic, as *ordea* 'on the other hand' indicates). This effect is more clearly perceivable with synthetic verbal forms:

- (772) a. JONEK daki.
 John.ERG knows
 'JON knows.'
 b. *Jonek, ordea, *(ba)daki.*
 Jon.ERG ba.knows
 'Jon, on the other hand, does know.'

Just as above, (a) contains a focus and no marked topic, while (b) contains a contrastive topic. As a result, there must be a focus, and the only candidate is the verb, hence the obligatory character of *ba* in the example (see 4.4.3.2.2).

Topics must correspond to clausal constituents; unlike languages like Japanese, it is not possible to have clause-independent material as in (773):

- (773) **Arraina, LEGATZA gustatzen zait.*
 fish hake like.IMPF AUX
 'Fish, I like hake.'

It is possible to topicalize verbs by placing a perfective participial form (i.e. the citation form of the verb) in the left field:

- (774) *Ikusi, zerbait ikusten dut; izan badut*
 see something see.IMPF AUX have *ba.have*
zuk baino gehiago.
 you.ERG than more
 'As for seeing, I see something; as for having, I do have more than you.' [Mitx. EIG VI:159]

- (775) *Debekatu, ez du inork debekatzen edo debekatu.*
 forbid not AUX anyone forbid.IMPF or forbid.PRF
 'As for forbidding it, noone forbids or has forbidden it.' [Mitx. EIG VI:159]

It is also common to place topicalized verbs to the right of the clause, separated by a pause from the preceding elements in what we called the 'right field' above:

- (776) *Orain ez duguna lor dezakegu, [...]*
 now not have.COMP.DET get AUX
eta luzaro gabe lortu, lortu ere.
 and long.time without get get also
 'We can get what we do not have now, ... and even get it without delay.' [Mitx. EIG VI:134]

The clause-internal verb in verb topicalization structures can be substituted by the dummy *egin* 'do':

- (777) *Saiatu, behintzat, egingo gara.*
 try at.least do.FUT AUX
 'Try, at least, we will.'
- (778) *Azken hiru ipuiak [...] idatzi ere San Martinek*
 last three tales write also San Martin.ERG
egin ditu.
 Do AUX
 'The last three tales...San Martin has written them.' [Mitx. EIG I:91]

Notice that in (777) the intransitive auxiliary required by *saiatu* is employed, rather than the transitive one selected by contentful *egin* 'do'. This alternative with dummy *egin* is heavily restricted by ill-understood conditions. Thus, it is not open to all predicates (for many speakers, a verb like *joan* 'go' could not be used instead of *saiatu* 'try' above, perhaps due to the

scalar nature of the adverb *behintzat* ‘at least’, R. Etxepare p.c.). In example (777), moreover, elimination of the adverb produces a deviant structure (b), while the topicalized verb may be repeated without any problem (a):

- (779) a. *Saiatu, saiatuko gara.*
 try try.FUT AUX
 ‘As for trying, we will try.’
 b. *??Saiatu, egingo gara.*
 do.FUT AUX

Most speakers reinterpret the second sentence as a case of verb focalization (4.4.3.2.1) rather than verb topicalization.

This dummy *egin* is different from a contentful *egin* ‘do’ which can refer to an action, which can itself be topicalized. Thus, contrast (a) and (b):

- (780) a. *Hortan saiatu, behintzat, egingo gara.*
 that.LOC try at.least do.FUT AUX.INTR
 ‘Try that, at least, we will.’
 b. *Hortan saiatu, behintzat, egingo dugu.*
 AUX.TR

In the second alternative, *egin* is not a dummy substituting for the topicalized predicate, but the activity verb ‘do’ referring back to the action of ‘trying that’ and taking the transitive auxiliary it selects, regardless of the transitivity of the topicalized verb. The fact that this *egin* maintains its own argument structure independent of that of the topicalized phrase can also be observed in cases like the following, where the dative in the topicalized phrase is not marked in the auxiliary of *egin* itself:

- (781) a. *Lanari ekin, egingo dut* (**diot*).
 work.DAT act do.FUT AUX.3A/1E AUX.3A/3D/1E
 ‘Buckle down to work, I WILL do it.’
 b. *Berari esan, nik egingo dut*
 he.DAT tell I.ERG do.FUT AUX.3A/1E
 (**diot*).
 AUX.3A/3D/1E
 ‘As for telling him, I will do it.’

On the contrary, in example (778) above, we find dummy *egin* substituting for *idatzi* ‘write’, and taking an auxiliary which cross-references the plural object ‘tales’ of this verb (*ditu*). Returning to cases like those in (781), it is

possible for the auxiliary of *egin* to register a dative argument, as long as it can be construed as one of its own arguments ('do something to someone').

Altube (1929:62) describes a related usage of *egin* where the action to which this verb refers is focalized, rather than topicalized as in the previous examples:

- (782) *Horrek [etxera joan] egin du.*
 that.ERG home.ALL go do AUX.TR
 'what that one did was go home.'

- (783) *Zuk ostera [seme beartsuari kendu eta
 you.ERG instead son needy.DAT take.away and
 aberats zakurrei eman] egiten duzu.*
 rich dogs.DAT give do.IMPV AUX
 'What you do, instead, is take away from the needy son and give to the rich dogs.'

Notice again the independence of the argumental structures of *egin* and the verb in the focalized expression (transitive auxiliary and absence of dative marking). Although Altube claims these constructions are used throughout the Basque country, many speakers do not accept them at present.

4.4. Focalization

R. Etxepare & J. Ortiz de Urbina

4.4.1. General remarks

As will be seen in the following sections, *wh*-words and foci occur immediately to the left of verbal elements. Moreover, the position occupied by the operator+verb pair can be described as clause-initial, since any elements occurring to their left are interpreted as topics or scrambled material. This is the case of the constituents to the left of *nori* 'to whom' or *berari* 'to him' in the following examples:

- (784) *NOR-I/BERA-RI azaldu zion Jonek*
 who-DAT/him-DAT explain AUX Jon.ERG
atzo bere erabakia.
 yesterday his decision
 'Jon explained his decision to him yesterday.'

(785) *Jonek atzo NORI/BERARI azaldu zion bere erabakia.*

(786) *Jonek NORI/BERARI azaldu zion atzo bere erabakia.*

(787) *Atzo NORI/BERARI azaldu zion Jonek bere erabakia.*

(788) *Atzo Jonek NORI/BERARI azaldu zion bere erabakia.*

(789) *Bere erabakia NORI/BERARI azaldu zion Jonek.*

(790) *Bere erabakia Jonek NORI/BERARI azaldu zion.*

In fact, where topics occur to the left of the clause, some element is usually interpreted as focalized. Thus, in the following sentence *niri* 'to me' appears displaced to the left of the clause, interpreted as topic (separable from the rest of the clause by a pause, indicated by a comma), and as a result either *Jonek* or the verb itself will most likely be interpreted as focalized:

(791) *Ni-ri, Jonek azaldu zidan.*

I-DAT Jon. ERG explain AUX

'JON explained that to me.'

The verb may also be topicalized and focused at the same time; the topicalized verb appears then in the citation form (participial):

(792) *Hartu ere har-tzen dut erabakia.*

take also take-IMPF AUX decision

'As for taking, I TAKE my decision.' [Atx. *Ob.*:111]

Since *hartu* 'take' has been topicalized here, some element is expected to be focalized; in this case the verb itself, which is then fronted inside its clause (see 4.4.3.2.2 below). Topicalized verbs may be substituted by the dummy verb *egin* 'do' inside the clause (4.3.4):

(793) *Saiatu behintzat egingo gara.*

try at.least do.FUT AUX

'At least try, we WILL.' [Atx. *Ob.*:24]

The tendency to have a focalized element in the presence of topicalized material is also made responsible for the apparent need to focalize the verb in the following sentences:

(794) *Jonek, behintzat, *(ba)daki.*

Jon at.least ba-knows

'Jon, at least, does know.'

The presence of *behintzat* 'at least' forces *Jonek* to be interpreted as a topic (de Rijk 1978), and the existence of this focus forces in turn the synthetic verb to receive focal interpretation, reflected here by the prefix *ba-* (see 4.4.3.2.2). However, this argument for the topic/focus relationship is weakened if *ba* is interpreted not as a focus marker but as a particle supporting the tensed verb, a clitic, in a context where no clausemate element to its left is found (Ortiz de Urbina 1994). This situation emerges when the verb is fronted to the left in focalization, but also if no other element is present in the clause, as in the previous example.

At least in some varieties of the language, SOV sentences need not have a focalized constituent. The situation may be different in some dialects like the Lekeitio variety described in Hualde et al. (1994), where all main clauses must contain an element with focal stress. This is no doubt related to the fact that most words lack lexical accent in this dialect. Even there, though, an SOV sentence with focal stress on the object may receive both object emphatic *or neutral* interpretation. On the other hand, neutral interpretations are not found in clauses with a different word order.

At the same time, it is possible to have more than one constituent focalized. Just as two *wh*-words may cooccur in preverbal position, with paired readings, two constituents may be emphasized with the same type of interpretation:

- (795) KOTXEA ETXEAN utzi nuen atzo (ez giltza
 car at.home leave AUX yesterday not key
bulegoan).
 office.the.in
 'I left THE CAR AT HOME yesterday, not the key in the office.'

- (796) NEUK HEMENTXE ikusi dudalako.
 I right.here see AUX.because
 'Because I saw it HERE.' [Osa 1990:74]

It is not possible to insert any non-focalized material intervening between the focalized constituents. In any event, outside of cases like '*From where to where*', this focalization strategy is found in highly contrastive contexts.

Multiple *wh*-questions can be formed by coordinating *wh*-words:

- (797) Noiz eta nola sortua da Sail hori?
 when and how born is section that
 'When and how was that section born?' [Mitx. EIG I:115]

- (798) *Non, norekin eta zertako eginen dugu gerla?*
 where, who.with and why make.FUT AUX war
 'Where, with whom and why will we make war?' [Eliss. P.A.:89]

Occasionally, stacked wh-words may be found in some texts:

- (799) *Eta zure prestutasunaz... nork zer erranen du?*
 and your virtue.on who what say.FUT AUX
 'And who will say what on your virtue?' [Ax. 2]
- (800) *Noiz nun entzun duzu?*
 when where hear AUX
 'When (and) where did you hear it?' [Lafitte 1944:224]

Stacked foci and questions must be placed in an order corresponding to the 'neutral' order; thus, in (799) the order *zer nork* 'what who' and the order *etxean kotxea* 'at home the car' in (795) would not be acceptable. See section 4.4.6 for pre-verbal foci and wh-words coexisting with yet other such elements in different positions in the sentence.

Some morphological and syntactic devices produce emphasis which quite often results in syntactic focalization of the marked constituent. Thus, demonstratives and some adverbials may be attached the suffix *-xe*: *horixe* 'that very one', *hementxe* 'right here', *oraintxe* 'right now'; pronouns have special intensive forms: *ni* 'I' vs. *neu* 'I myself', *zu* 'you' vs. *zeu* 'you yourself'; adjectives may be reduplicated for emphasis: *zuri-zuria* 'very white', *handi-handia* 'very big'; phrases can also be emphasized by adding the demonstrative *bera* in apposition, marked with the same ending: *Jonek berak* 'Jon himself', *zuzendariarentzat berarentzat* 'for the director himself'. While elements thus marked are perfectly felicitous in pre-verbal position, there seems to be some variation as to whether they can appear in non-focus position. Many speakers reject intensive pronouns in non-focus position, and the same is often reported for elements marked with the intensive marker *-xe* (de Rijk 1978:106). However sentences like the following are certainly acceptable for many speakers:

- (801) *Orain irakurri dituzun liburu horiexek nik*
 now read AUX.COMP book those.INTS I.ERG
aspaldian irakurri nituen.
 long.ago read AUX
 'Those very books which you have read now, I read long ago.'

It seems therefore that, at least for some of these strategies, emphasis need not correspond to syntactic focalization.

Echo-questions usually respect left-adjacency with the verb, so that the *wh*-word, rather than occupying the position it would in the basic declarative sentence, is typically moved to the pre-verbal position:

- (802) *-Zugandik atera dira kontu zikin guzti horiek.*
 you.from come AUX story dirty all those
-Nigandik ZER atera dela?
 me.from what come AUX.that
 'All those dirty stories have come from you. (That) what has come from me?' [Atx. *Ob.*:64]

- (803) *-Jonek kontu zikin guzti horiek atera ditu.*
 Jon.ERG story dirty all those invent AUX
-Kontu horiek nork atera ditu(ela)?
 story those who invent AUX(that)
 'Jon invented all those dirty stories. Who invented all those stories?'

The adjacency phenomena described above for foci and *wh*-words are fairly conspicuous and recognized in traditional grammars of Basque. The behaviour or foci is sometimes claimed to be less strict than normative grammar suggests, especially in narrative or discursive contexts (Michelena 1978, Villasante's 1979 preface to the second edition of Altube 1929). It has also been mentioned that the situation may be different depending on the dialects. With respect to the former remark, de Rijk (1996) has pointed out that special effects obtained in narration by 'breaking' focalization rules presuppose the existence of such rules. As to the latter, dialectal differences will certainly occur, but in the absence of detailed and reliable studies of focalization in most dialects, this is a fairly impressionistic criticism. In-depth studies from this perspective only exist for western dialects, where the focalization strategies described below are generally held to be more robust: Hualde et al. (1994) in fact describes a dialect with a more strict, rather than looser, focalization system. In any event, the focalization (and certainly question formation) strategies described in this chapter are generally respected in conversational style in western dialects, and, more or less consciously, in the standard written language. Section 4.4.8 below will present some less standard patterns. Except where indicated otherwise, the grammatical system which will be described in this chapter corresponds to an

educated standard central variety of the language close to Northern High Navarrese (Irun).

In order to emphasize the essential similarities between focalization and question formation, we will be discussing the two processes simultaneously. Thus, we will consider *wh*-questions and non-verbal focalization under the same heading (section 4.4.2), and include *yes/no* questions and *wh*-questions, in a different joint section (section 4.4.3). Subconstituent question and focalization will be the topic of section 4.4.4, where different pied-piping possibilities are mentioned for operators inside different non-clausal phrases. On the other hand, questions and focalization of elements inside embedded clauses is discussed separately in section 4.4.5, whether the operator originating in an embedded clause is maintained there, as in indirect questions, or moved to a different higher clause. Since both foci and interrogative elements seem to vie for the same pre-verbal 'position', an obvious question which emerges is whether two or more *wh*-words, foci, or combination thereof are compatible, and this issue is addressed in section 4.4.6. The special problems associated with focalization in negative clauses will be examined in section 4.4.7. Finally, section 4.4.8 will deal with cases where foci or *wh*-words occur in a position other than the immediately pre-verbal one.

4.4.2. *Wh*-questions and non-verbal focalization

As mentioned at the outset of this section, in positive clauses, *wh*-words and focalized constituents occur immediately to the left of the verb, whether analytical or synthetic:

- (804) ... *hi hau ume horrek aita. Ez ...*
 you have.2A/3E child that.ERG father not
 gizon gaiztoa.
 man mischievous
 'That child has *you* as his father. Not ... that mischievous man.' [Atx. *Ob.*:20]

- (805) *Zer egiten duzu zuk hemen?*
 what do.IMPF AUX you.ERG here
 'What are you doing here?' [Atx. *Ob.*:56]

Inflectional particles (3.5.7), however, may intervene between the *wh*-word or focus and a synthetic verb:

- (806) *Zergatik ote dago hainbeste tximeleta?*
 why Q is so.many butterfly
 'Why are there so many butterflies?' [Atx. *Ob.*:220]

- (807) *JONEK omen daki hori*
 Jon.ERG apparently knows that
 'Apparently, Jon knows that.'

Occasionally, parenthetical elements may be found between the two elements:

- (808) *Zein idazle, gaurko edo denbora bateko,*
 which writer today.REL or time other.REL
iruditzen zaizu
 seem.IMPF AUX
gidaririk zuzenena hitz kontuan?
 guide.PRTT correct.most.DET word matter.in
 'Which writer, from today or from other times, seems to you the best guide in terms of words?' [Mitx. *EIG* I:92]

The operator-verb adjacency is occasionally absent, especially with *zergatik* and other causal wh-words:

- (809) *Zertako baratze hartako ogiak ekhartzen du*
 why land that.from wheat.ERG bring.IMPF AUX
horrenbertze buru?
 so.many head
 'Why does the wheat in that land produce so many heads?' [Duv. *Lab.*:55]
- (810) *Zergatik Christok hautatu zuen beretzat*
 why Christ.ERG choose AUX for.him
pobrezaren bidea?
 poverty.GEN way
 'Why did Christ choose the way of poverty for himself?' [Mogel CB:263]

Examples of this sort abound in the earliest texts, such as Leizarraga's 16th century religious translations. Most examples involve *zergatik* 'why', *nola-tan* 'how, how come', although other wh-word types are also found:

- (811) ... *zer horrek erran nahi du?*
 what that.ERG say want AUX
 '... what does that mean?' [Leiz. 1297]

- (812) *Zer gehiago hemen erraiten da?*
 what more here say.IMPF AUX
 'What else is said here?' [Leiz. 1324]

Most present-day speakers find examples like (811) and (812) ungrammatical. As indicated in the previous section, the position of the *wh*/focus+verb group is clause initial, although topics/scrambled elements may occur to their left:

- (813) *Euskalerria eta euskal gauzak nola ikusten dituzu?*
 Basque.Country and Basque things how see.IMPF AUX
 'How do you see the Basque Country and Basque affairs?'
 [Mitx. EIG I:56]

- (814) *Sail hori, nola dago eratua?*
 section that how is organized
 'How is that section organized?' [Mitx. EIG I:116]

In the case of analytical verbal forms, northern dialects admit a second focusing or interrogative strategy, where the operator occurs immediately to the left of the auxiliary, which is preposed to the auxiliary. The auxiliary is then separated from the participle, and any number of constituents may intervene between the auxiliary and the participle. This strategy is exemplified here both with *wh*-questions and foci:

- (815) *Zer bide du hartzen idazlariak?*
 which way AUX take.IMPF writer.ERG
 'Which way does the writer take?' [Etch. *Id.* I:293]

- (816) [*onetsi*] *EUSKAL-HERRIAREN BIHOTZ-BIHOTZEAN zituela*
 admit Basque-Country.GEN heart-heart.in AUX.that
Axularek iragan bere biziko lehen urteak.
 Axular.ERG spend his life.of first years
 '[admit] that it was at the very heart of the Basque Country that Axular spent the first years of his life.' [Etch. *Id.* I:236]

- (817) *Hunek du egin Euskal-Herria.*
 this.ERG AUX do Basque-Country
 'This one has made the Basque Country.' [Etch. *Id.* I:198]

Lafitte (1944) indicates that these patterns are more markedly emphatic than the alternative where the auxiliary remains after the participle.

4.4.3. Yes/no questions and verb focalization

4.4.3.1. Direct yes/no questions

Yes/no questions need not be signalled by any mark other than interrogative intonation:

- (818) *Jonek liburu hori irakurri du?*
 Jon.ERG book that read AUX
 'Has Jon read that book?'

Some dialects possess overt morphological markers for yes/no questions, such as *G al* or eastern (LN, Z, R and Sal). *-a*; the former is a verbal particle (3.5.7), while the latter occupies the same position as complementizers (3.5.7.3). *-a* is restricted to direct questions, while *al* may also be found in embedded contexts:

- (819) *Gure literaturak aurrerakada haundirik egin al*
 our literature.ERG improvement great.PRTT make *al*
du urte hauetan?
 AUX year these.in
 'Has our literature made any great improvements in the last years?'
 [Mitx. EIG I:96]

- (820) *Oro egin eta desegin, ez dea lur huntako legea?*
 all do and undo not is.a earth this.of law
 'To do and undo everything; isn't that the law of this world?' [Etch. *Id.* I:336]

There are also syntactic means to mark clauses as direct questions, in particular verb fronting:

- (821) *Baretuko ote lituzke zertxobait erdal-euskal*
 appease.FUT Q AUX a.bit Spanish-Basque
hiztegi batek eztabaidak?
 dictionary a.ERG controversies
 'Would a Spanish-Basque dictionary appease the controversies a bit?'
 [Mitx. EIG I:96]

- (822) *Esango al zeniguke zerbait azkenik?*
 say.FUT al AUX something finally
 'Would you tell us something finally?' [Mitx. EIG I:68]

- (823) *Entzun duziea gure auzo Biarnesek*
 hear AUX.a our neighbor Bearnese.ERG
berek nola goresten duten
 themselves.ERG how praise.IMPF AUX.COMP
beren hizkuntza?
 their language
 'Have you heard how our neighbors from Béarn themselves praise
 their language?' [Etch. *Id.* I:200]

The last two examples show that verb-fronting may cooccur with the interrogative particle *al* as well as the yes/no marker *-a*. As usual, a clause-initial verb may be preceded in turn by any number of topicalized/scrambled elements and a focalized constituent. Since subjects tend to be topics and objects are often focalized (see Hualde et al.1994), this means that it is not clear whether SOV sentences like the following exclusively involve interrogative intonation on a neutral word order or whether the object has been focalized:

- (824) *Baina entzuleak egilearen esan-nahi berbera*
 but listener.ERG author.GEN meaning same
aditzen al du?
 hear.IMPF al AUX
 'But does the listener hear the same meaning as the author?' [Mitx. EIG I:51]

- (825) *Musikak (...) gertakari bat adieraz al dezake?*
 music.ERG event a express(RAD) al AUX
 'Can music express an event?' [Mitx. EIG I:50]

Verb-fronting is perhaps more clearly perceived in yes/no questions with synthetic verbs. These are clitic-like elements which lean on the element to their left and which cannot therefore occur in absolute initial position in a main clause. Where verb-fronting to that position takes place, they are supplemented by the particle *ba* to their left:

- (826) *Ba al dugu musikan euskal eskolarik?*
ba al have music.in Basque school.PRTT
 'Do we have any Basque school in music?' [Mitx. EIG I:49]

- (827) *Ba al duzue idazlanik aski?*
ba al have manuscript.PRTT enough
 'Do you have enough manuscripts?' [Mitx. EIG I:83]

Topics may occur to the left of the initial verb, which will then also appear with *ba-* (828); however, this is not the case if a focalized constituent precedes it: that constituent 'counts' as first element to support the synthetic verb, as in (829):

- (828) *Euskal doinuek ba al dute berezkotasunik?*
 Basque songs.ERG *ba al* have peculiarity.PRTT
 'Do Basque songs have any peculiarities?' [Mitx. EIG I:48]

- (829) *Kaltegarritzat al daukazue joera hori?*
 harmful.as *al* have tendency that
 'Do you consider that tendency harmful?' [Mitx. EIG I:86]

4.4.3.2. Verb Focalization

Verb focalization stands out from the main focalization strategy described in the preceding sections in that it seems to employ, at least in part, different mechanisms. Since Altube (1929), a distinction has been drawn between two types of 'verb focalization': a) cases where the event itself is emphasized, contrasting it with other type of events, and b) cases where 'the positive or negative quality of the verb is emphasized', i.e. where what is emphasized is that the action or state did take place or is true, as opposed to not taking place or not being true. *A priori*, the contrastive overtones of the former seem more akin to the types of constituent focalization discussed in section 4.4.2, while positive verbal emphasis falls fully in line with the yes/no questions discussed in 4.4.3.1 However, both types of verb focaliza-

tion will be discussed in this section in order to prevent dispersion and to facilitate a sharper distinction between the two. Contrastive event focalization will be dealt with in 4.4.3.2.1, and 4.4.3.2.2 will be devoted to polar emphasis. Since negation presents additional problems which will be examined in section 4.4.7 below, we will concentrate here on positive polar emphasis.

4.4.3.2.1. Event focalization

By event focalization we refer to those cases of focus which do not emphasize the truth value of the sentence (thus, we also include focalization of stative verbs). Two different strategies are usually mentioned in this respect, depending on whether the verbal form is synthetic or analytical. In Bizkaian, including Bizkaian-speaking areas of Gipuzkoa, according to Osa (1990), the action expressed by synthetic forms may be emphasized by placing the participial form of the verb immediately to its left:

- (830) *Bizia, ibilli dabillan itzala baño ez da.*
 life walk walks.that shadow but not is
 'Life is not but a walking shadow.' [Osa 1990:175]

- (831) *Nik jakin dakit egia.*
 I know I.know truth
 'I know the truth.' [as opposed to 'think' or 'believe it']

Only verbal particles like dubitative *ote* (B *ete*) 'by any chance', conditional *ba* or quotative *ei* 'reportedly' may intervene between the two verbal forms. Since synthetic verbs, whether bare or preceded by these particles, are barred from clause-initial position, even in immediate post-topic position, it is clear that the participle in this strategy is not a topic, and that the two make up a single syntactic and phonological unit. For those dialects that do not use this strategy, there is no difference between event/state emphasis and positive emphasis with synthetic verbs, and *ba* is used for both.

A second strategy is found in the case of analytical verbal forms, also in western dialects, although reaching further to the east than the previous one (up to the coast of Lapurdi, according to Lafitte 1944:352). In this strategy, a dummy participle *egin* 'do' is placed between the verb and the auxiliary:

- (832) *Ama, behintzat, txoratu egin zen pozez.*
 mother at.least get.excited do AUX joy.with
 'Our mother, at least, got excited with joy.' [Atx. Ob.:28]
- (833) *Bigarren irakurketa batek ere susmo hori*
 second reading a.ERG also suspicion that
zilegiztatu egiten du.
 support do.IMPF AUX
 'A second reading also supports that suspicion.' [Atx. Ob.:22]

As the last example shows, aspectual marks (imperfective *-ten*) are borne by *egin*; inflectional particles will also occur between *egin* and the auxiliary. The presence of *egin* 'do' does not affect auxiliary choice, so that the latter will be intransitive or transitive depending on the emphasized verb: it is intransitive *izan* in the first example above, and transitive **edun* in the second. Intuitively, the participle seems to be occupying the usual pre-verbal position of foci, in this case pre-verbal with respect to the dummy verb *egin* 'do' (see Rebuschi 1983 for a more formal instantiation of this idea). In the Lekeitio dialect, where the phonological realization of focus has been best described, focal stress falls on the pre-*egin* participle, just as on pre-verbal foci (Hualde et al. 1994:168).

It is not clear at all whether the *egin* strategy involves verb fronting, and we have included examples with verb in initial, second and final position. In example (832) above, the presence of a marked topic (*ama*, marked by *behintzat*) requires, or at least favors, the existence of a focalized constituent (see above 4.4.1), and the *egin* strategy can be seen to fulfil that requirement (here perhaps with fronting).

In dialects where *egin* is not used there is no formal difference between event and positive emphasis, so the fronting strategy described in 4.4.3.2.2 will also be used for event emphasis.

4.4.3.2.2. Positive polar emphasis

Verbal forms with positive emphasis are fronted to the left of the clause (where, as usual, they may be preceded by any number of topicalized elements). In addition, they also receive focal stress. In this type of focalization, *synthetic forms* appear with the prefix *ba*:

- (834) *Jonek badakar hori.*
 Jon.ERG ba.brings that
 'Jon IS bringing that.'

As indicated above, the usage of this particle seems to be a reflection of the clitic status of synthetic forms, which usually lean on a host to their left. Such element is missing in clause-initial position, and the particle *ba* is then used to support the conjugated verbal form. From this perspective, this particle typically appears as a consequence of verb-fronting, rather than as a marker of focalization per se. At least since Altube (1929), it has often been assumed that the particle *ba* itself is the marker of positive emphasis, an analysis supported by the relation of this element to the positive particle *bai* 'yes'. However, this does not explain its restriction to synthetic verbal forms and, more importantly, disregards the usage of *ba* in other contexts where verb fronting takes place, such as yes/no questions (see section 4.4.3.1 above) and existential sentences like the following:

- (835) *Bada Sein Floreten Pillardit izeneko fraile*
ba.is St. Floret.in name.of friar
doktrino bat.
preaching one
 'There is in St. Floret a preaching friar called Pillardit.'
 [Lertx. O.P.:390]

Sometimes different factors may be combined: in the last example there could be a contrastive emphasis on the existential verb. See Oyharçabal (1984), Rebuschi (1982) for more details on this particle.

The absence of *ba* makes positive emphatic *analytical forms* less conspicuous, and Altube (1929:57) claimed that these are exclusively marked by focal stress. Euskaltzaindia (1985) points out verb initiality as an important syntactic property. However, given the availability of scrambling to the left of the clause, this property is often anything but salient. Some examples are given below:

- (836) *Eta bukatu zuten gizonek beren lana.*
and finish AUX men.ERG their work
 'And the men did finish their work.' [Atx. *Ob.*:39]
- (837) *Joan dira enarak, hasi da negua.*
go AUX sparrows begin AUX winter
 'The sparrows have left, winter has begun.' [Atx. *Ob.*:43]

Note that, even though the traditional description of sentences like these in Basque grammars assigns them 'contrastive' positive focus, most of these patterns with analytical verbs seem to be merely emphatic and not contras-

tive. The emphatic nature of many verb-initial verb constructions is also clear in exhortative and imperative sentences, where, if no other element is focalized, the verb is often preposed (Euskaltzaindia 1985:33):

- (838) *Ekin diezaigun, beraz, bigarren pasarteari.*
 focus AUX(SUBJ) therefore second paragraph.DAT
 'Let's, therefore, focus on the second paragraph.' [Atx. *Ob.* 30]

- (839) ...*zu joan zaitez errotara eta gelditu zaitez han,*
 you go AUX mill.to and stay AUX there
eta bidal ezazu alaba lehen bait lehen.
 and send(RAD) AUX daughter as.soon.as.possible
 'As for you, go to the mill, and stay there, and send your daughter as soon as possible.' [Atx. *Ob.*:33]

A heavily emphatic positive contrastive focus is found in a marked and apparently archaic strategy like the following, where only the auxiliary has been preposed:

- (840) *Badut ikusi!*
ba.AUX see
 'I HAVE seen.'

- (841) *Banintzan egon*
ba.AUX be
 'I WAS [there].' [Altube 1929:53, ft. 3]

These resemble negative patterns (see 4.4.7.2) where the auxiliary precedes the participle (and may be separated from it by intervening constituents). As in emphatic sentences without *do* support in English, positive focus is achieved here by focalizing the auxiliary element. As claimed above, emphasis will then involve fronting and *ba*-support for the clitic auxiliary which can no longer take the participle as a host.

4.4.4. Subconstituent questions and focalization

4.4.4.1. Questions and foci inside noun phrases

Foci and *wh*-words embedded within other constituents cause the latter to occur pre-verbally. Thus, in the following examples the whole noun phrase

must occur pre-verbally if any of its constituents is given focal emphasis:

- (842) [*JONEN/NOREN etxeko teilatuak*] *izan ditu itoginak.*
 Jon.GEN/whose house.REL roof.ERG have AUX leaks
 'The roof of JON's/WHOSE house has had leaks.'

- (843) [*Jonen ETXEKO/NONGO teilatuak*] *izan ditu itoginak.*
 Jon.GEN house.REL/where.REL roof.ERG
 'The roof of Jon's HOUSE/WHERE has had leaks.'

- (844) [*Jonen etxeko TEILATUAK/ZERK*] *izan ditu itoginak.*
 Jon.GEN house.REL roof.ERG/what.ERG
 'Jon's house ROOF/WHAT has had leaks.'

Since extraction from inside noun phrases is not acceptable, pied-piping is the only option for these structures. The situation is not identical in all dialects. For instance, Hualde et al. (1994:61-64) show that in the Lekeitio variety of Basque, which distinguishes accented and non-accented morphemes, only accented words may be focalized inside an NP; unaccented words may not receive focal stress. Such tight constraints may be restricted to dialects with pitch-accent patterns, and are certainly absent from the variety described here.

Question-words may ask about different constituents inside nominal phrases:

- (845) *Iazko zein kontuak ikertu dituzte?*
 last.year.REL which accounts examine AUX
 'Which accounts from last year did they examine?'

- (846) *Norako presa duk?*
 where.to.REL hurry have
 'Where are you hurrying?' (Lit. 'Do you have hurry to where?')
 [Lertx. O.P.:247]

Adnominal wh-words such as *noren* 'whose', *nongo* 'from where', *noizko* 'from when', *nolako* 'what type of', *norantzako* 'whereto', *zertarako* 'for what' must be adjacent to the head noun:

- (847) a. ??*Noren Axularren erretratoa aurkitu dute?*
 whose Axular.GEN portrait find AUX
 'Whose portrait of Axular did they find?'
 b. *Axularren noren erretratoa aurkitu dute?*
- (848) a. **Nongo iazko kontabilitatea ikertu dute?*
 where.REL last.year.REL accounting examine AUX
 'Last year's accounts from where did they examine?'
 b. *Iazko nongo kontabilitatea ikertu dute?*
- (849) a. **Noizko gure kontabilitatea ikertu dute?*
 when.REL our accounting examine AUX
 'Our accounts from when did they examine?'
 b. *Gure noizko kontabilitatea ikertu dute?*
- (850) a. **Nolako Frantziako jendea atsegin duzu?*
 how.REL France.REL people like AUX
 'What type of people from France do you like?'
 b. *Frantziako nolako jendea atsegin duzu?*
- (851) a. **Norantzako untzia bidea dago erratua?*
 where.to.REL ship.GEN way is mistaken.DET
 'The direction of the ship where is mistaken?'
 b. *Untzi horren norantzako bidea dago erratua?*
- (852) a. **Zertarako zure botikak ditu ondorio txarrak?*
 what.for your medicine.ERG has consequence
 bad.DET.PL
 'Your medicine for what has bad consequences?'
 b. *Zure zertarako botikak ditu ondorio txarrak?*

However, other adnominal wh-words may be separated from the head they inquire about:

- (853) a. *Norekiko zure hartuemanak ez dituzte onetsi?*
 who.with.REL your relations not AUX admit
 'Your relationship with whom don't they admit?'
 b. *Zure norekiko hartuemanak ez dituzte onetsi?*

- (854) a. *Norenganako Aitorren errespetua onesten dute?*
 who.toward.REL Aitor.GEN respect admit AUX
 'Aitor's respect toward whom do they admit?'
 b. *Aitorren norenganako errespetua onesten dute?*
- (855) a. *Zeri buruzko Gavrasen filmak astindu zintuen?*
 what.DAT about.REL Gavras.GEN film shock AUX
 'Gavras' film about what shocked you?'
 b. *Gavrasen zeri buruzko filmak astindu zintuen?*

Multiple questions are also possible inside nominals, without apparent restrictions of order among them. This is indicated by the slash in the following examples:

- (856) *Noren/Noizko kontuak ikertu dituzte?*
 whose/when.REL accounts examine AUX
 'Whose accounts from when did they examine?'
- (857) *Nolako/zein jende atsegin duzu?*
 how.REL/which people like AUX
 'Which people of which type do you like?'
- (858) *Noranzko/zeinen bidea dago erratua?*
 where.to.REL/which.GEN way is mistaken.DET
 'Whose way where is mistaken?'

Sequences of genitive interrogatives bearing thematic relationships to the head noun seem to be grammatical, but difficult to parse:

- (859) *#Noren noren erretratoa aurkitu dute?*
 who.GEN who.GEN portrait find AUX
 'Whose whose portrait did they find?'

Where the interrogative is itself the head of the phrase, a second genitive or locative interrogative is possible; acceptability decreases in other adnominals:

- (860) *Noren/nongo/noizko zer ikertu dute?*
 whose/where.REL/when.REL what examine AUX
 'Whose what did they examine?/What from where/when did they examine?'

- (861) *Nolakol/?noranzkol/*zertarako zer ikertu dute?*
 how.REL/where.to.REL/what.for what examine AUX
 'What type of what did they examine?/What to where/for what did they examine?'
- (862) *Nortzuen arteko nor aukeratu dute?*
 who.GEN among.REL who select AUX
 'Who among whom did they select?'

4.4.4.2. Questions and foci inside adjective and adverb phrases

It is not possible to question degree words inside adjective and adverb phrases:

- (863) **Zein hurbil/urrun jarri dute?*
 how close/far put AUX
 'How far/close did they put it?'
- (864) **Zein harro dago zurekin?*
 how proud is you.with
 'How proud is he of you?'

On the other hand, the same sequences are possible with exclamatory interpretation. Some western speakers accept interrogative *zelako* in *zelako txikia?* 'how small?'. Adjective and adverb complements may usually be questioned inside their phrases:

- (865) *Zertarako prest ikusi dituzu zure lagunak?*
 what.for ready see AUX your friends
 'What did you see your friends ready for?'
- (866) *Zeren zale ikusi dituzu zure lagunak?*
 what.GEN fond see AUX your friends
 'What did you see your friends fond of?'
- (867) *Zeren beldur da Xabier?*
 what.GEN afraid is Xabier?
 'What is Xabier afraid of?'

(868) *Zertan trebe ikusi dituzu zure lagunak?*
 what.in skilled see AUX your friends
 'What did you see your friends good at?'

(869) *Zerekin haserre ikusi dituzu zure lagunak?*
 what.with annoyed see AUX your friends
 'What did you see your friends annoyed at?'

(870) *Nondik hurbil ikusi dituzu ehiztariak?*
 where.from close see AUX hunters
 'Close to where did you see the hunters?'

This option is not always available, in which case the *wh*-word must be separated from the adjective head and placed in pre-verbal position:

(871) a. *?Zerekin ados jarri dira?*
 what.with in.agreement become AUX
 'What do they agree with?'
 b. *Zerekin jarri dira ados?*

(872) a. *?Zerekin lasai ikusi dituzu zure lagunak?*
 what.with relaxed see AUX your friends
 'What did you see your friends relaxed with?'
 b. *Zerekin ikusi dituzu zure lagunak lasai?*

(873) a. **Zertan abilak ikusten dituzu zure lagunak?*
 what.in skilled see AUX your friends
 'What did you see your friends skilled in?'
 b. *Zertan ikusten dituzu zure lagunak abilak?*

However, the questioned complement may not cooccur with a degree word, and must be detached from the rest of the phrase to occupy the preverbal position. This option is not available for genitive modifiers:

(874) **Zeren oso hurbil dago?*
 what.GEN very close is
 'What is he very close to?'

(875) **Zeren oso beldur da?*
 what.GEN very afraid is
 'What is he very much afraid of?'

- (876) a. **Zerekin guztiz ados zaude?*
 what.with totally in.agreement are
 ‘What are you totally in agreement with?’
 b. *Zerekin zaude guztiz ados?*

This test cannot be extended to adjuncts, which do not seem to form a constituent with adjectives and adverbs.

4.4.5. *Embedded questions and foci*

This section examines *wh*-words which enquire about constituents belonging to embedded clauses, as well as focalized constituents in the same environments. In 4.4.5.1 we will describe cases where the operator remains in the embedded clause, devoting section 4.4.5.2 to *wh*-word or focus extraction into superordinate clauses. Finally, 4.4.5.3 will deal with clausal pied-piping, where *wh*-words or foci contained within embedded clauses turn the latter into interrogative-like or focal-like constituents.

4.4.5.1. Embedded focalization and indirect questions

4.4.5.1.1. Embedded focalization

Foci may be found inside an embedded clause. Tensed complement clauses and intransitive subject clauses, in particular, may contain foci, which will be positioned immediately to the left of the verbal element, as in:

- (877) *Eta okerrena zen kartazaleari botatzen zizkiola*
 and worst.DET was postman.DAT throw.IMPF AUX.that
 erru guztiak.
 blame all.DET.PL
 ‘And the worst thing was that she blamed the POSTMAN.’ [Atx. *Ob.*:28]
- (878) *Maistrak mintzatu egiten zitzaiola sentitu zuen.*
 female.teacher.ERG talk do.IMPF AUX.that feel AUX
 ‘The teacher felt that he TALKED to her.’ [Atx. *Ob.*:61]

The *egin* verbal focalization pattern displayed by the preceding example is not found in tenseless contexts in the dialect described here, though they are occasionally found in the west:

- (879) **Zuk hartu egitea nahi dut.*
 you.ERG take do.NOM.DET want AUX
 'I want you to TAKE it.'
- (880) **Damu dut Jonek erosi egin izana.*
 regret AUX Jon.ERG buy do be.PRF.DET
 'I regret Jon's having BOUGHT it.'
- (881) **Ez dakit erosi egin ala ez.*
 not know buy do or not
 'I don't know whether to BUY it or not.'

Most dialects admit focalization of constituents other than the verb in embedded adjunct clauses:

- (882) *jan ere dezente jaten zuenez*
 eat also a.lot eat.IMPF AUX.since
 'since, as for eating, he ate A LOT' [Itur. K.R.:31]

Here the adjunct clause contains a canonical topic+focus pattern, where the topic is marked with *ere* and the focus is *dezente* 'a lot'. Outside of complement clauses, embedded verb focalization is far less common than matrix verb focalization. In fact, Basque grammarians do not agree to what extent it is possible to find emphatic *egin* or *ba* in such contexts. Hualde et al. (1994), for example, claim that in the Lekeitio variety of Basque, subordinate clauses other than complementives may not contain focalized constituents in general. Similarly, de Rijk (1978) claims that neither *egin* nor *ba* is found in relative clauses; in general, it seems clear that these devices are far less common in adjunct clauses than in complement clauses, but occasional examples are found, usually with a strong contrastive flavor (Osa 1990:164,198):

- (883) *erran horietan badelarik zerbait egiairik...*
 saying those.in ba.being some truth.PRTT
 'although there is some truth in those sayings...' [Duv. L.L.:110]

- (884) *badakidan arren ez dituela goresmenak gogoko...*
ba.know.COMP though not has.COMP praise mind.REL
 'although I do know that he does not like being praised...'
 [Mitx. EIG VI:98]
- (885) *agian ohitu egin zelako (...) bakardadera*
perhaps get.used do AUX.because loneliness.to
 'perhaps because he got used to loneliness' [Atx. *Ob.*:316]
- (886) *bost arraultze jarri eta gero hil egiten*
five egg lay and later die do.IMPF
den panguana izutia
AUX.COMP panguana timid
 'the timid panguana that dies after laying five eggs' [Atx. *Ob.*:235]

Verb focalization with *egin* is not found in tenseless adjuncts other than those constructed with postpositions, and even these, however, are also ungrammatical for many speakers of western dialects:

- (887) *Ama hiltzean (*hil egitean) hasi ziren.*
mother die.NOM.upon die do.NOM.upon begin AUX
 'They began after mother died.'
- (888) *Hori ordaindu egin ondoren emango dizut.*
that pay do after give.FUT AUX
 'I'll give you that after paying.'
- (889) *Ordaindu egin gabe utzi zituen bere zorrak.*
pay do without leave AUX his debts
 'He left his debts unpaid (without paying).'

It is worth pointing out that aux-fronting in negative clauses is also far less common in adjunct clauses, ranging from impossible in relatives to only optional in many others (explicatives, conditionals, etc.); in fact the contexts of lack of obligatoriness of aux-fronting in negatives coincide to a large extent with those in which *egin* and *ba* are less common. It is precisely in relatives, which are obligatorily verb final, that these strategies are more marked. If the latter, as suggested above, also involve fronting to the left of the clause, the difficulty might be in verb fronting in those contexts in general.

4.4.5.1.2. Indirect questions

All indirect questions may be marked by the complementizer *-n*, attached to the conjugated verbal form. If true questions (as opposed to semiquestions), they may be preceded by the interrogative particle *ea*, which may in turn be preceded by scrambled material. Some examples will be given in 4.4.5.1.2.2.

4.4.5.1.2.1. Indirect yes/no questions

As an alternative to *-n*, yes/no questions may also be marked by *-n(e)z*, *-nen(t)z* in eastern dialects. Moreover, in substandard southern usages it is common to find the conditional particle *ba* (usually with a suprasegmental pattern which differentiates it from the emphatic marker *ba*) as the only marker of indirect questions (cf. Spanish conditional and interrogative *si*):

- (890) *Ez dakit zure laguna etorriko d-en/ba-da.*
 not know your friend come.FUT AUX-COMP/if-AUX
 'I don't know whether your friend will come.'
 [Hualde et al. 1994:186]

- (891) *Iruñen eman zuenez bere lehen meza,*
 Pamplona.in give AUX.COMP his first mass
ala Baionan, ezin jakin dugu.
 or Baiona.in cannot know AUX
 'Whether he sang mass first in Pamplona or in Baiona, we can't tell.'
 [Etch. *Id.* I:236]

Abstracting away from the effects produced by scrambling, indirect yes/no questions tend to be verb final, unless they contain any focalized material, in which case the verbal element will immediately follow the focus in the left periphery of the clause. Thus, in the last example above, *Iruñen* has been contrasted with *Baionan*, and as a consequence of their left-position the object appears to the right of the verb. When no constituent has been focalized, there is no apparent leftward movement of the verb (unlike what happens in many direct yes/no questions). Due to the lack of verb fronting, *ba* is less common in indirect than in direct questions, although examples do exist:

- (892) *Bidriosek ea bazuen Institutuko berririk galdetu*
 Bidrios.ERG ea ba.AUX school.REL new.PRTT ask
zion.
 AUX
 'Bidrios asked him whether he had any news from the school.'
 [Itur. K.R.:57]

- (893) *Erregeak zerbait egiten ba al zekien*
 king.ERG something do.IMPf ba Q knew.COMP
galdetu zion.
 ask AUX
 'The king asked him whether he knew [how] to do anything.' [Atx.
Ob.:274]

Verb focalization with *egin* is also possible, just like in direct yes/no questions:

- (894) *ea denak lotsatu egiten ziren beren lanaz*
 ea all be.embarrassed do.IMPf AUX their work.INSTR
 '[I asked him] whether all were ashamed of their job.'
 [Atx. *Ob.*:138]

It is difficult to form tenseless indirect yes/no questions, perhaps because the only overt marker (-*n*) can only be attached to tensed forms and nothing would signal the presence of an indirect question in a tenseless clause. However, they can be formed by adding question identifiers such as *ala ez* to the participial form (or to the root in eastern dialects):

- (895) **Ez dakit gelditu.*
 not know remain
 'I don't know whether to remain.'

- (896) *Ez dakit gelditu ala ez.*
 remain or not
 'I don't know whether to remain or not.'

- (897) ?*Ez dakit gelditu ala joan.*
 remain or go
 'I don't know whether to remain or to leave.'

4.4.5.1.2.2. Indirect wh-questions

Indirect wh-questions are marked by the complementizer *-n*. As in direct wh-questions, the interrogative element will occur to the left of the clause, optionally preceded by *ea* and topics/scrambled elements and immediately followed by the verbal element (see 4.10.1.1.2):

- (898) *Ez dakit hargatik nola daitekeen hori.*
 not know however how can.be that
 'I don't know, however, how that can be.' [Duv. L.L.:141]

- (899) *galderak (..) dira: ze eratan egingo*
 questions are which way.in make.FUT
dugun hitzen euskal-bihurrera,
 AUX.COMP words.GEN Basque-translation
gramatika-aldetik nola azalduko ditugun,
 grammar-side.from how explain.FUT AUX.COMP
adibideak nola eta nondik hartu behar
 examples how and where.from take need
diren, abezez nola jarriko ditugun
 AUX.COMP alphabetically how put.FUT AUX.COMP
ordenan...
 order.in
 'the questions are... in which way we will make the Basque translation, how we will explain them in grammatical terms, how and from where examples must be taken, how they can be alphabetically ordered...' [Mitx. EIG VII:76]

Indirect wh-questions, just like direct wh-questions, are incompatible with emphatic *egin*:

- (900) **Galdetu du nork ikusi egin duen istripua?*
 ask AUX who.ERG see do AUX.COMP accident
 'Has he asked who SAW the accident?'

Tenseless indirect questions are formed by placing the perfective participle (the root in eastern dialects) to the right of the wh-word:

- (901) *Badakigu nola joka(tu).*
 ba.know how play(PRF)
 'We know how to play.'

4.4.5.2. Displaced wh-words and foci

Wh-words and foci may be extracted from the complement clauses of some verbs, typically verbs of saying or thinking:

- (902) *...nola uste duzu egin beharko litzatekeela*
 how think AUX make must.FUT AUX.COMP
aukeramena literatur euskaran?
 selection literary Basque.in
 'How do you think the choice should be made in literary Basque?'
 [Mitx. EIG I:94]

- (903) *HORRELA uste dut egin beharko litzatekeela*
 this.way think AUX
aukeramena.
 'In this way do I think the choice should be made.'

Where the wh-word or focus has been extracted from a lower tensed clause, the latter tends to be verb-initial. This effect is even perceivable where the displaced element occurs several sentences higher than the clause it enquires about or focalizes:

- (904) *Nola esan du Jonek uste duela Peruk*
 how say AUX Jon.ERG think AUX.COMP Peru.ERG
egin beharko litzatekeela?
 make
 'How did Jon say Peru thinks it should be made?'

Foci or wh-words originating in a transitive subject clause may not show up to the left of the matrix verb, while those extracted from subjects of intransitive predicates are generally acceptable:

- (905) **Non/UNIBERTSITATE HORRETAN esaten du asko*
 where/university this.in say.IMPF AUX a.lot
zutaz [onartua izateak]?
 you.about admitted being
 'Where/In that university does it say a lot about you being admitted?'

- (906) ?Non/UNIBERTSITATE HORRETAN da garrantzitsua
is important
[onartua izatea]?
admitted being
'Where/In that university is it important to be admitted?'

- (907) *Non/UNIBERTSITATE HORRETAN iruditzen zaie [onartu*
seem.IMPF AUX admit
dutela Jon]?
AUX.COMP Jon
 ‘Where/In that university does it seem to them they admitted Jon?’

However, extraction from complements of factive verbs are deviant. This is shown with foci in the following example:

- (908) ??JONEK *konturatu nintzen egin zuela eskaera.*
Jon.ERG realized AUX make AUX.COMP petition
'It was Jon that I realized had made the petition.'

It is unacceptable to relate a focus or a *wh*-word in a matrix clause with a position inside an adjunct clause, as the following examples with temporal subordinates show:

- (909) **Zer harritu zinen* [*entzun ondoren/entzun*
 what surprise AUX hear after/hear
zenuenean]?
 AUX.COMP.when
 ‘What were you surprised after hearing/when you heard?’
- (910) **Nork harritu zara* [*agiria sinatu*
 who surprise AUX document sign
duelako/duenez]?
 AUX.because/AUX.COMP.since
 ‘Who are you surprised because [he] signed the document?’

4.4.5.3. Clausal pied-piping

Foci and wh-words originating inside clauses may also pied-pipe the whole embedded clause in which they appear. As a result, on top of the wh-word embedded verb adjacency, the embedded clause itself will also appear im-

mediately preceding the matrix verb. Thus, nothing will intervene between the embedded clause and the matrix verb, as indicated in the first example:

- (911) *eta nola erabili behar liratekeela uste duzue*
 and how treat must AUX.COMP think AUX
gai horiek?
 subject those
 'And how do you think that those subjects should be treated?' [Mitx. EIG I:84]

- (912) *Dugun on gucia, norenganic dugula*
 have.COMP good all who.from have.COMP
eçagutu behar dugu?
 know should AUX
 'All good we have, who should we know we have it from?' [Leiz. 1423]

- (913) *Zertara eramango gaituztela uste duk?*
 what.to take.FUT AUX.COMP think AUX
Bataiatzera?
 baptize.NOM.to
 'What do you think they will take us to? To be baptized?' [Atx. Ob.:156]

- (914) *Umeak zer egitera behartuak daude?*
 children what do.NOM.to require.DET.PL are
 'What are the children required to do?' [Mogel CB:233]

Notice that even though the *wh*-word remains inside the embedded clause, when the latter is a completive clause it is marked by the declarative complementizer *-la* rather than by the interrogative one *-n*.

Clausal pied-piping may occur with all types of complement clauses, indicative, subjunctive and nominalized. This is shown in the following examples, which contrast the extraction and pied-piping strategies in complement clauses:

- (915) a. *Nor etor dadin* (**zuek*) *nahi duzue*
 who come AUX(SUBJ).COMP you.PL want AUX
 (*zuek*)? (pied-piping)
 you.PL
 'Who do you want to come?'

b. *Nor nahi duzue (zuek) etor dadin?* (extraction)

- (916) a. *XABIER etor dadin (*guk) nahi dugu*
 Xabier come AUX(SUBJ).COMP we want AUX
(guk) (pied-piping)
 we
 'It is Xabier that we want to come.'
 b. *XABIER nahi dugu (guk) etor dadin* (extraction)

On the other hand, wh-words in indirect questions selected by the matrix verb may not pied-pipe the embedded interrogative clause:

- (917) **Nola erabili behar liratekeen galdetu duzue zuek?*
 how treat should AUX.COMP ask AUX zu.PL.ERG
 'How should they be treated have you asked?'

The preceding sentence is acceptable as a yes/no question on the matrix verb *galdetu* 'ask', but not as a direct wh-question about *nola* 'how'. However, the same pied-piping structure is possible if the wh-word is emphasized. In that case the whole sentence is not a direct question: the embedded clause is not behaving as a single interrogative constituent, but as a single focalized element:

- (918) *Liburua NORK idatzi duen galdetu dit Jonenk.*
 book who.ERG write AUX.COMP ask AUX Jon.ERG
 'It is WHO wrote the book that Jon asked me.'

- (919) *Bigarrenak ZE BURUTAPEN ote darabiltzan*
 second.ERG what invention Q use.COMP
galdetzen diot nire buruari hurrena
 ask.IMPF AUX my head.DAT next
 'Next, I ask myself what inventions the second one may be using.'
 [Atx. *Ob.*:115]

Where a wh-word pied-pipes a clause, the latter behaves as a wh-word itself. However, when a verb selects an interrogative complement, a pied-piped clause does not match this selection. Thus, while a wh-word extracted from a declarative embedded clause may 'count' as the interrogative element required in an interrogative complement, as in (a), a pied-piped declarative clause containing such wh-word may not (b):

- (920) a. *Jonek galdetu du nor uste duten*
 Jon.ERG ask AUX who think AUX.COMP
haiek etorriko dela.
 they.ERG come.FUT AUX.COMP
 'Jon asked who they think will come.'
- b. **Jonek galdetu du [nor etorri dela] uste*
 Jon.ERG ask AUX who come AUX.COMP think
duten haiek.
 AUX.COMP they.ERG
 'Jon asked that who has arrived have they asked'

On the other hand, non-complement clauses in the same positions are acceptable:

- (921) *Galdetu du nor etortzen denean irekiko*
 ask AUX who come.IMPF AUX.when open
duten txanpaña.
 AUX.COMP champagne
 'He asked when who arrives will they open the champagne'

Factive complements also sound degraded in pied-piping configurations:

- (922) ??*Nor etorri dela ohartu dira?*
 who come AUX.COMP realize AUX
 'That who has arrived have they realized?'

Clausal pied-piping is the only strategy available for constituents inside adjuncts or subject clauses, which may not be extracted (4.4.5.2):

- (923) *GAI BAT BAKARRIK suspenditu zuten ikasleak*
 subject one only fail AUX.COMP students
pasa ziren aurrera.
 pass AUX ahead
 'It is students who failed one exam only that went ahead.'

- (928) [Nor etorri delako] aldegin duzu?
 who come AUX.because leave AUX
 'Because who arrived did you leave?'
- (929) *[Nor gonbidatu dutenez] aldegin duzu?
 who invite AUX.since
 'Since who did they invite did you leave?'

- (930) *[*Nor etorri baita*] *aldegin duzu?*
 who come since.AUX
 'Since who arrived did you leave?'
- (931) *[*Bada nor ez duzu ezagutu*] *ez duzu agurtu?*
 for who not AUX recognize not AUX greet
 'For who didn't you recognize didn't you greet?'
- (932) *[*Ze nor agertu da*] *aldegin duzu?*
 because who show.up AUX leave AUX
 'Because who showed up did you leave?'

This may be related to the fact that the causal adjuncts in the unacceptable examples usually occupy topic positions in the sentence, while *-lako* 'because' adjuncts may also be used where the whole embedded clause is focalized. Thus, such adjuncts do not occur in the focus position, whether as a result of an attempt to focalize the whole adjunct or as a result of pied-piping. Similar results are obtained in other adjunct clauses:

- (933) *Nor etortzen bada aldegingo duzu?* (conditional)
 who come.IMPF if.AUX leave.FUT AUX
 'If who comes will you leave?'
- (934) *Nor etorriz gero aldegingo zenuke?*
 who come.INSTR later leave.FUT AUX.POT
 'If who comes would you leave?'
- (935) ?*Nor etortzekotan aldegingo zenuke?*
 who come.NOM.REL.LOC leave.FUT AUX.POT
 'In the event of who coming would you leave?'
- (936) **Zer gertatzera ibiliko zinateke kontuz?*
 what happen.NOM.ALL walk.FUT AUX.POT care.INSTR
 'In the event of happening what would you be careful?'
- (937) *Zer tresna erabiliaz konpondu zenuen hura?*
 what tool use.INSTR fix AUX that
 (manner adjuncts)
 'Using what tool did you fix that?'

- (938) **Zer erabiltzen dutelarik ezin da konpondu?*
 what use.IMPF AUX.COMP.PRTT cannot AUX fix
 'Using what can't they fix it?'

- (939) **Zer dagoela bere lekuan ez da galduko*
 what is.COMP its place.in not AUX lose.FUT
den beldurrik?
 AUX.COMP fear.PRTT
 'Being what in its place is there no fear that it will get lost?'

4.4.5.3.2. Restrictions on pied-piping elements

Non-referential adjuncts like *zergatik* 'why', *nolatan* 'how come', etc. sound from slightly deviant to very marginal when pied-piping complement clauses:

- (940) (?)*Zergatik aspertu dela uste duzu?*
 why get.bored AUX.COMP think AUX
 'That why did he get bored do you think?'

- (941) (?)*Nola portatu dela uste duzue?*
 how behave AUX.COMP
 'That how did he behave do you think?'

- (942) **Nolatan etorri dela uste duzu?*
 how.come come AUX.COMP
 'That how come did he come do you think?'

However, acceptability decreases sharply when these adjuncts pied-pipe adjunct clauses:

- (943) **Zergatik aldegin duen ikaslea atsegin duzu?*
 why leave AUX.COMP student like AUX
 'The student that left why do you like?'

- (944) **Zergatik erosten dutenean harrituko zara?*
 why buy.IMPF AUX.when surprise.FUT AUX
 'When they buy it why will you be surprised?'

- (945) **Nola portatzen denean sarituko dute?*
 how behave AUX.when reward.FUT AUX
 ‘When he behaves how will they reward him?’

4.4.5.3.3. Recursive pied-piping

In all of the preceding examples, the embedded clause has been pied-piped to the immediate left of the superordinate verb. However, if more bridge verbs intervene, the whole embedded clause may also show up in clauses higher up (with subsequent verb initial effects in the intervening clauses, 4.4.5.2):

- (946) *Nork irabaziko duela esan du Jonek uste*
 who.ERG win.FUT AUX.COMP say AUX Jon think
duela Mikelek?
 AUX.COMP Mikel.ERG
 ‘That who will win did Jon say Mikel thinks?’

Moreover, the mechanism is recursive in that a pied-piped clause moved to a higher clause may pied-pipe the latter in turn:

- (947) [*Nor etorri dela uste duela Mikelek*]
 who come AUX.COMP think AUX.COMP Mikel.ERG
esan dute horiek?
 say AUX those.ERG
 ‘Who did those say Mikel thinks has come?’

What precedes the root verb *esan* ‘say’ in this example is not the most deeply embedded clause *nor etorri dela* ‘who has come’, but the intermediate one *uste duela Mikelek* ‘that Mikel thinks’ containing *nor etorri dela* in the wh-position. Similarly, adjuncts inside adjuncts can also be pied-piped:

- (948) [(*Nor agertu denean*) *aldegin dutelako*]
 who show.up AUX.when leave AUX.because
haserratu da Mikel?
 annoy AUX
 ‘Because they left when who showed up did Mikel get annoyed?’

- (949) [(Nor agertzen denean) aldegiten badu] hasiko
 who show.up AUX.when leave.IMPF if.AUX begin.FUT
dira denak marmarka?
 AUX all gossiping
 'If he leaves when who shows up will all begin to gossip?'

- (950) [(Zer saltzen duen tipoa) salatu duen
 what sell.IMPF AUX.COMP guy denounce AUX.COMP
gizona] hil dute?
 man kill AUX
 'The man who denounced the guy who sells what did they kill?'

In the preceding examples the root verb is immediately preceded by adjuncts which contain pied-piped clauses in their interrogative, pre-verbal position. In the last example the adjunct clause is the relative modifying the noun.

4.4.5.3.4. Pied-piping vs. embedded clause focalization

In clausal pied-piping structures, an element inside a clause turns the latter into a *wh*-like or focus-like constituent. This is slightly different from cases where apparently the whole embedded clause is emphasized:

- (951) *Soilik kolpe hartu nuen lekuan ukitzen*
 only hit take AUX.COMP place.in touch.IMPF
badut egiten dit min.
 if.AUX do.IMPF AUX pain
 'Only if I touch where I was hit does it hurt.' [Itur. K.R.:80]

- (952) *Irtenbiderik ez zeukatelako gelditu dira, gogoz*
 exit.PRTT not had.because remain AUX mind.INSTR
bestera,
 other.ALL
ez daukatenari baliorik ematen diotelako.
 not have.COMP.DAT value.PRTT give.IMPF AUX.because
 'They remained because they didn't have any alternative, against their will, not because they attached any value to what they have.'
 [Atx. *Ob.*:139]

The first sentence has two interpretations: a less likely one where *soilik* emphasizes *lekuan* ‘only in that place’, in which case the locative constituent pied-pipes the conditional clause, and a second one where *soilik* emphasizes the conditional statement itself ‘only if’. The latter case could be conceivably construed as embedded clause focalization (unless *soilik* can be said to pied-pipe the whole embedded clause).

4.4.6. *Wh- and focus compatibility*

Since *wh*-words and non-verbal foci may occupy the pre-verbal position, it is important to consider whether, in general, focalization is compatible with interrogation. We will address this issue first with respect to focalization+interrogation inside a single clause, turning later to examine the compatibility of the two in different clauses of the same sentence. Multiple questions and multiple foci will be considered in section 4.4.6.3.

4.4.6.1. Clausemate operators

This section examines sentences where more than one operator (focal or interrogative) occur in the same clause. Cooccurrence of foci with *wh*-words and focalization in yes/no questions will be dealt with in turn.

4.4.6.1.1. *Wh*-questions and foci

Combinations of *wh*-words and foci are acceptable for some speakers; in such cases, the *wh*-word must occupy the pre-verbal position; the focalized constituent does not occupy any designated position and is mainly distinguished by bearing contrastive stress:

(953) *Nork erosi dio MIRENI liburua/liburua MIRENI?*
 who.ERG buy AUX Miren.DAT book/book Miren.DAT
 ‘Who bought MARY the book?’

(954) **MIRENI erosi dio nork liburua?*
 Miren.DAT buy AUX who.ERG book
 ‘Who bought MARY the book?’

4.4.6.1.2. Yes/no questions and foci

Foci may occur inside yes/no questions. In these cases, as usual, foci must occupy the pre-verbal position.

- (955) *MIRENI erosi diote liburua?*
 Miren.DAT buy AUX book
 'Did they buy MARY the book?'

- (956) *NEU ikusi nahi ninduzun atzo?*
 I.INTS see want AUX yesterday
 'Did you want to see ME yesterday?'

Verb focalization is occasionally found in yes/no questions. This is possible in the event emphasis type of focalization described in 4.4.3.2.1. Thus, the following questions contain a verb emphasized with *egin*

- (957) *Ahaztu egin al zarete nirekin?*
 forget do Q AUX I.with
 'Have you forgotten me?' [Atx. *Ob.*:54]

- (958) '*Hil egin al da?*' *galdetu nuen.*
 die do Q AUX ask AUX
 'Has he died?', I asked.' [Atx. *Ob.*:125]

As for positive polar emphasis, it uses the same verb-fronting mechanism as yes/no questions, and is therefore virtually indistinguishable from it.

4.4.6.2. Operators in different clauses

Question words and focalization may cooccur in matrix and complement clauses:

- (959) *BADukete hor zer ikas orok.*
ba.have there what learn(RAD) all.ERG
 'They all WILL have there what to learn.' [Etch. *Id.* I:347]

- (960) *Nork esan du liburua JONEK erosi duela?*
 who.ERG say AUX book Jon.ERG buy AUX.COMP
 'Who said that JON bought the book?'

- (961) *JONEK galdetu du nork erosi duen.*
 Jon.ERG ask AUX who.ERG buy AUX.COMP
 'Jon asked who bought it.'

However, focus is degraded inside interrogative dependents, unless the particle *ea* (see section 4.4.5.1.2) is present:

- (962) *Nork galdetu du ??(ea) neuk erosi dudan?*
 who.ERG ask AUX *ea* I.INTS.ERG buy AUX.COMP
 'Who asked whether it was me that bought it?'

- (963) *Nork galdetu du ??(ea) liburua JONEK erosi duen?*
 who.ERG ask AUX *ea* book Jon.ERG buy
 AUX.COMP
 'Who asked whether it was Jon that bought the book?'

4.4.6.3. Multiple questions and multiple foci

This section examines the possibility of finding more than one wh-word or focus in the same clause (4.4.6.3.1) or in different clauses (4.4.6.3.2).

4.4.6.3.1. Multiple clausemate operators

This section addresses the question of the grammaticality of multiple operators in the same clause. We will differentiate three different possibilities, depending on whether the multiple operators are foci (4.4.6.3.1.1), wh-words (4.4.6.3.1.2), or whether the operator group originates as a consequence of raising operators from a lower clause into a clause already containing some (4.4.6.3.1.3).

4.4.6.3.1.1. Multiple clausemate foci

Foci may not cooccur in the same clause in 'multiple fronting' structures:

- (964) **NEUK ARDOA ekarri dut, ez Mikelek liburua.*
 I.INTS.ERG wine bring AUX not Mikel.ERG book
 'It was me that brought THE WINE, not Mikel the book.'

- (965) *JONEK *ekarri EGIN du ardoa.*
 Jon.ERG bring do AUX wine
 'It was Jon that BROUGHT the wine.'

- (966) *JONEK *BADAKAR liburua.*
 Jon.ERG *ba.*brings book
 'It is Jon that IS bringing the book.'

However, as noted in section 4.4.1, it is possible to emphasize more than one constituent as a unit in pre-verbal position, in highly contrastive contexts. In that case, emphasized constituents must follow the neutral order (Subject-Adjuncts-Ind. Object-Dir. Object; cf. section 4.3), as if focalization were spreading to bigger and bigger chunks of the basic structure:

- (967) KOTXEA ETXEAN (*etxean kotxea) *utzi nuen atzo*
 car home.at leave AUX yesterday
 'I left THE CAR AT HOME yesterday.'
- (968) NEUK HEMENTXE (*hementxe neuk) *ikusi dudalako*
 I.INTS.ERG here.INTS see AUX.because
 'Because it was me that saw it RIGHT HERE.'

The same neutral order is also found in de Rijk's examples (1978:103-104) showing that multiple foci are possible. It is possible to find preverbal foci cooccurring with focalized constituents in the postverbal domain, provided a 'correcting' interpretation is assigned to the foci. Such a correction can be directed to a previously made statement or can be raised against the presupposed situation:

- (969) *Liburua MIRENEK ekarri dit goizean NEURI.*
 book Miren.ERG bring AUX morning.in me.INTS.DAT
 'MARY brought the book this morning TO ME.'

Multiple fronting is also deviant when a focalized constituent is extracted from a lower clause and placed in a higher one already containing a focalized constituent:

- (970) *JONEK KOTXEA *uste du hondatu dela.*
 Jon.ERG car think AUX ruin AUX.COMP
 'It is the car that JON thinks has been wrecked.'

In the preceding example *kotxea* 'the car' has been raised to the preverbal position of the upper verb, whose subject *Jonek* we also want to focalize. See section 4.4.6.3.1.3 for similar cases with wh-words.

4.4.6.3.1.2. Multiple clausemate wh-words

As for wh-words, we have already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter that, very occasionally, several wh-words may coexist preverbally in the same clause:

- (971) *Eta zure prestutasunaz ... nork zer erranen du?*
 and your virtue.on who.ERG what say.FUT AUX
 'And about your virtue, who will say what?' [Ax. 2]

In such cases, as with multiple foci, the wh-words involved must occur in the neutral order, so that the sequence *zer nork* in the previous sentence would not be acceptable. Moreover, no other non-interrogative element may intervene between the wh-words:

- (972) **Nork horretaz/beraz/Joni zer erranen dio?*
 who.ERG that.on/therefore/Jon.DAT what say.FUT AUX
 'Who will say what to Jon/therefore/on that?'

A wh-word in the preverbal position may cooccur with another wh-word in postverbal position. In that case there is no difference as to which interrogative word occupies which position:

- (973) *Nork ekarri du zer?*
 who.ERG bring AUX what
 'Who brought what?'

- (974) *Zer ekarri du nork?*

Similarly, word order is not fixed if more than one wh-word occurs postverbally, and other elements may intervene between wh-words:

- (975) *Nork ekarri dio zer nori?*
 who.ERG bring AUX what who.to
 'Who brought what to whom?'

(976) *Nork ekarri dio nori zer?*

'Who brought what to whom?'

(977) *Nork ekarri dio nori etxera zer?*

home.to

'Who brought what to whom home?'

(978) *Nork ekarri dio zer gaur nori?*

today

'Who brought what to whom today?'

It is possible to extract multiple wh-words to the pre-verbal position of a higher clause. In such case the wh-complex will also occur in a fixed order identical to the neutral one:

(979) *Nork zer esan dute ekarri duela?*

who.ERG what say AUX bring AUX.COMP

'Who did they say brought what?'

(980) **Zer nork esan dute ekarri duela?*

4.4.6.3.1.3. Multiple wh-word complexes from different clauses

The pre-verbal wh-complex may result from the combination of a wh-word extracted from a lower clause with a wh-word originating in the upper one:

(981) *Nork zer uste du gertatu dela?*

who.ERG what think AUX happen AUX.COMP

'Who thinks that what happened?'

(982) *Nork nori zer uste du gertatu zaiola?*

who.ERG who.to what think AUX happen AUX.COMP

'Who thinks that what happened to whom?'

In these cases there is always an intonation break separating the wh-words from different clauses (*nork/zer* and *nork/nori zer*), similar to the break usually observed with topics. We mark this break with a slash sign in the following examples. With two wh-words, any order may be acceptable. Where more than two wh-words meet, the wh-words coming from the lower clause may be placed as a group before or after the matrix wh-word; in no case can

they be interspersed. Notice that in the examples with *iruditu* 'seem' the dative argument is interpreted as belonging to this psychological verb, rather than to the lower verb *esan* 'say', as made clear by the absence of a dative marker in the latter's auxiliary:

- (983) a. *Nori/nork zer iruditu zaio esan duela?*
 who.to/who.ERG what seem AUX say AUX.COMP
 'To whom does it seem that who said what?'
 b. *Nork zer/nori iruditu zaio esan duela?*
 who.ERG what/who.to
 c. **Zer nori nork iruditu zaio esan duela?*
 d. **Nork nori zer iruditu zaio esan duela?*

- (984) a. *Zer/nork nori esan dio erosi duela*
 what/who.ERG who.to say AUX buy AUX.COMP
Peruk?
 Peru
 'What did who say to whom that Peru bought?'
 b. **Nork zer nori esan dio erosi duela Peruk?*

Thus, the only acceptable possibilities in the first example above are those where the ergative *nork* and absolutive *zer*, which inquire about arguments of the lower verb, occur as a group either to the left or to the right of the wh-word corresponding to the upper verb (*nori* 'to whom', the dative associated with *iruditu* 'seem'). Similarly, in the second example *nork* 'who' and *nori* 'to whom' belong to the matrix verb *esan* 'say', while *zer* 'what' asks about the theme argument of the lower verb *erosi* 'buy'. Where the latter appears in between the two wh-words corresponding to a different clause, the sentence is unacceptable.

4.4.6.3.2. Multiple operators in different clauses

It is possible to have wh-words in both matrix and embedded clause, provided the latter is selected as an indirect question by the matrix verb:

- (985) *NORK galdetu du ZER egin behar den?*
 who.ERG ask AUX what do must AUX.COMP
 'Who asked what must be done?'

It is difficult to have constituent focalization and verbal emphasis in both matrix and embedded clause:

- (986) ??JONEK *esan du GAUR dela merkatu eguna.*
 Jon.ERG say AUX today is.COMP market day
 'JON said that TODAY is market day.'
- (987) ??JONEK *esan du liburua agortu EGIN dela.*
 Jon.ERG say AUX book sell.out do AUX.COMP
 'JON said that the book SOLD out.'

However, the situation improves if one of the foci is *ba*:

- (988) HORREXEGATIK BERAGATIK *uste dut BADutela*
 that.INTS.because itself.because think AUX *ba.have.COMP*
ikuskizunik euskaldunekin.
 relation.PRTT Basques.with
 'For that very reason do I think that they do have some relation with the Basque' [Mitz. EIG VI:108]
- (989) BADakit *bere azken liburu hori agortu EGIN*
ba.know his last book that sell.out do
zela hiru egunetan.
 AUX.COMP three day.in
 'I do know that his last book GOT SOLD out in three days.'

See however the remarks on *ba* in section 4.4.3.2.2, which cast some doubt on the status of *ba* as a verbal focus marker. In the previous examples, all of the foci have been left inside their original clauses. It is not possible to extract one focalized constituent from a lower clause, leaving yet another one in the original clause:

- (990) a. ??ATZO *uste dut liburua XABIERREK erosi*
 yesterday think AUX book Xabier.ERG buy
zuela.
 AUX.COMP
 'I think that XABIER bought the book YESTERDAY.'
- b. ??XABIERREK *uste dut liburua ATZO erosi zuela.*

- (991) a. ??MIRENI uste dut liburua XABIERREK erosi
 Miren.DAT think AUX book Xabier.ERG buy
 ziola.
 AUX.COMP
 'I think that XABIER bought MARY the book.'
 b. ?XABIERREK uste dut liburua MIRENI erosi ziola.

4.4.7. Focalization and interrogation in negative clauses

4.4.7.1. Negative questions

Negative *wh*-questions are formed in the same way as positive questions: the *wh*-word will occur immediately to the left of the tensed verbal form. However, when the latter is an auxiliary, it will appear displaced to the left of the clause, away from the position to the right of the participle it occupies in positive sentences (see 4.5). Indirect negative *wh*-questions are formed in the same way, differing only in that their tensed verbal form is marked with the complementizer *-n*:

- (992) *Nork ez du ulertu esan dudana?*
 who.ERG not AUX understand say AUX.COMP.DET
 'Who did not understand what I said?'
 (993) *Zergatik ez duk deitzen ostatura?*
 why not AUX call.IMPF bar.to
 'Why don't you call the bar?' [Atx. *Ob.*:205]
 (994) *Zergatik ez erregutu hari bitxi batzuk utz*
 why not beg he.DAT jewel some lend(RAD)
ziezazkion?
 AUX(SUBJ).COMP
 'Why not beg her to lend her some jewels?' [Atx. *Ob.*:219]

In the first two examples the constituents to the right of the participle could also have been placed in between the neg+auxiliary unit and the participle. The third sentence provides an example of a tenseless negative question. Some dialects occasionally admit negative questions where no split between the auxiliary and the main verb takes place. Such uninverted negative questions have a rhetorical flavor. The 'unbroken' negative pattern was more widespread in older stages of the language.

Eastern dialects possess an alternative strategy, whereby only the auxiliary is preposed and the negative element appears joined with the participle:

- (995) *Nork du liburua ez irakurri?*
 who.ERG AUX book not read
 'Who hasn't read the book?'

Such construction is totally impossible in western dialects. It is not clear whether this pattern represents a different strategy or whether it corresponds to constituent negation. See Lafitte (1944) and Oyharçabal (1985).

Negative yes/no questions are not marked in any special way other than the presence of the negative particle *ez*. The yes/no interrogative particle *al* and the northern yes/no complementizer *-a* may be found in these negative questions:

- (996) *Ez al gara lagun handiak?*
 not Q are friend great.DET.PL
 'Aren't they great friends?' [Atx. *Ob.*:143]
- (997) *Ez al zaizu poeta haundi bat iruditzen?*
 not Q AUX poet great one seem.IMPF
 'Doesn't he seem a great poet to you?' [Atx. *Ob.*:173]
- (998) *Oro egin eta desegin, ez dea lur huntako legea?*
 all do and undo not is.Q earth this.REL law
 'To do and undo everything, isn't that this world's law?' [Etx. *Id.* I:336]

Indirect negative yes/no questions differ from direct ones in that auxiliary preposing is not obligatory. This correlates with the tendency towards verb-final orders in positive indirect yes/no questions:

- (999) a. *Galdetu dit ea ez zaion poeta haundi*
 ask AUX ea not AUX.COMP poet great
bat iruditzen.
 one seem
 'He asked me whether he does not seem a great poet to him.'
- b. *Galdetu dit ea poeta haundi bat iruditzen ez zaion.*

4.4.7.2. Focalization in negative clauses

Just like *wh*-words, foci may appear immediately to the left of the tensed verbal form. The focalized constituent is pronounced with contrastive stress:

- (1000) *JONEK ez du eskaera sinatu.*
 Jon.ERG not AUX petition sign
 'JON did not sign the petition'

- (1001) *HORREGATIK ez nien lagunei arrapostu, beren
 that.because not AUX friend.to reply their
 proposamena nire mesedetan zetorrelako.
 proposal my favor.in came.because
 'That is why I did not reply to my friends, because their proposal
 was beneficial to me.' [Atx. Ob.:77]*

This focus is interpreted outside of the scope of negation: in the first example above, we identify *Jon* as the person about whom the presupposed negative statement *not sign the petition* is true. Similarly, in the following example, a reason is identified that explains why the event *answering my friends* did not take place. Thus, continuations like the following are unfelicitous:

- (1002) *#JONEK ez du eskaera sinatu, Peruk baizik.*
 'JON did not sign the petition, but Peru.' (cf. [1025])

- (1003) *#HORREGATIK ez nien lagunei arrapostu, beste arrazoi
 other reason
 bategatik baizik.
 one.because but
 'That is why I did not reply to my friends, but because of another
 reason.'*

On the other hand, other elements dependent on negation for their interpretation do fall under the scope of negation when focalized in this position. This is illustrated below with the polarity item *inor* 'anyone' and with *ere* 'also', which, although not strictly speaking a polarity element, often takes on the interpretation '(not) even' when in association with the negative element (4.5.4.5.2). Just like with polarity elements, this interpretation may be achieved in a position following the negative element but also in the immediate pre-*ez* position if the element is focalized:

- (1004) *BEHIN ERE ez diagu jakingo muskerrarekin*
 once also not AUX know.FUT lizard.with
gertatu zena.
 happen AUX.COMP.DET
 'Never will we learn what happened with the lizard.'
 [Atx. *Ob.*:210]
- (1005) *NIRI AGUR ESATEA ERE ez zitzaion gogoratu.*
 me.to bye say.NOM.DET also not AUX remember
 'He did not even remember to say goodbye to me.' [Itur. K.R:120]
- (1006) *INOR ez zen ezertaz enteratu.*
 anybody not AUX anything.INSTR find.out
 'NOBODY found out anything.'
- (1007) *Nik EDUKI ERE ez daukat gogoan.*
 I.ERG have also not have mind.in
 'I don't even HAVE it in mind.' [Atx. *Ob.*:27]
- (1008) *IKUSI ERE ez du egin.*
 see also not AUX do
 'He hasn't even SEEN it.'

In the preceding examples, *behin ere* receives the interpretation 'not once', rather than 'once not', and the polarity element *inor* is licensed in the interpretation 'nobody'. Moreover, unlike with the regular focalized elements, there is no presupposed proposition, negative or otherwise. The last example shows that verbs may be focalized in negative sentences; the pre-negation position is then occupied by the participle (usually reinforced with *ere* 'also'), while the 'original' position the verb would occupy to the right of negation is filled with the dummy verb *egin*. Sentence (1007) contains a focalized verb where the 'original' position is occupied by a synthetic form of the verb itself. This strategy emphasizes the event/state denoted by the verb, as in verb-focalization with *egin* in positive clauses (see 4.4.3.2.1 above).

If not focalized, pre-negative elements are interpreted as topics/scrambled elements:

- (1009) *Halere, aukera hura ez nuen burutik*
 however choice that not AUX head.from
kentzen.
 take.away.IMPF
 'However, I couldn't eliminate that possibility from my head.'
 [Atx. Ob. 204]

- (1010) *Kalte behintzat ez dizu horrek egingo.*
 harm at.least not AUX that.ERG make.FUT
 'At least that will not do any harm.' [Itur. K.R.:63]

Eastern dialects present another alternative for negative focalization, where only the auxiliary is preposed. The negative particle is left behind along with the participle:

- (1011) *JONEK du liburua ez irakurri.*
 Jon.ERG AUX book not read
 'It is Jon that has not read the book.'

This strategy corresponds to the equivalent negative question structure mentioned in 4.4.7.1. See references quoted there.

4.4.7.2.1. Foci following negation

There exists a second focalization position in negative clauses. This is found to the right of negation and immediately preceding the tenseless verbal form of periphrastic verbs:

- (1012) *Ez du eskaera JONEK sinatu.*
 not AUX petition Jon.ERG sign
 'JON did not sign the petition.'
- (1013) *Ez nien lagunei HORREGATIK arrapostu.*
 not AUX friends.to that.because reply
 'I did not reply to my friends BECAUSE OF THAT.'
- (1014) *Ez nien horregatik LAGUNEI arrapostu.*
 not AUX that.because friends.to reply
 'I did not reply TO MY FRIENDS because of that.'

This position is also marked by emphatic intonation; an element thus emphasized will then occur immediately to the left of the tenseless verbal form. Thus, contrast the first two sentences above with the following ones, where another constituent intervenes between the emphasized element and the participle:

(1015) ??*Ez du ESKAERA Jonek sinatu*

(1016) ??*Ez nien LAGUNEI horregatik arrapostu*

However, the post-verbal focus in non-pre-participial position is acceptable provided it appears in the position it would occupy in a 'neutral' word order:

(1017) *Ez du JONEK eskaera sinatu.*
'JON did not sign the petition.'

(1018) *Ez nien HORREGATIK lagunei arrapostu.*
'I did not reply to my friends BECAUSE OF THAT.'

(1019) *Ez dio Jonek MIKELI eskaera sinatu.*
not AUX Jon.ERG Mikel.to petition sign
'Jon did not sign MIKEL the petition.'

Focalization may 'spread' from the absolutive in neutral position up to the full sentence. In the following examples, what is focalized could be *liburua* 'book', *liburua bidali*, *Mikeli liburua*, *Mikeli liburua eman*:

(1020) *Ez diot Mikeli LIBURUA eman, eskutitza baizik.*
not AUX Mikel.to book give letter but
'I did not give Mikel the BOOK, but the letter.'

(1021) *Ez diot MIKELI LIBURUA eman, Joni eskutitza baizik.*
Jon.to letter but
'I did not give THE BOOK TO MIKEL, but the letter to Jon.'

(1022) *Ez diot MIKELI LIBURUA EMAN, Joni eskutitza bidali*
Jon.to letter send
baizik.
but
'I did not GIVE THE BOOK TO MIKEL, but sent the letter to Jon.'

When the order is not neutral, the only contrastive set is the element to which the stress is assigned:

- (1023) a. *Ez diot LIBURUA eman Mikeli eskutitza baizik/*
 letter but Jon.to letter but/
**Joni eskutitza baizik/*Joni eskutitza bidali baizik.*
 Jon.to letter send but
 ‘... but the letter/*but the letter to Jon/*but sent the letter to Jon.’
- b. *Ez diot liburua MIKELI*
**eskutitza baizik/*eskutitza Joni baizik/*eskutitza*
eman... Peruri baizik/
Joni bidali baizik.
 ‘...but to Peru/*but the letter/*but the letter to Jon/*but sent the letter to Jon.’

In the preceding examples, we have been considering sentences with several constituents intervening between the auxiliary and the participle. In all these cases, negation takes scope over the focus. There are also cases where the post-auxiliary focus can take scope over negation, as in:

- (1024) *Ez diot MIKELI eman liburua, eta ez Aitorri.*
 not AUX Mikel.to give book and not Aitor.to
 ‘I did not give the book to Mikel, and not to Aitor.’

Here, the continuation ‘and not to Aitor’ indicates that negation is part of the presupposition, or, in other words, that the focus takes scope over negation. This interpretation is only available where the focus is in its original position, as are the other arguments of the clause.

Where a non-polarity element is emphasized, negation is usually linked to it, and a contrastive, constituent-negation like interpretation is found; the remaining part is presupposed. Thus, in the examples below, a petition has been signed by someone, but the latter is not Jon; in the following examples ‘I answered my friends’ is presupposed, but that event did not take place ‘because of that reason’. Negation takes scope over the emphatic constituent. As a consequence, the continuations are felicitous:

- (1025) *Ez du eskaera JONEK sinatu, Peruk baizik.*
 not AUX petition Jon.ERG sign, Peru.ERG but
 ‘It is not Jon that signed the petition, but Peru.’

- (1026) *Ez nien lagunei HORREGATIK arrapostu, beste*
 not AUX friend.to that.because reply other
arrazoi bategatik baizik.
 reason one.because but
 'I did not reply to my friends BECAUSE OF THAT, but because of another reason.'
- (1027) *...ez naizela hemen BAKARRIK bizi, Meharra eta*
 not AUX.COMP here alone live Meharra and
Mateorekin bizi naizela.
 Mateo.with live AUX.COMP
 '... that I do not live here ALONE, that I live with Meharra and Mateo.' [Itur. K.R.:131]

When polarity elements are emphasized in this way, no presupposition arises, and, in fact, there does not seem to be any major semantic difference between this focalization position and the one to the left of negation:

- (1028) *Gizon ttiki hura ez zen BEHIN ERE okertzen bere*
 man small that not AUX once also err.IMPF his
irudipenekin.
 appreciations.with
 'The small man NEVER EVER erred in his appreciations.'
 [Atx. Ob.:188]
- (1029) *Baina Heinrichek ez zien entzun ere egiten.*
 but Heinrich.ERG not AUX hear also do.IMPF
 'But Heinrich did not even HEAR them.' [Atx. Ob.:322]
- (1030) *Ez zion inork erantzun nere galderari.*
 not AUX anyone.ERG answer my question.to
 'NO ONE answered my question.'

This type of post-auxiliary focalization (*quasifocus* in de Rijk's 1996b terminology) may also be found with synthetic verbal forms, but given the absence of any participle, the position occupied by the emphasized element is harder to chart. Some examples with synthetic forms are given below. As the first example shows, where several constituents follow, the contrast (or the reinforcement if the emphasized constituent is a polarity element) is usually established with the last one:

- (1031) *Ez da beraien aztarrenik inon. Ez tabernetan,*
 not is their trace.PRTT anywhere not bars.in
ez herri ingurumarian, ez basoan.
 not village neighborhood.in not forest.in
 'Nowhere was any trace of them. Not in the bars, not around the vil-
 lage, not in the forest.' [Atx. *Ob.*:190]

- (1032) *Ez, ez zegoen kaleran, baizik eta etxean.*
 no not was street.in but and home.at
 'No, he was not in the street, but at home.' [Atx. *Ob.*:292]

However, de Rijk (1996b) shows that positions other than the final one may be contrasted:

- (1033) *Nik ez daukat dirurik orain zuretzat, bai,*
 I.ERG not have money.PRTT now you.for yes
ordea, maitasuna.
 instead love
 'I don't have any money for you now, but [I have] love, instead.'

Notice that the main identificational criterion for this quasifocus position comes from the availability of contrastive tags like the preceding ones, under the assumption that a constituent that admits them is a pragmatic focus perhaps associated with some syntactic position. However, this assumption may not be warranted, since contrastive tags seem to be available for a wide range of positions. Thus, Osa (1990) gives as acceptable all of the following alternatives, not just the first one (corresponding to the quasifocus position):

- (1034) *Ez da aita etorri, ama baizik.*
 not AUX father come mother but
 (pre-participial constituent)
 'Father has not come, but mother.'
- (1035) *Aita ez da etorri, ama baizik.*
 (pre-negation constituent without contrastive stress)
Ez da etorri aita, ama baizik.
 (post-participial constituent)

This contrastive quasifocus is thus very different from the regular structural focus of negative questions and positive clauses. Let us examine now fur-

ther similarities and differences between focus and quasifocus, other than the semantic and positional differences discussed above.

4.4.7.2.2. Further differences and similarities between negative foci and quasifoci

In this section we will examine whether the grammatical phenomena that can affect foci in positive contexts may affect negative foci and quasifoci in similar ways.

(a). Pied piping. This is available with foci in pre- and post-auxiliary positions:

- (1036) *BEHIN ERE ez zuela jomugan jotzen egin*
 once also not AUX.COMP target hit.IMPF do
zuen amets.
 AUX dream
 'He dreamed that he did not hit the target EVEN ONCE.'

- (1037) *Jomugan ez zuela BEHIN ERE jotzen egin zuen amets.*

- (1038) [*JONEK ez duela egin*] *uste du Mikelek.*
 Jon.ERG not AUX.COMP do think AUX Mikel.ERG
 'Mikel thinks that it was not Jon that did it.'

- (1039) [*Ez duela JONEK egin*] *uste du Mikelek.*

As the last example shows, focalized *Jonek* can 'drag' the whole negative embedded clause to the pre-verbal position of the matrix, whether it occurs in the pre- or post-auxiliary position.

(b). Elements occurring in the focus position of a higher verb are interpreted as foci of the lower negative clause, rather than as quasifoci:

- (1040) *HORREGATIK esan dute ez duela erantzun.*
 that.because say AUX not AUX.COMP answer
 'That's why they said he did not answer.'

Here, in the relevant interpretation where *horregatik* 'for that reason' is an adjunct of *erantzun* 'answer', the adjunct is interpreted as a (pre-negation)

focus of the lower clause, with scope over negation, not as a contrastive quasifocus. Contrastive tags are then infelicitous:

- (1041) *#Horregatik esan dute ez duela erantzun,*
 other reason one.because but
beste arrazoi bategatik baizik.

'The said he did not answer BECAUSE OF THAT, but because of another reason.'

(c). Both positions behave alike in that they can't serve as targets for focus extraction from the lower clause. Thus, a matrix negated verb may not host an emphasized element raised from a lower clause, whether in the focus or in the quasifocus position:

- (1042) **ZURI ez dut uste saria emango dizutenik.*
 you.to not AUX think prize give.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT
 'To you I don't think they will give the prize.'

- (1043) **Ez dut ZURI uste saria emango dizutenik.*

(d). De Rijk (1996b) claims that emphatic pronouns and, in general, constituents intensified by the suffix *-xe* may not occur in quasifocus position, although they are acceptable in focus position:

- (1044) *Ez dizut orain (*oraintxe) ekarriko, bihar baizik.*
 not AUX now now.INTS bring.FUT tomorrow but
 'I will not bring this to you now, but tomorrow.'

- (1045) *Ez dizut nik (*neuk) ekarriko, Jonek baizik.*
 I.ERG I.INTS.ERG

'It is not me that will bring this to you myself, but Jon.'

There is however some disagreement as to whether these emphatic elements may occur in focus position in negative clauses. The grammar sketch from the Academy of the Basque language (Euskaltzaindia 1987:84) claims emphatic pronouns are excluded from that position, while Osa (1990:212) finds them acceptable in certain environments. In the dialect described here, such elements may in fact be found in non-focal positions, whether in positive or negative sentences. Therefore, sentences like the following, where an element in quasifocus position to which the emphatic marker *-xe* has been attached, are also acceptable:

- (1046) *Ez dizut oraintxe ekarriko, bihar baizik.*
 not AUX now.INTS bring.FUT tomorrow but
 'I won't bring it to you right now, but tomorrow.'

(e). Both focus positions may be filled simultaneously:

- (1047) *JONEK ez du INOR ikusi.*
 Jon.ERG not AUX anyone see
 'It is Jon that has not seen ANYONE.'
- (1048) *JONEK ez du Peru ikusi ere egin.*
 see also do
 'It is Jon that did not even SEE Peru.'
- (1049) *Nork ez du JON ikusi?*
 who.ERG not AUX Jon see
 'Who did not see JON?'
- (1050) *Nork ez du Jon ikusi ere egin?*
 see also do
 'Who did not even SEE Jon?'

(f). In the Lekeitio dialect described in Hualde et al. (1994:170-171), where focalized elements bear distinct focal stress, this can only be borne by the pre-negative focus. Although it is possible to emphasize the post-negation, pre-participial constituent, even using contrastive tags, it may not receive focal stress (indicated by the circumflex accent):

- (1051) *Txakurrâ estau sure lagunak ekarri.*
 dog not.AUX your friend.ERG bring
 'Your friend did not bring THE DOG.'
- (1052) *Txakurra estâu sure lagunak (*lagunâk) ekarri,*
amak báino.
 mother.ERG but
 'It was not your friend that brought the dog, but mother.'

Since some element must bear focal stress in this dialect, and the pre-negative constituent is not focalized, the auxiliary itself receives focal stress, in spite of the fact that some contrastive emphasis on the pre-participial element is indicated by the tag.

4.4.8. *Non-preverbal foci?*

We will describe now two types of situations where pre-'verbal' adjacency is not found for foci or wh-words. First, we will examine the final position as a possible locus for foci and wh-words. Secondly, we will turn to cases where an object intervenes between the two elements. Beginning with the first strategy, it is sometimes possible, as a marked alternative, to find foci and wh-words in final position:

- (1053) *Etorri da AITA.*
 come AUX father
 'FATHER has come.'

- (1054) *Nigandik atera dela zer?*
 I.from come.out AUX.COMP what
 'That what has come out from me?'

- (1055) *Kontua ez duk, hainbeste, istorio bat asmatzea....*
 point not is so.much story a invent.NOM.DET
Kontua duk egilearen begirada, bere ikuspuntua.
 point is author.GEN outlook his view.point
 'The point is not so much to invent a story. The point is the author's approach, his point of view.' [Atx. *Ob.*:222]

Examples like these are reported in Villasante (1980:259), Osa (1990:114), Hualde et al. (1994:169-170) and Hidalgo (1996) among others. The operator in these sentences is separated from the rest of the clause to its left by a pause or intonational break. Where the constituent to the right is a focalized element the usual interpretation is that of a corrective focus: somebody's utterance or presupposition is corrected with respect to that constituent. Where it is a wh-word, it is interpreted as a marked echo-question. This position for marked emphasis is not just post-verbal, but final in the clause.

Pied-piped clauses may also occur in this marked position. When the pied-piping operator is a wh-word, they cannot be interpreted as regular wh-questions, but rather as marked, echo-questions

- (1056) *Ettxera joango naiz NEUK nahi dudanean.*
 home.to go.FUT AUX I.INTS.ERG want AUX.when
 'I will go home when I want to.'

- (1057) *Etxera joango haiz nork nahi duenean?*
 'You will go home when who wants?'

As mentioned in the introduction, there are cases where some constituents intervene between the *wh*-word and the verb. This is particularly common with cause *wh*-words. Moreover, it seems that the objects may intervene between a *wh*-word or focus and the verb, producing sentences marginally better than those involving other cases of lack of adjacency:

- (1058) ??*Nork liburua atera du?*
 who.ERG book take.out AUX
 'Who took out the book?'
- (1059) *Nork bekaturik egiten ez du Jaiegunean*
 who.ERG sin.PRTT make.IMPF not AUX holy.day.in
meza ez entzunaz?
 mass not hear.INSTR
 'Who does not sin not hearing mass on a holiday?' [Mogel CB:175]
- (1060) *Noiz begiak edukiko dituzue ezagutzeko...*
 when eyes have.FUT AUX know.NOM.REL
 'When will you have eyes to know...' [Mogel CB:227]

4.5. Negation

R. Etxepare

4.5.1. The category of negation

Morphological and syntactic evidence support the idea that the negation particle *ez* in Basque is an element of category X^0 , a head. The morphological evidence is constituted by its word-internal presence in a handful of adjectives and nouns with negative meaning:

- (1061) a. *ezdeus* ADJ 'insignificant' (<*ez* 'not' + *deus* 'anything')
- b. *gauzaez* ADJ 'incapable' (<*gauza* 'capable' + *ez*)
- c. *ezezagun* ADJ 'unknown' (<*ez*+*ezagun* 'known')
- (1062) a. *ezbehar* N 'accident' (<*ez*+*behar* 'need')
- b. *ezbide* N 'absurdity' (<*ez*+*bide* 'way')
- c. *ezaxola* N 'carelessness' (<*ez*+*axola* 'care')

Syntactically, the negative particle has a fixed position in the clause structure (see 4.5.2.1) and can never occur as an adverbial modifier in non-finite or non-verbal contexts, as other negative particles of adverbial status can (but see section 4.5.5, for exceptions in contrastive settings and a discussion). Compare, in this regard, the following contrasts:

- (1063) a. *He waited* [_{PP} *for* [*not too long*]]
 b. *Il arrivera* [_{PP} *dans* [*pas longtemps*]]
 he arrive.will in not too.long
 ‘He will arrive soon.’ (from Muller, 1991)
 c. *[_{PP} *Ez oso luzaroan*] *itxaron zuen*
 not too long.in wait AUX
 ‘He waited for not too long.’

- (1064a. *He wore* [NP *not very expensive clothes*]
 b. *[_{NP} *Ez oso jantzi garestiak*] *zeramatzan*
 not very clothes expensive wore

Ez can be used as a simple answer (as negation heads can generally – Spanish, Italian –, but not negative adverbs – French, English):

- (1065) A: *Etorri al da?*
 come Q AUX
 ‘Did he arrive?’
 B: *Ez.*
- (1066) A: *Did he arrive?*
 B: *NOT/NO (, HE DIDN’T)
- (1067) A: *Est-il arrivé?*
 B: *Pas/Non.

And it is the target of head movement (section 4.5.2.1) and of syntactic agreement (section 4.5.4.1). Typologically, Basque is a negative concord language: it has been argued that negative concord is related to the presence in a language of a negation head that can by itself negate a clause (see Rowlett 1998, for typological evidence and a proposal in that sense).

4.5.2. *The position of negation in the structure of the clause*

We will discuss the position of negation in finite clauses first (4.5.2.1), turning to tenseless contexts in (4.5.2.2).

4.5.2.1. Finite clauses

4.5.2.1.1. Matrix finite clauses

4.5.2.1.1.1. Declaratives

The standard word order in a Basque finite clause has the auxiliary following the verb:

- (1068) a. *Etxea erori da.* b. **etxea da erori*
 house fall AUX house AUX fall
 ‘The house has fallen down.’

And leaving aside a small set of modal and evidential particles (3.5.7), nothing can intervene between the lexical verb and the auxiliary:

- (1069) **erori etxea da*

The presence of negation however induces changes on this basic word order pattern. The presence of negation forces the auxiliary to merge with it, and precede linearly the lexical verb:

- (1070) *Etxea ez da erori.*

Furthermore, there is no requirement of adjacency between the auxiliary and the lexical verb:

- (1071) *Ez da etxea erori.*

Laka (1990) accounts for the difference between unmarked and negated sentences transformationally, by making the auxiliary move to the left edge of the sentence and adjoin to the negation head originating there. This linear relation between the basic elements of the sentence has a structural correlate. Negation in Basque can be shown to be structurally higher than the minimal sentential constituent (the minimal constituent containing both the

subject and the finite auxiliary). Laka adduces two pieces of evidence in favor of this structural position. The first piece of evidence is provided by the fact that sentential negation in Basque licenses subject polarity items (unlike in English, for instance). Under the assumption that this sort of licensing requires the licenser (negation) to be in a position higher than the polarity item, or instead to be in a local relation of agreement, the facts show that negation sits in a higher position than the case marked subject in cases such as (1072):

- (1072) a. *Ez da inor etorri.*
 not AUX anybody come
 ‘Nobody came.’
 b. *Ez du inork erosi.*
 not AUX anybody.ERG buy
 ‘Nobody bought it.’

The other piece of evidence is based on the assumption that ellipsis targets syntactic constituents. If so, the prediction is that ellipsis could affect the minimal sentence constituent leaving negation intact, and that seems to be the case:

- (1073) *Jonek Miren ikusi du, baina Peruk ez.*
 Jon.ERG Miren see AUX but Peru.ERG not
 ‘Jon saw Mary but Peru didn’t.’

This is not a case of constituent negation. It does not mean ‘JON saw Miren, not PERU’. In Basque, constituent negation obligatorily precedes the negated constituent (see section 4.5.5):

- (1074) *Jonek ikusi du Miren, ez Peruk.*
 Jon.ERG see AUX Miren not Peru.ERG
 ‘JON saw Miren, not PERU.’

The hypothesis requires the additional assumption that the position of the subject in (1073) is higher than the usual one. In fact, the ‘listing’ character of this sort of example indicates the subject could be considered a contrastive topic. On the other hand, the constituent negation in (1074) is acceptable with a focalized interpretation of the subject *Jonek*, hence the ungrammaticality of (1075), where focalized *Jonek* should be immediately preverbal (see 4.4):

(1075) **Jonek Miren ikusi du, ez Peruk.*

4.5.2.1.1.2. Imperatives

Imperatives in Basque can be finite or non-finite (for the latter, see section 4.5.2.2.1.1). Finite imperatives have a special inflection (see 3.5.4.10) when constructed analytically. This inflection is limited to second person singular and plural:

- (1076) a. *Etor hadi!*
 come AUX.IMP
 ‘Come! (you, FAM).’
 b. *Etor zaitetz!*
 come AUX.IMP
 ‘Come! (you, POL).’
 c. *Etor zaitetzte!*
 come AUX.IMP
 ‘Come! (you PL).’
- (1077) a. *Egin ezak!*
 do AUX.IMP
 ‘Do it! (FAM).’
 b. *Egin ezazu!*
 do AUX.IMP
 ‘Do it! (POL).’
 c. *Egin ezazue!*
 do AUX.IMP
 ‘Do it (PL)!’

When constructed synthetically, finite imperatives are identical to present indicative forms:

- (1078) a. *Hator!*
 come.2A.FAM
 ‘Come! (you, FAM).’
 b. *Zatoz!*
 come.2A.POL
 ‘Come! (you, POL).’
 c. *Zatozte!*
 come.2A.PL
 ‘Come! (you PL).’

Only the periphrastic forms can be negated, with obligatory preposing of the auxiliary:

- (1079) a. *Ez hadi/zaitetz(te) etorri!*
 not AUX.IMP come
 ‘Don’t come!’
 b. **Ez hator/zatoz(te)!*
 not come.2A
 ‘Don’t come!’

In jussive forms with persons other than the second one, the alternative is the use of subjunctive forms followed by the complementizer *-(e)la* (3.5.4.11):

- (1080) a. *Etor dadila!* b. *Egin dezatela!*
 come AUX.SUBJ.COMP do AUX.SUBJ.COMP
 ‘Let him come!’ ‘Let them do it’

The obligatory presence of the complementizer *-ela* in imperative subjunctives contrasts with the free alternation between the complementizers *-(e)n* and *-(e)la* in ordinary subjunctives (4.10.1.1.3). In imperative subjunctives, negation can be either preposed or postposed:

- (1081) a. *Etor ez dadila hona!*
 come not AUX.SUBJ.COMP here.ALL
 ‘Let him not come here!’
 b. *Ez dadila etor hona!*
 not AUX.SUBJ.COMP come here.ALL
 ‘Let him not come here!’

The facts concerning the distribution of negation in imperatives square well with typological generalizations concerning other languages, such as the Romance languages (Zanuttini 1997, chapter 4). Preverbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves are incompatible with lexical verbs in the imperative form, although they are compatible with auxiliary verbs in the imperative form and with verbal forms from other verbal paradigms, such as the subjunctive, used as imperatives (cf. Spanish).

4.5.2.1.1.3. Interrogatives and exclamatives

Partial interrogative clauses all have preposed negation (1082), unless they are rhetorical questions (1083):

- (1082) a. **Nor etorri ez da?*
 who come not AUX
 ‘Who didn’t come?’
 b. *Nor ez da etorri?*
 who not AUX come
 ‘Who didn’t come?’

- (1083) *Horrelakoak nork egin ez ditu (ba)?*
 such.things who.ERG do not AUX so
 'Who didn't (ever) do such a thing?'

The same goes for exclamative clauses (see 4.6), which are constructed with an overt complementizer even in matrix clauses. In exclamatives, negation is always left adjacent to the finite auxiliary:

- (1084) *Zein ederra den etxe hori!*
 how beautiful is.COMP house that
 'How beautiful is that house!'
- (1085) *Zenbat jende ez den etorri!*
 how.many people not AUX.COMP come
 'How many people didn't come!'

In yes/no questions, negation and the auxiliary appear in the left-periphery, as in declarative clauses. Optionally, the yes/no question particle *al* occurs in between the two:

- (1086) *Ez (al) da Xabier etorri?*
 not Q AUX Xabier come
 'Didn't Xabier come?'

4.5.2.1.2. Finite embedded clauses

4.5.2.1.2.1. Declaratives

In embedded declarative clauses, the order of the constituents obeys two basic alternatives: in one, negation changes the basic relative order of the auxiliary and the lexical verb (1087a, b), as it does in matrix clauses. The complementizer *-ela* is an affix on the finite auxiliary:

- (1087) a. [*Etorri dela*] *esan didate.*
 come AUX.that say AUX
 'They told me that he/she came.'
- b. [*Ez dela etorri*] *esan didate.*
 not AUX.that come say AUX
 'They told me that she/he didn't come.'

In the other possible order, negation does not seem to change the basic relative order of auxiliary and lexical verb:

- (1088) [*Etorri ez dela*] *esan didate*.
 come not AUX.that say AUX
 'They told me that she/he didn't come.'

The alternative orderings have no effect in the licensing of polarity items:

- (1089) a. [*Inor berandu etorri ez dela*]
 anybody late come not AUX.that
esan didate.
 say AUX
 'They told me that nobody came late.'
 b. [*Inor ez dela berandu etorri*] *esan didate*.
 'They told me that nobody came late.'

Only the sentence final position (for negation and auxiliary) is available in relative clauses:

- (1090) a. [*etorri ez den*] *gizona*
 come not AUX.COMP man
 'the man who didn't come'
 (1091) a. *[*ez den etorri*] *gizona*
 not AUX.COMP come man
 'the man who didn't come'

This fact should be related to the few cases in which negation is also postposed in matrix contexts. This happens in exclamatives that have a clear metalinguistic function (they are uttered to correct or polemize with some previous utterance), and in rhetorical questions like the following:

- (1092) *Etorriko ez da (bada)!*
 come.FUT not AUX
 'Of course he will come!'

4.5.2.1.2.2. Interrogatives

Finite interrogative dependents show the same alternation as embedded declaratives:

- (1093) [*Nor etorri ez den*] *galdetu didate.*
 who come not AUX.COMP asked AUX
 'They asked me who didn't come.'

- (1094) [*Nor ez den etorri*] *galdetu didate.*
 who not AUX.COMP come asked AUX
 'They asked me who didn't come.'

There are subtle differences in the meaning potential of the two available orders. The alternative with preposed negation, for instance, can be interpreted as a piece of indirect speech when selected by a verb like *esan* 'say':

- (1095) a. [*Nor ez den etorri*] (,) *esan didate.*
 who not AUX.COMP come say AUX
 'They told me who didn't come.' or 'They told me 'who didn't come?''
 b. [*Nor etorri ez den*](,) *esan didate.*
 who come not AUX.COMP say AUX
 'They told me who didn't come.'

Only interrogative dependents with postposed negation can be clausal complements of nouns denoting question events:

- (1096) a. [*Nor etorri ez den galderari*]
 who come not AUX.COMP question.DAT
ez diot erantzunik emango.
 not AUX answer.PRTT give.FUT
 'I won't provide any answer to the question of who didn't come.'
 b. *[*Nor ez den etorri galderari*]...

4.5.2.1.2.3. Factive complements

In most dialects, negation in factive complements behaves as in declarative complements. It can occur preposed or postposed:

- (1097) a. *Badakit ez direla etorriko.*
ba.know not AUX.that come.FUT
 'I know that they will not come.'
 b. *Badakit etorriko ez direla.*

However, the alternative orderings inside the complement clause have important semantic consequences as to the presupposed nature of the complement. Consider for instance the following contrast:

- (1098) a. *Ematen du badakiela ez direla*
 seem.IMPF AUX *ba.knows.that* not AUX.that
etorriko, baina etorriko dira.
 come.FUT but come.FUT AUX
 'It seems that he already knows that they will not come, but they will.'
- b. *Ematen du badakiela etorriko ez direla,*
 come.FUT not AUX.that
#baina etorriko dira.
 'It seems that he already knows that they will not come, but they will.'

Whereas with postposed negation, the factive complement is not presupposed by the speaker, with postposed negation it is. Related to the distinction between preposed and postposed negation in factive complements is also the fact that whereas complements of factives with postposed negation can be taken to a position preceding the factive verb, as in (1099a), complements of factives with preposed negation cannot (1099b):

- (1099) a. *Ematen du [[etorriko ez direla]*
 seem.IMPF AUX come.FUT not AUX.that
badakiela].
ba.knows.that
 'It seems that he already knows that they will not come.'
- b. **Ematen du [[ez direla etorriko] badakiela].*

In those western varieties which have a special morphology for finite factive complements, akin to free relatives, (see 4.10.1.1.5 and also Arejita, 1984; Uribe-Etxebarria 1994), negation must be postposed, as in relative clauses (but see the comment below):

- (1100) a. *Badakit etorriko ez dena.*
ba.know come not AUX.COMP.DET
 'I know that he will not come.'
- b. (*)*Badakit ez dena etorriko.*

The status of the contrast in (1100), we must say, is subject to speaker variation. The contrast is only held among the most traditional speakers, whereas sentences such as (1100b) are more and more common.

4.5.2.1.2.4. Subjunctive complements

Subjunctive complements, which in Basque require the same complementizer as relatives and interrogative complements (see 4.10.1.1.3), also show two alternative orderings with negation:

- (1101) a. *Gehiago etor ez zedin agindu nion.*
 more come not AUX order AUX
 'I ordered him/her not to come anymore.'
 b. *Ez zedin gehiago etor, agindu nion.*
 not AUX more come order AUX
 'I ordered him not to come anymore.'

In this case there is a subtle difference in intonation that forces the subjunctive complement in (1101b) to be uttered as a dislocated phrase, represented here by a comma at the end of the complement. In fact, the subjunctive complement is not easily sandwiched in a matrix negative structure with that order, as shown in (1102):

- (1102) a. *Ez nion [gehiago etor ez zedin] agindu.*
 not AUX more come not AUX ordered
 'I didn't ordered him/her not to come anymore.'
 b. *?Ez nion [ez zedin gehiago etor] agindu.*
 not AUX not AUX more come ordered

The position of the dependent clause in (1102) corresponds to de Rijk's (1996b) 'quasi-focus' position (see 4.4.7.2.1). The subjunctive complement, with preposed negation+auxiliary, can precede the matrix negative, as a topic:

- (1103) *Ez zedin gehiago etor, ez nion agindu.*

4.5.2.1.2.5. Adverbial clauses

The same alternative patterns of preposed and postposed negation plus auxiliary are found in temporal and causal adverbial clauses, and in conditionals. Let us first consider temporals:

- (1104) a. *Akzioek gora egiten ez dutenean,*
 shares.ERG up do.IMPF not AUX.COMP.DET.LOC
saltzen hasiko gara.
 sell.IMPF begin.FUT AUX
 'When the shares do not go up, we will begin to sell.'
- b. *Akzioek ez dutenean gora*
 shares.ERG not AUX.COMP.DET.LOC up
egiten, saldu behar da.
 do.IMPF sell must AUX
 'When the shares do not go up, one must sell.'

The different position of negation has an impact on the interpretation of the temporal clause. In (1104a), the temporal clause has either a punctual (the day/moment the shares don't go up) or a generic interpretation (in the time when the shares don't go up). In (1104b), the temporal has necessarily a generic interpretation. This is not a function of the following sentences, as can be shown by the fact that in (b) we cannot impose a non-generic continuation:

- (1105) ?*Akzioek ez dutenean gora egiten,*
saltzen hasiko gara.
 sell.NOM.LOC begin.FUT AUX
 'When the shares do not go up, we will begin to sell.'

The different range of interpretations can be accounted for if in (1104a) we have a relative clause with a null temporal head denoting either a point or an interval, as in the following overt cases:

- (1106) [*Akzioek gora egiten ez duten*]
 shares up do.IMPF not AUX.COMP
momentuan/denboran] saltzen hasiko gara.
 moment/time.DET.LOC
 'In the moment in which the shares do not go up, we will begin to sell.'

When the temporal clause is in a contrastive, quasi-focus position, negation and the verbal complex are better clause finally:

- (1107) a. *Akzioak ez ditugu [gora egiten ez*
 shares not AUX up do.IMPF not
dutenean] erosiko.
 AUX.COMP.DET.LOC buy.FUT
 'It is not when they don't go up that we will buy shares.'
 b. *?Akzioak ez ditugu [ez dutenean gora egiten] erosiko.*

A similar effect arises in causal adverbial clauses. In causal adverbials, negation can be either preposed or postposed:

- (1108) a. *Akzioak [behera egiten ez dutelako]*
 shares down do.IMPF not AUX.because
erosi ditugu.
 buy AUX
 'We bought shares because they didn't go down.'
 b. *[Ez dutelako behera egiten] erosi ditugu akzioak.*

When we force a contrastive focus under the scope of a matrix negation, the clause final order is preferred:

- (1109) a. *Akzioak ez ditugu [behera egiten ez*
 shares not AUX down do.IMPF not
dutelako] erosi.
 AUX.because bought
 'It is not because they don't go down that we bought the shares.'
 b. *?Akzioak ez ditugu [ez dutelako behera egiten] erosi.*

The same applies for conditionals, although in this case the contrast is much stronger:

- (1110) a. *Akzioak ez ditugu [behera egiten ez*
 shares not AUX down do.IMPF not
badute] erosiko.
 if.AUX buy.FUT
 'We will not buy shares if they don't go down.'
 b. **Akzioak ez ditugu [ez badute behera egiten] erosiko.*

In finite concessives where the concessive particle is necessarily clause final, such as *-arren* ('although, even if'), negation and the auxiliary are in clause final position:

- (1111) a. *Akzioak igo ez diren arren,*
 shares go.up not AUX.COMP even.if
 erosi ditugu.
 bought AUX
 'Even if shares didn't raise, we bought them.'

When the concessive particle is clause initial, such as *nahiz eta* 'even if', then negation can either be clause final or clause initial, always preceding the finite auxiliary. There is no apparent semantic or pragmatic difference between the two forms :

- (1112) a. *nahiz eta ez den garaiz etorri...*
 even if not AUX.COMP in.time come
 'even if we didn't arrive in time...'
 b. *nahiz eta garaiz etorri ez den...*

4.5.2.2. Non-finite clauses

4.5.2.2.1. Matrix non-finite clauses

4.5.2.2.1.1. Imperatives

Non-finite imperatives are constructed with participial forms in western dialects (in eastern dialects the root form of the verb is used instead):

- (1113) a. *Ekarri liburu hori!* b. *Garaiz etorri!*
 bring book that on.time come
 'Bring me that book!' 'Come in time!'

Negation can occur in different positions in the imperative clause. Imperative clauses themselves allow for two different positions for the imperative participle: clause initial (a) and clause final (b):

- (1114) a. *Eraman Mikeli ardoa etxera!*
 take Mikel.DAT wine home.to
 'Take the wine to Mikel's house!'

b. *Mikeli ardoa etxera eraman!*

If the order is (a), negation can only precede the participial imperative:

- (1115) *Ez eraman (*ez) Mikeli (*ez) ardoa*
 not take not Mike.DAT not wine
*(*ez) etxera (*ez)!*
 not home.to not
 'Don't take this wine to Mikel's house!'

If the order is (1114b), negation can precede any of the words:

- (1116) *(Ez) Mikeli (ez) ardoa (ez) etxera*
 not Mikel.DAT not wine not home.to
(ez) eraman!
 not take
 'Don't take this wine to Mikel's house!'

The scope of negation varies accordingly: it only extends to the constituents that follow negation.

4.5.2.2.1.2. Interrogative and exclamative forms

(Non-finite) interrogative and exclamative clauses are also participial forms in Basque (with some dialectal variation):

- (1117) a. *Nik horrelakorik erosi? Bai zera!*
 I.ERG such.thing.PRTT buy yes that
 'Me buy such a thing? Never in my life!'
 b. *Nola jakin bada? Inork ez*
 how know then anybody.ERG not
baitzidan deus ere esan.
 COMP.AUX anything say
 'How could one know? (lit. how to know?). (Since) nobody told me anything.'

In exclamative constructions such as (1117a), negation can either immediately precede the participial, or immediately precede the direct object:

(1118) (**ez*) *Nik* (**ez*) *Mikeleri* (*ez*) *hori* (*ez*) *erosi*?

In non-finite partial questions such as (1117b), it immediately follows the question word.

(1119) *Nola ez Mikeleri (*ez) liburu bat (*ez)*
 how not Mikel.DAT book one
erosi, hain desio badu?
 buy so.much desire AUX
 'How not buy Mikel a book, if he wants it so badly?'

4.5.2.2.2. Embedded non-finite clauses

4.5.2.2.2.1. Nominalized clauses

In nominalized clauses (see 4.10.1.2 for an extensive discussion of their structure) negation can either precede the lexical verb or precede the focus (in small capitals). Consider the following cases:

- (1120) a. [*Neurriak GARAIZ ez hartzeagatik*]
 measures in.time not take.NOM.because
gaude horrela/horrela gaude.
 are thus/thus are
 'For not having taken measures in TIME we are in this situation.' 'It is for not having taken measures in time that we are in this situation.'
- b. [*Neurriak ez GARAIZ HARTZEAGATIK*]
 measures not in.time take.NOM.because
gaude horrela/horrela gaude.
 'It is for not HAVING TAKEN MEASURES IN TIME, that we are in this situation.'

In (1120a), negation precedes the lexical verb and follows the focus. In (1120b), it precedes a preverbal element and the verb itself, which, together, constitute the focus. (1121) and (1122) further illustrate the difference between the lefthand 'narrow' focus (infelicitous with quasi-idiomatic arguments, see the contrast between (1121e) and (1122d), and the right hand 'wide' focus, which involves an (unspecified) projection of the verb:

- (1121) a. [Ez NEURRIAK HARTZEAGATIK] gaude hemen.
not measures take.NOM.because are here
'It is for not having TAKEN MEASURES that we are here.'
- b. [Gauzak ez BEHAR BEZALA EGITEAGATIK]
things not need as do.NOM.because
gaude horrela.
are thus
'It is for not having DONE THINGS THE RIGHT WAY that we are now in this situation.'
- c. [Ez KOTXEZ JOATEAGATIK] iritsi zara berandu.
not by.car go.NOM.because arrive AUX late
'It is for NOT GOING BY CAR that you arrived late.'
- d. [Ez LIBURU EGOKIAK EROSTEAGATIK]
not book appropriate buy.NOM.because
suspenditu dugu.
fail AUX
'It is for not HAVING BOUGHT THE RIGHT BOOKS that we failed.'
- e. [Ez ITXURA EGITEAGATIK] igarri digute.
not look do.NOM.because discovered AUX
'It is because we didn't ACT that they discovered us.'
- (1122) a. [LIBURU EGOKIAK ez erosteagatik]
book appropriate not buy.NOM.because
suspenditu dugu.
fail AUX
'It is for not having bought THE RIGHT BOOKS that we failed.'
- b. [KOTXEZ ez joateagatik] iritsi zara berandu.
car.by not go.NOM.because arrive AUX late
'It is for not going BY CAR that you arrived late.'
- c. [NAGUSIARI ez agurtzeagatik] zigortu naute.
boss.DAT not greet.NOM.because punish AUX
'It is for not having said hello to THE BOSS that I've been punished.'
- d. *[ITXURA ez egiteagatik] igarri digute.
look not do.NOM.because discovered AUX
'It is because we didn't ACT that they discovered us.'

Negation cannot precede elements which are not in focus, as we can see in (1123), with focus in *garaiz* 'in time':

- (1123) *[*Ez neurriak GARAIZ HARTZEAGATIK*]
 not measures in.time take.NOM.because
 gaude horrela.
 are thus
 ‘It is for not having TAKEN MEASURES IN TIME that we are in this situation.’

Negative polarity items can only occur to the immediate left of negation, and not as part of the right wide focus:

- (1124) a. [*Ezer ez irakurtzeagatik*] *suspenditu dugu.*
 anything not read.NOM.because fail AUX
 ‘We failed for not having read anything.’
 b. ??[*Ez ezer irakurtzeagatik*] *suspenditu dugu.*
 not anything read.NOM.because fail AUX
 ‘We failed for not having read anything.’

When the nominalized clause is a complement to verbs of wishing and command such as *nahi izan* ‘want’, *espero izan* ‘hope, expect’, or *eskatu* ‘ask for’ (which admit overt subjects), negation has the same distribution as above:

- (1125) a. [*Jonek ez HORI EGITEA*] *nahieskatuko nuke.*
 Jon.ERG not that do.NOM.DET like/ask.FUT AUX
 ‘I would like/ask for Jon not TO DO THAT.’
 b. [*Jonek HORI ez egitea*] *nahieskatuko nuke.*
 Jon.ERG that not do.NOM.DET like/ask.FUT AUX
 ‘I would like/ask for Jon not to do THAT.’

However, in these dependents, unlike in the previous adverbial one, negative polarity items can occur following negation:

- (1126) [*Jonek ez ezer egitea*] *nahi nuke.*
 Jon.ERG not anything do.NOM.DET wish AUX
 ‘I would like for Jon not to do anything.’

The same happens with other verbs that take nominalized complements (alternating with finite subjunctive ones) such as *galerazi* ‘prohibit’, *onartu* ‘accept’, *proposatu* ‘propose’, *gaitzetsi* ‘criticize’.

Some of the verbs taking indicative propositional complements, such as *aztertu* ‘consider’, *salatu* ‘denounce’, *kontuan hartu* ‘take into account’ or

erabaki 'decide', which also take nominalized complements, only admit one position for negation; the postposed one, as in (1127):

- (1127) a. *Defentsa [helegitea ez aurkeztea]*
 defense appeal not present.NOM.DET
aztertzen ari da.
 consider.NOM.LOC ari AUX
 'The defense is considering not to appeal.'
 b. **Defentsa [ez helegitea aurkeztea] aztertzen ari da.*

The variable position of negation is only admitted in those nominalized constituents that maintain a clausal structure. In those which are completely nominalized, the position of negation is fixed. Consider in this regard the contrast between structures such as (a) and (b):

- (1128) a. [*Ikasleen etortzeak*] *antolaketa*
 students.GEN come.NOM.ERG organization
-arazoak sortu ditu.
 problems create AUX
 'The coming of students created problems of organization.'
 b. [*Ikasleak etortzeak*] *antolaketa- arazoak*
 students come.NOM.ERG
sortu ditu.
 'The fact that students came created problems of organization.'

The latter, but not (a) admits case endings and adverbial modifiers, and only (a) admits adjectives in modifying functions:

- (1129) a. [*Ikasleen etortze lasterrak*] *asko*
 students.GEN come.NOM fast.ERG a.lot
lagundu zuen.
 help AUX
 'The fast arrival of the students helped a lot.'
 (1130) b. *[*Ikasleen laster etortzeak asko*]
 students.GEN fast.ERG come.NOM a.lot
lagundu zuen.
 help AUX
 'The speedy arriving of the students helped a lot.'

- (1131) a. *[*Ikasleak etortze lasterrak*] *asko*
 students come.NOM fast.ERG
lagundu zuen.
 'The student's fast arriving helped a lot.'
- b. [*Ikasleak laster etortzeak*] *asko*
 students fast come.NOM.ERG
lagundu zuen.
 'The fact that students came fast helped a lot.'

Nominal structures such as (1129a) have a fixed position for negation: it always precedes the lexical verb:

- (1132) (**ez*) *ikasleen ez etortzeak...*
 not students.GEN not come.NOM.ERG

Interestingly, if the 'more clausal' nominalizations incorporate a propositional modifier such as *huts* 'bare, mere', negation is obligatorily fixed in the immediate preverbal position:

- (1133) a. [*Haurrei ez jolasak irakastea*]
 children.DAT not plays teach.NOM.DET
barkaezina da.
 unforgiveable AUX
 'Not teaching plays to children is unforgiveable.'
- b. [*Haurrei jolasak ez irakastea*]
 children.DAT games not teach.NOM.DET
barkaezina da.
 unforgiveable AUX
 'Not teaching games to children is unforgiveable.'
- c. *[[*Haurrei ez jolasak irakaste*] *hutsa*]
 children.DAT not games teach.NOM bare.DET
barkaezina da.
 unforgiveable AUX
 'The mere fact of not teaching games to children is unforgiveable.'
- d. [[*Haurrei jolasak ez irakaste*] *hutsa*]
 children.DAT games not teach.NOM bare.DET
barkaezina da.
 unforgiveable AUX
 'The mere fact of not teaching games to children is unforgiveable.'

4.5.2.2.2. Participial clauses

4.5.2.2.2.1. Non-interrogative participial clauses

Dependent participial clauses also admit several positions for negation:

- (1134) a. *Damu dut [lehenago etorri ez izana].*
 regret AUX earlier come not be.PRF.DET
 'I regret not having come earlier.'
 b. *Damu dut [lehenago ez etorri izana].*
 regret AUX earlier not come be.PRF.DET
 'I regret not having come earlier.'
 c. *Damu dut [ez lehenago etorri izana].*
 regret AUX not earlier come be.PRF.DET
 'I regret not having come earlier.'

The position of negation is not free however, as can be shown by introducing a trivalent participial dependent: negation cannot precede the dative nor the ergative argument:

- (1135) a. *Damu dut [Jonek Xabierri lehenago hori erakutsi ez izana].*
 regret AUX Jon.ERG Xabier.DAT earlier that
 show not be.PRF.DET
 'I regret Jon's not having shown that earlier to Xabier.'
 b. *Damu dut [Jonek Xabierri lehenago hori ez erakutsi izana].*
 c. *Damu dut [Jonek Xabierri lehenago ez hori erakutsi izana].*
 d. *Damu dut [Jonek Xabierri ez lehenago hori erakutsi izana].*
 e. **Damu dut [Jonek ez Xabierri lehenago hori erakutsi izana].*
 f. **Damu dut [ez Jonek Xabierri lehenago hori erakutsi izana].*

If the participial clause does not include a participial auxiliary, as above, then negation has a fixed position before the verb:

- (1136) a. *Damu dut [garaiz ez etorria].*
 regret AUX in.time not come.PRF.DET
 'I regret not having come in time.'
 b. *?Damu dut [ez garaiz etorria].*

- (1137) *Damu dut [(*)ez) Jonek (*)ez) hori ez*
 regret AUX not Jon.ERG not that not
erosia].
 buy.PRF.DET
 'I regret that Jon didn't buy that.'

4.5.2.2.2.2. Indirect questions

In indirect questions, the position of negation is fixed immediately before the participle:

- (1138) [*Nori (*)ez) liburua (ez) eman*] *esan didate*.
 who.DAT not book not give say AUX
 'They told me to whom not to give the book.'

4.5.2.2.2.3. Bare contexts

In coordinated structures, either term of the conjunction can occur without a finite auxiliary. In that case, negation is clause final:

- (1139) a. *Mundu guzia esperoan eduki eta bera*
 world all wait.in keep and he
agertu ez.
 show.up not
 'Everybody was waiting and s/he didn't show up.'
 b. *Gu nekatu ez eta berak berriz ezin*
 we tire not and he.ERG instead cannot
segi.
 follow
 'We didn't get tired and s/he instead was unable to follow.'

4.5.3. Negation and emphatic affirmation

Emphatic affirmation occupies, apparently, the same surface position as sentential negation (Oyharçabal 1984, Laka 1990):

- (1140) a. *Erosi du.* b. *Ez du erosi.*
 buy AUX not AUX buy
 ‘S/he bought it.’ ‘S/he didn’t buy it.’
 c. *Badu erosi.*
 ba.AUX bought
 ‘S/he did buy it.’

Emphatic affirmation is a bound morpheme which should be related to the free assertion morpheme *bai* ‘yes’:

- (1141) A: *Erosi duzu?* B: *Bai.*
 buy AUX yes
 ‘Did you buy it? Yes.’

In cases of (clausal) ellipsis, it is the free assertion morpheme which occurs:

- (1142) *Jonek ez du ardorik erosi baina*
 Jon.ERG not AUX wine.PRTT bought but
*Mikelek bai [...]/*ba.*
 Mikel.ERG yes *ba*
 ‘Jon didn’t buy wine but Mikel did.’

The bound morpheme *ba-* expresses a contradicting affirmation, one that negates a negative proposition or, alternatively, one that holds the positive value of a proposition against a negative statement of that proposition. Arejita provides the following minimal discourse:

- (1143) A: *Ez dozu ikusi, bada.*
 not AUX see then
 B: *Badot ikusi.*
 ba.AUX see
 ‘You didn’t see it then. I DID see it.’

In western dialects, but not in eastern ones (Oyharçabal 1984:365), the presence of *ba-* is incompatible with some other element in focus, as in *Zer duzu? Dirua badut.* ‘What do you have? I have money’.

Arejita (1988) claims that as a marker of emphatic affirmation, *ba-* has a more restricted occurrence in embedded clauses. It is excluded in subordinate clauses headed by the complementizer *-en* (interrogatives, subjunctives and relatives), whereas it is acceptable in those headed by *-ela* (but see 4.4.5.1.1):

There is another context in which the presence of *ba-* is obligatory: when *izan* 'be' is employed as an existential verb (see also 4.4.3.2.2). Then, *ba-* invariably attaches to the finite verb if this is not periphrastic. Consider the following contrasts (from Oyharçabal 1984:363):

- (1147) a. *Ogia da* b. *Ogia bada.*
 bread is bread *ba.is*
 'It is bread.' 'There is bread.'
- (1148) a. *Hemen euskaldunak dira.*
 here Basque.DET.PL are
 'Here, people are Basque.'
- b. *Hemen euskaldunak badira.*
 here Basque.DET.PL *ba.are*
 'Here, there are Basque people.'

4.5.4. Negative constituents

4.5.4.1. Negative polarity items

Negative polarity items in Basque are built on words which are homonymous with the question words, by the addition of a prefix *e-* (>*i-* by dissimilation) (Michelena 1985[1961]: 67, 304), probably related to negation *ez* 'in-, not, no' (3.1.6.1.4):

- (1149) a. *i-nor* 'anybody'
 b. *i-noiz* 'ever'
 c. *i-non* 'anywhere (location)'
 d. *i-nora* 'anywhere (direction)'
 e. *e-zer* 'anything'
 f. *e-zein* + N 'any N' (literary)

Although these polarity items seem to incorporate morphologically a negative element, for most speakers, they don't have a negative value by themselves. They need the presence of an independent clausemate negation, as shown by the contrast in (1150):

- (1150) *Zer ekarri duzu? Ezer *(ez).*
 what bring AUX anything not
 'What did you bring? Nothing.'

Without a clausemate negation, or some other licenser (see below), negative words are not acceptable (again for most speakers). This also means that, differently from other negative polarity items such as *any-* forms in English, they don't have a 'free-choice' interpretation:

- (1151) **Ezer jango nuke.*
 anything eat.FUT AUX.POT
 'I would eat anything (intended meaning).'

To contribute a free-choice reading, we must add the prefix *edo-* (lit. 'or') or the noun *nahi* 'desire' to the indefinite bases *zer*, *nor* and *zein* (3.1.6.1.4; for the second option, cf. Sp *cualquiera*, etc):

- (1152) a. *edozer/zernahi* b. *edonor/nornahi*
 'anything/whatever' 'anyone/whoever'
 c. *edozein/zeinnahi etxe*
 'any/whichever house'

Polarity items have a different shape in eastern dialects (Michelena 1961:304):

- (1153) Western Eastern
 inor *nehor* 'anybody'
 inoiz *nehoiz* 'ever'
 inon *nehon* 'anywhere'
 inora *nihora* 'anywhere' (direction)

The eastern forms behave differently in that they can directly convey a negative meaning:

- (1154) *Nor etorri da? Nehor.*
 who come AUX anyone
 'Who came? No one.'

As indicated in 3.1.6.1.4, polarity items in Basque can be licensed by: (i) negation (1155a), (ii) yes/no questions (1155b), (iii) rhetorical questions

(1155c), (iv) protasis of conditionals (1155d), (v) second term of comparative structures (1155e), (vi) *before* clauses (1155f), (vii) *without* clauses (1155g), (viii) propositional complements of negative predicates (1155h), (ix) 'affective' predicates (including exclamatory verbs and verbs of fearing) (1155i), (x) internal arguments of distributive universal quantifiers (1155j), and (xi) excess comparatives introduced by the affix *-egi* (1155k) (see de Rijk 1972b, 1996b):

- (1155) a. *Ez da inor etorri.*
not AUX anybody come
'Nobody came.'
- b. *Inor etorri al da?*
anybody come Q AUX
'Did anybody come?'
- c. *Nork erosiko du ezer, bada?*
who.ERG buy.FUT AUX anything then
'Who will buy anything then?'
- d. *inor etortzen bada...*
anybody come.IMPF if.AUX
'if anybody comes...'
- e. *Xabier inor baino handiagoa da.*
Xabier anybody than big.more.DET AUX
'Xabier is bigger than anyone.'
- f. *Inor etorri baino lehenago joango gara.*
anybody come than before.more go.FUT AUX
'We will leave before anybody comes.'
- g. *Inor ikusi gabe joan zen.*
anybody see without leave AUX
'He left without seeing anybody.'
- h. *Jonek duda egiten zuen ezer ere lortzeko aukeraz.*
Jon.ERG doubt do.IMPF AUX anything at.all reach.NOM.REL possibility.INSTR
'Jon had doubts about the possibility of getting anything at all.'
- i. *Damutu zitzaidan inor gonbidatu izana.*
regret AUX anybody invite be.PRF.DET
'I regretted having invited anyone.'

- j. *Inori lapurtzen dion orok*
 anybody.DAT steal.IMPF AUX.COMP everybody
izango du zigorra.
 be.FUT AUX punishment
 ‘Everyone who steals anybody will be punished.’
- k. *Inori entzuteko nekatuegi dago.*
 anybody.DAT listen.to tired.too is
 ‘S/he is too tired to listen to anybody.’

Some speakers also admit licensing by modals such as *behar* ‘must’, when they take on an epistemic reading:

- (1156) a. *Inork erabaki beharko du.*
 anyone decide need.FUT AUX
 ‘Someone will have to do it (I guess).’
- b. *Agian inor agertuko da.*
 perhaps someone show.up.FUT AUX
 ‘Perhaps someone will show up.’

There is an exception to the behavior of negative words in the temporal *inoiz* ‘ever’, which can occur without any licenser meaning ‘sometime’:

- (1157) *Inoiz gertatu da.*
 ever happen AUX
 ‘It has happened sometime.’

Similarly, genitive *inoren* can receive the interpretation ‘somebody else’s’ in western dialects. Eastern dialects have another inanimate negative word coexisting with *ezer*: *deus* (<lat. *genus*, Michelena 1985[1961]:519). *Deus* has a somewhat freer distribution. Besides all the environments that license *ezer*, and unlike it, *deus* can be licensed by elements in focus:

- (1158) *Jonek bakarrik erosi du deus/?ezer.*
 Jon.ERG only bought AUX anything
 ‘Only Jon saw anything.’

Basque has another negative word that works as a scalar modifier of both predicative and argumental expressions: *batere* (<*bat* ‘one’+*ere* ‘even’) ‘at all’. It also requires a polar environment to be licensed:

- (1159) a. *Ez dago batere garbi.* b. **Batere garbi dago.*
 not is at.all clear at.all clear is
 'It is not clear at all.' 'It is clear at all.'
- (1160) a. *batere argitu gabeko auzia*
 at.all clear without.REL issue
 'an issue that hasn't been cleared at all'
 b. **batere argitutako auzia*
 at.all clear.PTCP.REL issue
 'an issue that has been cleared at all'
- (1161) *Ez dut batere dirurik.*
 not AUX at.all money.PRTT
 'I have no money at all.'

This polarity item is only licensed by negation.

4.5.4.2. The syntactic distribution of negative words

Both non-polar elements and negative polarity items can occur preceding negation. Unlike non-polar elements such as subject noun phrases (1162b), however, negative polarity items in pre-negative position must be adjacent to the negative head (1162a) (Ortiz de Urbina 1989b):

- (1162) a. **Inork atzol/Mireni ez zion erosi.*
 anybody.ERG yesterday/Miren.DAT not AUX buy
 'Nobody bought it yesterday/for Miren.'
 b. *Jonek atzol/Mireni ez zion erosi.*
 Jon.ERG yesterday/Miren.DAT not AUX buy
 'Jon didn't buy it yesterday/for Miren.'

This adjacency requirement between the negative head and the negative polarity item suggests a structural relation of agreement (Haegeman 1995), whereas the free placement of the subject suggests its realization as a topic (Ortiz de Urbina 1989b). It is obvious, however, that this agreement relation does not strictly involve negative features: if it did, then we wouldn't expect the post-negative position of negative polarity items, unless such an agreement relation is optional. There is, on the other hand, a clear asymmetry between the prenegative and the postnegative domains regarding the licensing of negative polarity items: whereas in the postverbal domain more than one

negative polarity item can be licensed, the preverbal domain only provides room for one:

- (1163) a. *Inork ez du ezer egin.*
 anybody.ERG not AUX anything do
 'Nobody did anything.'
- b. *??Inork ezer ez du egin.*
 anybody.ERG anything not AUX do
 'Nobody did anything (intended).'
- c. *Ez du inork ezer egin.*
 not AUX anybody.ERG anything do
 'Nobody did anything.'

This asymmetry is also related to the semantic interpretation of the negative words. Polarity items which are clearly existential cannot occur preceding the negative:

- (1164) a. *Ez da ezer askorik gertatu.*
 not AUX anything much.PRTT happen
 'It didn't happen much.'
- b. **Ezer askorik ez da gertatu.*
 anything much.PRTT not AUX happen
 '(?)Not much happened.'

This fact should be related to the behavior of some downward entailing quantifiers in Basque, such as *gutxi* 'few', which only admit a prenegative position:

- (1165) a. *Jende gutxi ez du ezer egin.*
 people few.ERG not AUX anything do
 'Few people didn't do anything.'
- b. **Ez du jende gutxi ezer egin.*
 not AUX people few.ERG anything do
 'Few people didn't do anything (intended).'

In fact, quantifiers such as *gutxi* behave similarly to focus operators in that they induce a change in the basic word order of the clause. Those quantifiers must occupy the preverbal position, irrespective of their grammatical function (see 4.4.2):

- (1166) a. *Jende gutxik ikusi du hori.*
 people few.ERG see AUX that
 'Few people saw that.'
- b. **Jende gutxik hori ikusi du.*
 people few.ERG that see AUX
 'Few people saw that (intended).'

If the comparison between prenegative polarity items, downward entailing quantifiers such as *gutxi*, and focus operators is significant, then some focus feature must be involved in those cases.

The previous restrictions concerning the pre-negative position of polarity items do not hold in relative clauses:

- (1167) *inork inori egingo ez dion*
 anybody.ERG anybody.DAT do.FUT not AUX.COMP
proposamena
 proposal.DET
 'the proposal that noone will do to anyone'

In embedded clauses, there is a mild contrast depending on whether the negation plus auxiliary complex is preverbal or postverbal. If it is postverbal, then it behaves as a relative clause, imposing no restrictions on the position of negative words (1168a). If it is preverbal, it behaves as matrix clauses (1168b) :

- (1168) a. [*Inork ezer erosiko ez duela*]
 anyone.ERG anything buy.FUT not AUX.COMP
esan du Jonek.
 say AUX Jon.ERG
 'Jon said that noone will buy anything.'
- b. ?[*Inork ezer ez duela erosiko*] *esan du Jonek.*

The discussion of examples (1162-1163) assumed that any indefinite polarity element can occupy a position preceding negation. This is only true when no other such item follows negation:

- (1169) a. *Inori ez diote lagundu.*
 anybody.DAT not AUX help
 'They didn't help anyone.'

- b. *Ezer ez dute erosi.*
 anything not AUX buy
 'They didn't buy anything.'
- c. *Ezerk ez du iraungo.*
 anything.ERG not AUX remain.FUT
 'Nothing will remain.'

When other negative polarity items follow negation then a 'superiority' effect arises: only those indefinites whose case-marking corresponds to the structurally higher function (as compared to the other negative words) can precede negation. Consider for instance the following contrasts:

- (1170) a. *Inork ez du ezer erosi.*
 anyone.ERG not AUX anything buy
 'No one bought anything.'
- b. **Ezer ez du inork erosi.*
 anything not AUX anyone.ERG buy
 'No one bought anything (intended meaning).'
- (1171) a. *Inork ez dio inori lagundu.*
 anyone.ERG not AUX anyone.DAT help
 'No one helped anyone.'
- b. **Inori ez dio inork lagundu.*
 anyone.DAT not AUX anyone.ERG help
 'No one helped anyone (intended meaning).'
- (1172) a. *Inori ez zaio ezer gertatu.*
 anyone.DAT not AUX anything happen
 'Nothing happened to anyone.'
- b. **Ezer ez zaio inori gertatu.*
 anything not AUX anyone.DAT happen
 'Nothing happened to anyone.' (Intended meaning)

This 'superiority' effect disappears or becomes milder if a third indefinite is introduced. Consider the contrast in (1173) and (1174):

- (1173) a. **Inori ez dio inork liburu bat eman.*
 anyone.DAT not AUX anyone.ERG book one give
 'No one gave anyone a book.' (Intended meaning)

- b. *Inori ez dio inork ezer eman.*
 anyone.DAT not AUX anyone.ERG anything give
 'No one gave anything to anyone.'

(1174) a. **Ezer ez dio inork Mikeli eman.*
 anyone not AUX anyone.ERG Mikel.DAT give
 'No one gave anything to Mikel (intended meaning).'

- b. *Ezer ez dio inork inori eman.*
 anything not AUX anyone.ERG anyone.DAT give
 'No one gave anything to Mikel.'

4.5.4.3. Negative quantifiers

The cases discussed in (1162-1166) are directly related to the following ambiguity in multiple polarity word clauses:

- (1175) *Inork ez du ezer ere egin.*
 anyone.ERG not AUX anything at.all done
 'Nobody did anything.'
 'Nobody did nothing.' (>someone did something)

It seems as if Basque indefinites could be used as either polarity items or universal quantifiers (they are also licensed in second terms of comparatives, where an existential reading is impossible, see section 4.5.4.1). The ambiguity of the previous example is linked to two different intonations. The intonation corresponding to the polarity reading has a main prominent accent on *inork* 'nobody' and a secondary accent on preverbal *ezer* (typically, preverbal elements receive an accent, realized via stress in most dialects). In the universal quantifier interpretation, both *inork* and *ezer* have an equally prominent accent. The intonation pattern is similar to one with focus and a quasifocus (de Rijk 1996b; see 4.4.7.2.1):

- (1176) *JONEK ez du BERE anaia bisitatu.*
 Jon.ERG not AUX his brother visit
 'It is Jon who didn't visit HIS brother.'

Basque *inor/ezer* can take modifiers that only apply to universal quantifiers, such as *ia* 'almost':

- (1177) *Ia inor ez da etorri.*
 almost anybody not AUX come
 'Almost nobody came.'

The position of the universal quantifier can be, but doesn't have to, before the negative in these cases:

- (1178) *Ez da ia inor etorri.*

If negative universal quantifiers must be in an agreement relation with the negative particle, as suggested above, orders such as (1178) can be due to a further displacement to the left of the complex negation+auxiliary.

The ambiguity presented in (1175) only arises when the two polarity elements are clausemate:

- (1179) *Inork ez du uste [ezer (ere)*
 anybody.ERG not AUX think anything (at.all)
gertatu denik].
 happen AUX.COMP.PRTT
 'Nobody thinks that anything happened.'
 (Can't mean) 'Nobody thinks that nothing happened.'

The universal quantifier reading of Basque negative words does not arise under licensors other than negation and second term of comparatives: their distribution is thus much more restricted than that of negative polarity items. Basque behaves in this regard as other languages which have two series of negative constituents (one universal, one existential) distinguished by the mere presence of a focus feature (e.g. Greek, as shown by Giannakidou 1997). In Basque, both universal quantifiers and polarity items require the overt presence of a negation particle.

4.5.4.4. Partitive *-(r)ik*

Basque has a suffix *-(r)ik* indicating roughly 'amount/quantity of' that traditional grammars call 'partitive' (Lafitte 1962; see de Rijk 1972b, 1996b, for historical references). It can only be attached to transitive objects and intransitive subjects (de Rijk 1972b, Ortiz de Urbina 1989a), in accord with the so-called 'unaccusative hypothesis' (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1981; see 4.1) and requires licensing by some polar element:

- (1180) *Ez du ardorik edan.*
 not AUX wine.PRTT drink
 'He didn't drink any wine.'

The syntactic environments allowing the presence of *-(r)ik* are the following (see de Rijk 1972, and section 3.1.2.4): (i) negation (cf. 1180), (ii) existential statements (1181a), (iii) yes/no interrogatives (1181b), (iv) partial interrogatives (1181c), (v) *before* clauses (1181d), (vi) *without* clauses (1181e), (vii) protasis of conditionals (1181f), (viii) first argument of distributive universal quantifiers (1181g), (ix) superlatives (1181h), quantifiers meaning 'enough' (1181i), and (x) comparatives of excess (cf. English *too*) (1181j):

- (1181) a. *Bada ogirik.*
ba.AUX bread.PRTT
 'There is (some) bread.'
- b. *Bertara joateko astirik al duzu?*
 there go.to time.PRTT Q AUX
 'Do you have time to go there?'
- c. *Nork dio beldurrik horri?*
 who.ERG has fear.PRTT that.DAT
 'Who has any fears towards him?'
- d. *Ezbeharrik eragin baino lehen makina itzali zuten.*
 accident.PRTT cause than before machine
 turn.off AUX
 'They turned off the machine before it caused any accident.'
- e. *Aterkirik (hartu) gabe atera naiz.*
 umbrella.PRTT take without go.out AUX
 'I went out without (taking) any umbrella.'
- f. *Istilurik badago ospa egin.*
 riot.PRTT if.AUX flee do
 'If there is any riot, get out.'
- g. *horretarako beharrik sendi duen orokledonork ...*
 that.for need.PRTT feel AUX.COMP
 everyone/whoever
 'whoever/everyone who feels he needs it...'
- h. *asmakuntzarik handiena*
 invention.PRTT biggest
 'the biggest invention'

- i. *Nahiko gerlarik dugu.*
 enough war.PRTT have
 'We have enough (of) wars.'
- j. *Zaharregi da parrandarik egiteko.*
 old.too AUX party.PRTT do.to
 'She/he is too old for parties.'

As with negative polarity items, some speakers also admit partitives under epistemic modals (from de Rijk 1996b):

- (1182) a. *Beharbada, entzungo dut albiste onik.*
 perhaps hear.FUT AUX news good.PRTT
 'Perhaps I will hear good news.'
- b. *Agian aurkituko dut ezagunik.*
 maybe find.FUT AUX known.PRTT
 'Perhaps I will find someone I know.'

The partitive suffix clearly has its origins in the ablative suffix, as noted by de Rijk (1996b). It is an allomorph of ablative *-tik*, which has been retained as such in eastern dialects. *-(r)ik* appears in all the Basque speaking area in a productive adverbial construction that shows a clear ablative component (see 3.8.8):

- (1183) a. *mendirik mendi*
 mountain.PRTT mountain
 'from mountain to mountain'
- b. *alderik alde*
 side.PRTT side
 'from side to side'
- c. *kalerik kale*
 street.PRTT street
 'from street to street'

From its ablative origin, it evolved to indicate the range of quantification (cf. [1181h] and [1181i]). Not all quantifiers seem to accept the partitive in their range: *askolanitz* *lfranko* 'many', *aski* 'enough', *gutxi* 'little/few', *gehien* 'most' and negative polarity items accept the partitive (examples from de Rijk 1996b, p.437-438):

- (1184) a. *Ametsik asko sortu zaizkigu.*
 dream.PRTT many spring.up AUX
 'Many dreams have sprung up in us.' [Treku, *Ahal dena*]
- b. *Onelako esanik aski baze bilen.*
 such talk.PRTT enough ba.walked
 'There was indeed enough of such talk.' [Etxaniz, *Antz*]
- c. *Lengo idazle zarren kartarik gutxi dugu.*
 ancient writer old.GEN letter.PRTT few AUX
 'We have few letters of the ancient writers of the past.'
 [Etxaniz, *Nola idatzi*]
- d. *ezer gauza onik nigan bada...*
 any thing good.PRTT me.in if.is
 'if there is anything good in me (lit. any of good things)...'
 [Card. II:57]

Other quantifiers, such as *batzuk/zenbait* 'some', *guztildena* 'all' and *oro* 'every', do not admit the partitive.

One can also find a participle in *-(r)ik* denoting a resultant state in absolute clauses and stative predication. Its connection with the partitive suffix is not clear (see de Rijk 1972):

- (1185) a. *ia ezin gehiago egin dezakezula*
 almost cannot more do AUX.POT.COMP
ikusirik...
 see.PTCP
 'seeing that you cannot do almost anything more...'
- b. *Asperturik nago.*
 bored.PRTT am
 'I am bored.'
- c. *Lagunak joanik jarri zen.*
 friends gone.PRTT sit. down AUX
 'His friends having left, he sat down.' [Lafitte 1944:231]

It can also follow stative adjectives such as *gaiso* 'ill', *bizi* 'alive', *hil* 'dead', *huts* 'empty':

- (1186) a. *Hutsik dago.* b. *Gaisorik dago.*
 empty.PRTT is ill.PRTT is
 'It is empty.' 'He is ill.'

The partitive *-ik* can also attach to finite dependents which are headed in that case by the complementizer *-en* (Laka 1992, Uribe-Etxebarria 1994; see 4.10.1.1.4). This is only possible under the usual triggers of the partitive (see above), and for propositional complements of negative verbs:

- (1187) a. *Ez dut uste etorriko denik.*
 not AUX think come.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT
 'I don't think he/she will come.'
- b. *Etortzekoa denik esan al dizute?*
 come.to.DET AUX.COMP.PRTT say Q AUX
 'Did they tell you whether he/she is to come?'
- c. *Zein gizarajok uste du diru asko irabaziko duenik?*
 which poor.guy.ERG think AUX money
 much earn.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT
 'Which wretch thinks nowadays that he/she will earn a lot of money?'
- d. *Ukatu du etorriko denik.*
 deny AUX come.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT
 'S/he denied that s/he would come.'

The alternation between declarative complementizer *-ela* and the complex *-enik* gives rise to an interpretive difference, as first observed by Saltarelli (1988) (also Laka 1990, 1992). Consider the following two sentences, from Laka (1992:194):

- (1188) a. *Galileok ez zuen sinesten [eguzkia lurrari inguruka zebilenik].*
 Galileo.ERG not AUX believe.IMPF sun
 earth.DAT revolving went.that
 'Galileo didn't believe that the sun revolved around the earth.'
- b. *Galileok ez zuen sinesten [eguzkia lurrari inguruka zebilela].*
 Galileo.ERG not AUX believe.IMPF sun
 earth.DAT revolving went.that
 'Galileo didn't believe that the sun revolved around the earth.'

When the truth of the embedded clause is presupposed on the part of the speaker, *-(e)la* will appear as the complementizer (Saltarelli 1988:32). Otherwise, the speaker doesn't make any commitment as to the truth of the dependent proposition. So in the second case (1188b), but not in the first one,

the speaker takes the proposition that the earth revolves around the earth to be true, against Galileo's belief.

The ending *-(r)ik* is not licensed in finite dependents in other contexts which do license partitive noun phrases. This is the case in *before*-clauses (1189), *without*-clauses (1190), and restrictions of universal quantifiers (1191):

- (1189) a. *Horrelakorik esan baino lehen informa zaitez.*
 such.REL.PRTT say than before inform(RAD) AUX
 'Before saying any such thing get informed.'
- b. *[*Hori gertatuko denik*] *esan baino*
 that happen.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT say than
lehen, informa zaitez.
 before, inform AUX
 'Before saying that that will happen, get informed.'
- (1190) a. *Horrelakorik esan gabe ezin gelditu.*
 such.REL.PRTT say without cannot remain
 'Impossible to remain without saying such a thing.'
- b. ?[*Horrela gertatu denik*] *esan gabe*
 so happen AUX.COMP.PRTT say without
ezin gelditu.
 impossible remain
 'Impossible to remain without saying that it happened that way.'
- (1191) a. *Horrelakorik esan duen edonork/orok*
 such.REL.PRTT say AUX.COMP whoever/everyone.ERG
daki...
 knows
 'Whoever said such any such thing knows...'
- b. *[*Horrela gertatu denik*] *esan duen*
 so happen AUX.COMP.PRTT say AUX.COMP
edonork/orok daki...
 whoever/everyone.ERG knows
 'Whoever/everyone who said that it happened that way knows...'

4.5.4.5. Minimizers

4.5.4.5.1. Idiomatic minimizers

There is a class of expressions that denote some minimal scalar value and which have an idiomatic use. When these elements occur in negative contexts, the negation denotes the absence of a minimal quantity, and hence the presence of no quantity at all (Horn 1989: 400). Many of those minimizers lack any independent interpretation if they don't appear under negation or other trigger:

- (1192) a. *Ez du tutik/piperrik (ere) ulertu.*
 not AUX *tut/pepper.PRTT* also understand
 'He/she didn't understand a bit.'
- b. *Ez du txintik atera.*
 not AUX *txint.PRTT* come.out
 'He didn't utter a word/didn't make a (speech) noise.'
- c. *Ez du zipitzik ere esan.*
 not AUX *zipitz.PRTT* even say
 'He didn't say a word.'

Tut, *txint*, and *zipitz* do not exist as independent words (*piper* does, with the meaning of 'pepper'). They don't refer, they only mark the minimal boundary of whatever could be said, uttered or understood. They are selected by given predicates in the sense that they cannot denote the minimal scalar value of just any eventuality. Consider for instance the impossibility of (1193), with a semantically 'light' transitive verb:

- (1193) **Ez du tutik/zipitzik/txintik egin.*
 not AUX do
 'He didn't do a thing.'

Besides, although all those expressions seem to accompany verbs of mental or speech activity, they cannot be interchanged:

- (1194) a. **Ez du zipitzik/tutik/piperrik atera.*
 not AUX come.out
 'He didn't utter a word/make a (speech) noise.'
- b. **Ez du txintik/zipitzik ulertu.*
 not AUX understand
 'He didn't understand a bit.'

4.5.4.5.2. *Ere* 'even/also'

Minimizers can also be constructed out of an indefinite expression with the addition of the particle *ere*. *Ere* 'also/even' is a polarity item under negation, attaching to the right of the constituent that is under the scope of negation (on the presence of dummy *egin* 'do' in [1196], see 4.4.7.2):

- (1195) a. *Ez du hitz bat esan (baizik eta bi).*
 not AUX word one say but two
 'He didn't say one word (but two).'
- b. *Ez du hitz bat ere esan (*baizik eta bi).*
 not AUX word one even say but two
 'He didn't say a word (*but two).'
- (1196) *Ez da matrikulatu ere (egin).*
 not AUX register even (do)
 'He didn't even register.'

Ere is also licensed in protasis of conditionals, *without*-clauses, and finite dependents of negative predicates with the 'even' reading:

- (1197) a. *Hitz bat ere egiten badu, akabatuko dut.*
 word one even do.IMPF if.AUX kill.FUT AUX
 'If he says (even) one word, I'll kill him.'
- b. *Hitz bat ere esan gabe joan zen.*
 word one even say without leave AUX
 'He left without saying even one word.'
- c. *Ez dakit [matrikulatu ere egin den].*
 not know register even do AUX.COMP
 'I don't know whether he even registered.'

In positive main clauses, *ere* is ambiguous between an 'even' reading and a 'too/also' reading when it follows a focal constituent (1198). If it follows a non-focal constituent, the 'even' reading disappears (1199):

- (1198) a. MATRIKULATU *ere* *egin* *da.*
 register even/also do AUX
 'He even REGISTERED/He also REGISTERED.'
- b. GURE IKASLEAK *ere* *joan* *dira.*
 our students even/also go AUX
 'Even OUR STUDENTS went/OUR STUDENTS also went.'

- (1199) a. *Gure ikasleak ere, joan dira.*
 our students too, go AUX
 'Our students too, they went.'
 b. *Matrikulatu ere, egin da.*
 register too, do AUX
 'And register too, he did.'

4.5.4.6. The syntactic domain of polarity licensing

Negative words such as *inor* 'anyone' or *ezer* 'anything' can be licensed not only by a clausemate polarity trigger, but also in dependent clauses:

- (1200) a. *Ez dut uste [inor etorri denik].*
 not AUX believe anybody come come.COMP.PRTT
 'I don't think anybody came.'
 b. [*Inor etorriko zenik*] *uste al zenuen?*
 anybody come.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT believe Q AUX
 'Did you believe that anybody would come?'
 c. *Ukatu du [inor etorri denik].*
 denied AUX anybody come AUX.COMP.PRTT
 'He/she denied that anybody came.'
 d. *Nork uste du gaur egun*
 who.ERG think AUX nowadays
 [*inork honelako irabaziak egin ditzakenik*?]
 anybody.ERG such earnings do AUX.COMP.PRTT
 'Who thinks nowadays that anybody could make so much money?'

As the examples above show, the dependent clauses are all headed by a complementizer to which the partitive morpheme is attached. Laka (1992) proposes that polarity items in dependent clauses are directly licensed by the complementizer+partitive complex. In fact, the partitive morpheme would be the phonological spell out of a polar feature that licenses the negative words and which is selected by the matrix clause. The partitive morpheme, however, only occurs in a subset of the contexts that license a negative polarity item in a dependent clause: epistemic verbs or verbs of speech. In those contexts, *-enik* (the complex complementizer+partitive) stands in contrast to the simple declarative complementizer, which forces a factive reading of the dependent clause. Subjunctive dependents of verbs of wish and

command do not take the partitive morpheme, and also allow negative polarity items:

- (1201) a. *Ez dut nahi [inor etor dadin].*
 not AUX want anyone come(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).COMP
 ‘I don’t want anyone to come.’
 b. *Ez diot agindu [ezer eros*
 not AUX order anything buy(RAD)
 dezan].
 AUX(SUBJ).COMP
 ‘I didn’t order him to buy anything.’

Similarly, conditional operators do not trigger the presence of a partitive morpheme, but they do license a polarity item in a dependent clause:

- (1202) *inor etorri dela uste baduzu...*
 anybody come AUX.COMP think if.AUX
 ‘if you think that anybody came...’

Uribe-Etxebarria (1994) observes that licensing can occur across more than one clause, when no direct clause-to-clause selection can be postulated to account for the presence of a polarity item:

- (1203) a. *Ez dut uste [[inor etorriko dela]*
 not AUX think anyone come.FUT AUX.COMP
 esan dutenik].
 say AUX.COMP.PRTT
 ‘I don’t think they said that anybody will come.’
 b. *[[Inor etorriko dela] esan dutenik]*
 anyone come.FUT AUX.COMP say AUX.PRTT
 uste al duzu?
 think Q AUX?
 ‘Do you think that they said that anybody will come?’
 c. *[[Inor atxilotu dutela] esan dutenik]*
 anybody jail AUX.COMP say AUX.COMP.PRTT
 ukatu du.
 denied AUX
 ‘He denied that they said that anyone was put in jail.’

As shown by the examples above, negative polarity items can be licensed even when there is no direct selection relation between the clauses contain-

ing the licenser and the licensee. The most embedded clauses, the ones containing the negative polarity item, do not necessarily take the partitive (although they can). On the other hand, the presence of the partitive in the first embedded clause is crucial:

- (1204) a. **Ez dut uste [[inor etorriko denik]*
 not AUX think anyone come.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT
 esan dutela].
 say AUX.COMP
 ‘I don’t think that they said that anyone will come.’
- b. **[[Inor etorriko denik] esan*
 anyone come.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT say
 dutela] uste al duzu?
 AUX.COMP think Q AUX
 ‘Do you think that they said that anyone will come?’
- c. **[[Inor atxilotu dutenik] esan*
 anyone jail AUX.COMP.PRTT say
 dutela] ukatu du.
 AUX.COMP deny AUX
 ‘He denied that they said that anyone was put into jail.’

4.5.5. Constituent negation

Lafitte (1944) and Oyharçabal (1985:112) note that in eastern dialects negation can immediately precede the lexical verb:

- (1205) *Aitak du ez aurdiki.*
 father.ERG AUX not throw
 ‘It is father who didn’t throw it.’

Laka (1990) observes that narrow scope negation does not license negative polarity items:

- (1206) **Inork du ez aurdiki.*
 anybody.ERG AUX not throw
 ‘Lit. ‘*Anybody did not throw it’ (nobody threw it).’

She concludes that those cases are cases of constituent negation. On the other hand, Basque cannot combine the negation formative *ez* with other quantificational expressions as in English (1207):

(1207) *Not many people/everybody like(s) that.*

Any such combination is impossible (see also section 4.5.1):

- (1208) a. **Ez jende askok atsegin du hori.*
 not people many.ERG pleasure AUX that
 ‘Not many people like that.’
 b. **Ez ikasle orok/guztiek egin du(te) hori.*
 not student every.ERG/all.ERG done AUX that
 ‘Not every student/all students did that.’

Unless the sequence constitutes a contrastive term in a discourse:

- (1209) a. *Jende asko agertu da, baina ez*
 people many show.up AUX but not
 ikasle asko.
 student many
 ‘Many people showed up, but not many students.’
 b. *Ikasle askok irakurri dute liburu*
 student many.ERG read AUX book
 hori, baina ez ikasle guztiek.
 that but not student all.ERG
 ‘Many students read that book, but not all students.’

In this contrastive setting many sequences of negation + constituent are possible that are not in sentence internal position (a general cross-linguistic fact):

- (1210) a. *Jon etorri da, ez Peru.*
 Jon come AUX not Peru
 ‘It is Jon who came, not Peru.’
 b. *Bulegoan dago, ez etxean.*
 office.in is not home.in
 ‘He is at the office, not at home.’

The sequence negation+constituent must be distinguished from the sequence constituent+negation. The latter seems a bona fide case of sentential ellipsis (see Laka 1990). There are a number of differences among the two constructions. First, the former, but not the latter, licenses negative polarity items:

- (1211) a. *Xabier etorri da, baina bestela inor ez.*
 Xabier come AUX but otherwise anybody not
 'Xabier showed up, but otherwise, nobody did.'
 b. *Xabier etorri da, *baina bestela ez inor.*

In the sequence constituent+negation, the preceding constituent takes scope over negation, which in turn takes sentential scope over an ellided clause:

- (1212) a. *Xabier etorri da, baina Peru ez.*
 Xabier come AUX but Peru not
 'Xabier came, but Peru didn't.'
 b. *Xabier etorri da, ez Peru.*
 Xabier come AUX not Peru
 'Xabier came, not Peru.'

In (1212a) it is implied that both Xabier and Peru were supposed to come, but that Peru, for whatever reason, didn't. (1212b) does not imply that. In fact, it implies the opposite, namely that either one or the other were to come, but not both. The implicature raised in (1212a) follows the one in (1213), with no ellision, which also presents the order constituent+neg:

- (1213) *Xabier etorri da, baina Peru ez da etorri.*
 Xabier come AUX, but Peru not AUX come
 'Xabier came, but Peru didn't come.'

4.5.6. Expletive negation

So called 'expletive' or 'redundant' negation (Vendryes 1950; Bosque 1980, Muller 1991, among many others) occurs in Basque in embedded interrogatives (1214), and declarative dependents of verbs of fearing (1215):

- (1214) *Jakin nahi nuke [ez ote den berandu iritsi].*
 know want AUX not PTCL AUX.COMP
 late arrived
 'I would like to know whether he arrived late (as I fear he did).'

- (1215) *Beldur naiz [berandu iritsi ez ote den].*
 fear AUX late arrive not PTCL AUX.COMP
 'I fear that he arrived late.'

All cases of expletive negation are necessarily accompanied by the modal particle *ote* (see 3.5.7), which signifies wondering or doubt with regard to the truth of the proposition. The presence of negation introduces a stronger feeling of doubt. It does not negate the proposition: in fact, in both (1214) and (1215), the implicated meaning is that probably, someone arrived late.

4.5.7. Negative coordination

Neither...nor... constructions are formed with sentential negation taking various possible scopes: over noun phrase subject and objects (1216b, 1219), verbal items (1217), and verb phrases (1218), and adjectival predicates (1216a). As some examples show, the first negation can be ellided if it is under the scope of *without* (1216b) or a clausemate negation (1217, 1219).

- (1216) a. *Chile sutu duten tankeak ez*
 Chile set.on.fire AUX.COMP tanks not
ziren ez arrotzak ez atzerrikoak.
 were not strangers not foreigners
 'The tanks that set Chile on fire were neither strangers nor foreigners.' [Mitx. EIG, VIII:37]
- b. *Barojarenak, esan zituen bezala jaso*
 Baroja.GEN.PL say AUX.COMP as take.down
genituen Eganen, ezezkorik ez
 AUX Egan-in not.REL.PRTT not
baiezkorik erantsi gabe.
 yes.REL.PRTT add without
 'Baroja's words, we wrote them down as he said them in Egan, without adding a yes or a no.' [Mitx. EIG, VIII:40]
- (1217) *Eta ez dut sekula esan ez esango.*
 and not AUX ever say not will-say
 'And I never said nor will say (that).'

- (1218) *Ez zituen ez hitzak leundu ez gorrotoak estali.*
 not AUX not words soften not hatred hid
 'He didn't neither soften his words nor hide his hatred.' [Mitx. EIG, VIII:73]

- (1219) *Mendeen joan-etorriak ez eguratseko*
 centuries.GEN go-come.DET.ERG not occasional
haize erauntsiek euskaldunen bihotzetik
 wind storms.ERG Basque.GEN heart.from
eratxiko ez dutena.
 bring.down.FUT not AUX.COMP.DET
 '(One that) neither the coming and going of the ages nor the occasional windstorms will get to bring down from the heart of the Basque people.' [Mitx. EIG, IX:11]

The interpretation of negative coordination under a clausemate sentential negation appears to be identical in cases where either the two terms of the conjunction are introduced by negation, or only the second one is:

- (1220) a. *Ez du [katurik ez zakurrik] ikusi.*
 not AUX cat.PRTT not dog.PRTT see
 'He didn't see dogs nor cats.'
 b. *Ez du [ez katurik ez zakurrik] ikusi.*
 not AUX not cat.PRTT not dog.PRTT see
 'He didn't see neither dogs nor cats.'

But this is not always the case: when negative coordination is not clausemate with sentential negation, then a difference arises. Consider the following examples:

- (1221) a. *Ez dut [[katurik ez zakurrik] ikusi*
 not AUX cat.PRTT not dog.PRTT see
duenik] uste.
 AUX.COMP.PRTT think
 'I don't think he has seen cats nor dogs.'
 b. *Ez dut [[ez katurik ez zakurrik] ikusi*
 not AUX not cat.PRTT not dog.PRTT see
duenik] uste.
 AUX.COMP.PRTT think
 'I don't think he didn't see neither cats nor dogs (that is, he either saw cats or he saw dogs).' 'I don't think he saw cats nor dogs.'

With two overt negations, negative coordination behaves as a negative quantifier (as English *nothing*), whereas with a single negation, it behaves as a polarity item. The difference only surfaces ‘long distance’.

4.6. Exclamatives

R. Etxepare

4.6.1. Finite and non-finite exclamatives

4.6.1.1. Wh-exclamatives

Exclamatives in Basque are usually formed by an interrogative word in pre-verbal position and the addition of the complementizer *-en* to the finite verb, even in matrix exclamatives:

- (1222) a. *Zein etxe ederra ikusi dudan!*
 which house nice.DET see AUX.COMP
 ‘What a nice house I saw!’
- b. *Nolako gereziak dituen gereziondo horrek!*
 how.REL cherries has.COMP cherry.tree that.ERG
 ‘Such cherries in that cherry tree!’
- c. *Zenbat jende etorri den!*
 how.many people come AUX.COMP
 ‘What a lot of people have come!’
- d. *Ze(r) itxura txarra daukan alaba gazteak!*
 what presence bad.DET has.COMP daughter young.ERG
 ‘The younger daughter sure looks bad!’
- e. *Nola ari den jokatzan!*
 how be.engaged.in AUX.COMP play.NOM.LOC
 ‘The way he is playing!’
- f. *Libertatia zeinen eder den!*
 freedom which.GEN beautiful is.COMP
 ‘How beautiful is freedom!’

Zein ‘which, what a, how’, in its exclamative use and unlike the rest of the interrogative words, requires a modified noun (compare the following with [1222a]):

- (1223) ?*Zein etxea ikusi dudan!*
 which house.DET see AUX.COMP
 'What a house I saw!'

Nolako 'how' and, obviously, *zenbat* 'how many' require an overt noun, unlike *zein*. On the other hand, B *zelako*, *zelango* 'how' are often used with adjectives (a). Like degree words modifying adjectives (*hain* 'so', *oso* 'very', see 3.1.3.4), *zein* can also be separated from the adjective, usually to be given emphatic prominence (b):

- (1224) a. *Zein/*nolako/zelako polita zaren!*
 how pretty are.COMP
 'How pretty you are!'
 b. *Amodioa zein den zorua mundu*
 love how is.COMP crazy.DET world
guztia badaki.
 all.ERG ba.knows
 'Everybody knows how crazy love is.' [Folk song]

Matrix exclamatives have the same structure as embedded ones, which are also formed with an interrogative word and the complementizer *-en*:

- (1225) a. *Arrituko zinake, ezeren indarrik*
 surprise.FUT AUX.POT any.GEN force.PRTT
gabe eta esku batekin zer gauzak
 without and hand one.with what things
egiten dituen.
 do.IMPF AUX.COMP
 'You would be surprised the kind of things he does without force and with a single hand.' [Iraola, *Oroitzak*:90]
 b. *Pentsa ezazu zenbat jende hurbilduko*
 think AUX how.many people approach.FUT
zaigun.
 AUX.COMP
 'Imagine how many people will come to us.'
 c. *Miretsita nengoen nolako gereziondoak*
 amazed was how.REL cherry trees
zituen baratzean.
 had.COMP orchard.LOC
 'I was amazed that he had such cherry trees in his orchard.'

- d. *Beha zazu nola ari den!*
 look AUX how act AUX.COMP
 'Look at the way he is playing (lit. 'look at the way he is acting').
 [Lafitte, 1944:197]

As observed by Lafitte (1944), some eastern varieties can also form exclamatives out of structures which parallel relative clauses:

- (1226) a. *Zer dirua hartu duena!*
 what money take AUX.COMP.DET
 'The money he got!'
 b. *Zer urhatsean zabiltzana!*
 that step.LOC walk.COMP.DET
 'The speed you are walking at!'

This sort of exclamative is impossible in embedded contexts:

- (1227) **Beha zer dirua hartu duena!*
 look what money take AUX.COMP.DET
 'Look the money he has taken!'

Lafitte also notes that interrogatives and exclamatives can be formally distinguished in the structure of the interrogative word itself, when the Q-operator is *zer*: exclamatives take an article while interrogatives don't:

- (1228) a. *Zer gizon(*-a) da hori?*
 which man(-DET) is that
 'Which man is that one?'
 b. *Zer gizon*(-a) den hori!*
 which man(-DET) AUX.COMP that
 'What a man he is!'

For the rest, *zenbat* always operates on article-less phrases and *nolako* and *zein* always require an article.

4.6.1.2. Demonstrative exclamatives

Exclamatives in Basque can also be constructed with demonstratives. The demonstrative expression works here as an implicit degree marker, whose

range is provided by the predicate in a copular construction. This range is optionally followed by an appositive relative clause:

- (1229) *A zan atsegiña nik euki nebana*
 that was pleasure I.ERG got AUX.COMP.DET
igandean!
 Sunday.LOC
 ‘What a pleasure I got on Sunday!(lit. ‘That was a pleasure, which I got on Sunday!’)’ [Kir., *Abarrak*:42]
- (1230) *Orixe da gizon lerdena!*
 that.INTS AUX man strong.DET
 ‘What a strong man!’ [Urruzuno, *Ipuinak*:90]
- (1231) *Orrek dira gauza miragarrijak ikusten*
 those are thing miraculous.DET.PL see.IMPF
doguzanak gaurko egunetan!
 AUX.COMP.DET.PL today.REL days.LOC
 ‘What miraculous things we see nowadays!’ [Kir., *Abarrak*:54]

The relative clause must be in apposition in this sort of construction. Otherwise, it doesn’t have an exclamatory interpretation:

- (1232) *A zan nik euki neban atsegina!*
 that was I.ERG have AUX.COMP pleasure
 ‘That was the pleasure I had!’ [Kir., *Abarrak*:42] ‘What a pleasure I had!’

The demonstrative in exclamative constructions must immediately precede the auxiliary, as in focus constructions:

- (1233) a. *Orixe da gizon lerdena!* (ex. [1230])
 that.INTS is man strong.DET
 ‘What a strong man!’
 b. *Orixe gizon lerdena da.*
 that.INTS man strong.DET is
 ‘That is the strong man.’ ‘*What a strong man!’

The predicate, on the other hand, must be indefinite:

- (1234) *Orix* *da* *gizon* *lerden*
 that.INTS is man strong
 bakarra/hura/ezaguna.
 only.DET/that/known.DET
 ‘That is the only strong man/that strong man/the known strong man.’

In Basque, the determiner *-a* is ambiguous with respect to definiteness: it can have either a definite or an indefinite interpretation (see 3.1.2.2.1). If we force a definite reading in the predicate of the copular construction (by adding more material or extra quantification) the exclamatory reading automatically disappears.

Exclamatory clauses can also be formed without the use of a demonstrative, just by dislocating a phrase to the left with the appropriate intonation:

- (1235) *Ederrak* *emon* *yeustazak* *arek!*
 good.DET.PL give AUX that.ERG
 ‘He gave me GOOD ONES, indeed!’ (Bizkaian) [Kir., *Abarrak*:104]

In this case, the dislocated phrase is in focus.

4.6.1.3. Relative clauses

Bare relative clauses not followed by a finite auxiliary or further predicative element are used to express exclamatory force:

- (1236) a. *Nik* *igaro* *nayuazan* *larriak* *bart!*
 I.ERG endure AUX.COMP hard.DET.PL last.night
 ‘The bad moments I had to endure yesterday!’ [Kir., *Abarrak*:48]
 b. *Hilabetekari* *horrentzat* *moldatu* *ditudan*
 monthly that.for prepared AUX.COMP
 lan *purrukkak!*
 work little.DET.PL
 ‘The little works that I’ve done for that monthly publication!’
 [Barbier, *Supazter xokoan*:59]

4.6.1.4. Exclamative particles

Some particles serve the purpose of marking a clause (finite or not) as exclamative. One of them is *ala*, homonymous with the exclusive disjunction *ala* 'or'. The presence of *ala* following a clause implies that the utterer takes the state of affairs presented by that clause as highly improbable:

- (1237) *Erosi duzu ala?*
 buy AUX *ala*
 'You really bought it? (I can't believe that you did)!'

Ala also occurs in what Lafitte calls 'pseudo-interrogatives', whose force, despite the fact that they occur together with an interrogative word, is not that of an interrogative (they don't seek any information) but rather a comment on the felicity of a previous utterance:

- (1238) *Zer uste duzu, ergelak garela ala?*
 what think AUX, stupid.DET.PL AUX.COMP *ala*
 'What do you think, that we are stupid or what?'

In eastern dialects, *ala* can also be used in initial position as an exclamative marker. If occurring in a clause containing a tensed verb, the latter bears the complementizer *bait*:-

- (1239) a. *Andozeko ibarra, ala ibar luzea!*
 Andoz.REL valley *ala* valley long.DET
 'the Andoze valley, what a long valley!' [Folk song]
 b. *Ala baita doluegingarri amodioetan dena!*
 ala COMP.is pitiful love.PL.LOC is.COMP.DET
 'How pitiful is he who is in love!' [Folk song]

Another particle which gives rise to an exclamative utterance is *gero* 'after'. When it occurs at the right end of a clause, it serves to strengthen the assertion conveyed by that clause:

- (1240) *Ederrak dira gero, gereziondo horiek!*
 nice.DET.PL are after cherry.tree those
 'They are really nice, indeed, those cherry trees!'

Two sentential adverbs whose presence also implies an exclamation are *ja-kina* and *noski*, which can be translated as 'of course'. In this case, their ex-

clamatory force follows from the fact they are used to correct the strength of a previous assertion:

- (1241) *Jakinal/noski garaiz helduko garela!*
 of.course in.time arrive.FUT AUX.COMP
 'Of course we will arrive in time!'

Finally, exclamatives can also be constructed by the addition of modal *ahal* 'can/may' plus the future suffix in the lexical verb. This kind of exclamative expresses the desire of the utterer as to the eventual realization of the proposition involved:

- (1242) a. *Etorriko ahal da!*
 come.FUT may AUX
 'May he come!'
 b. *Milla ta bosteun tximistak*
 thousand and five.hundred lightnings.ERG
birrinduko al abe!
 annihilate.FUT modal AUX
 'May one thousand and five-hundred lightning bolts crush you!'
 [Kir. *Abarrak*]

4.6.1.5. Other exclamatives with verbs

A corrective exclamative pattern which calls into question a previous statement to the contrary can be formed by a negative future verbal form where the negative+auxiliary elements have not been preposed (4.5.2.1.2.1). While absence of auxiliary preposing with negation is possible in a variety of embedded contexts, among matrix clauses it is mostly found in exclamatives:

- (1243) *Esango ez dut (ba)!*
 say.FUT not AUX then
 'Of course I will say it!' Lit. 'Won't I say it!'

Surprise at the action indicated by the verb is often constructed by adding the particle *ere* 'also' to the nominalized form of the verb:

- (1244) *Esatea ere!*
 say.NOM.DET also
 'How could he/she/you... even say it!'

Relative clauses can also be used to convey exclamatory force in a way different from those discussed above in 4.6.1.1 and 4.6.1.3. An adjective head, usually in the comitative case, can be modified by a relative clause expressing a high degree of the quality expressed by the modified adjective. The comitative case contributes a concessive meaning to the whole construction:

- (1245) *Hilario d-en gogorr-arekin!*
 Hilario is-COMP hard-COM
 'Hilario is so strong!' [Atx. *Ob.*:266]

This use of the relative is probably a calque from Sp (cf. *¡con lo bonita que era!*).

4.6.2. Verbless exclamatives

Many of the strategies to construct exclamatory sentences do not require the presence of a finite verb. This is the case of both 'interrogative' exclamatives (4.6.1.1) and demonstrative exclamatives (4.6.1.2).:

- (1246) a. *Zein etxe ederra!*
 what house nice.DET
 'What a nice house!'
 b. *Hau suerte txarra!*
 this luck bad.DET
 'What a bad luck!'

Other means are only possible without any finite verb, for instance exclamative clauses constructed by the addition of the affirmative morpheme *bai* 'yes':

- (1247) *Bai etxe ederra!*
 yes house nice.DET
 'A really nice house/what a nice house!'

Exclamatives can also be formed by means of a possessive structure where the possessed term is either a property or an event, and the possessor is the subject to which the property is attributed in the first case (1248), or some participant in the event in the second one (1249):

- (1248) a. *Itsasoaren zabala!*
 sea.GEN wide.DET
 ‘The width of the sea! (How wide is the sea!)’
- b. *Egunaren ederra!*
 day.GEN beautiful.DET
 ‘The beauty of the day! (How beautiful is the day today!)’

Notice that the property, ‘possessed’ term is an adjective in the preceding examples, not a noun.

- (1249) a. *Haien iskanbilak!*
 their riots
 ‘The mess they were in!’ [Iraola, *Oroitzak*:48]
- b. *Ai, nire galduba!*
 O my lost
 ‘O, my being lost!’
 [Mogel, *Peru Abarka*:77, in Euskaltzaindia (1985)]

4.7. Impersonal clauses

J. Ortiz de Urbina

There are two major strategies to produce impersonal interpretations. Some personal markings, notably second singular and third person plural, can receive an unspecified, impersonal interpretation (4.7.1). On the other hand, the external argument of a predicate, corresponding to the subject of an active clause, may be left ‘unexpressed’, i.e. both without any overt nominal and without morphological reflection on the verb. The resulting detransitivization is presented in 4.7.2, while section 4.7.3 reviews impersonal interpretations in tenseless clauses.

4.7.1. *Impersonal interpretation of personal marking*

It is possible to obtain impersonal, non-referential interpretations of personal verb markers (and, in some cases, of personal overt pronouns). Such interpretations are particularly prominent with third person plural and second singular markers:

- (1250) *Herri horretan goizeko zazpiretan*
 village this.LOC morning.REL seven.LOC
irekitzen dituzte dendak.
 open.IMPF AUX.3A.PL/3E shops
 'In that village, shops open (lit. 'they open shops') at seven in the morning.'

- (1251) *Zer esan ez dakizunean, hobe duzu*
 what say not know.when better have.3A/2E
ixiltzea.
 hush.NOM.DET
 'When you do not know what to say, you'd better be silent.'

However, especially in generic contexts, even first person plural and, less commonly, first singular may take on 'impersonal' interpretations:

- (1252) *Askotan gertaera txarrak besterik ez*
 many.LOC event bad other.PRTT not
dugu gogoratzen.
 AUX.3A/1E.PL remember.IMPF
 'Often, we only remember but mishaps.'

- (1253) *Denok dakigu: inor hiltzen badut,*
 all know anyone kill.IMPF if.AUX.1E/3A
gartzelan sartzen naute.
 prison.LOC put.IMPF AUX.1A/3E.PL
 'We all know it: If I kill anyone, they put me in jail.'

In the apodosis of the preceding example, the first person singular appears with the same non-specific interpretation in the object position. This possibility is open to all persons except for third plural. Thus, even in the context of a psychological predicate as in the following example, the first and second person indirect objects receive an impersonal interpretation, while the third person plural is construed as definite and 'personal' (the asterisk indicates the unavailability of the impersonal reading):

- (1254) *Batzuetan gauza inportanteak ahazten*
 some.LOC thing important forget.IMPF
*zaizkizul/zaizkigul/*zaizkie.*
 AUX.3A.PL/2D 3A.PL/1D.PL 3A.PL/3D.PL
 'Sometimes you/we forget important things.'

Usually, only verbal inflection identifies the grammatical person involved, and no independent pronominal element is found overtly in the sentence. Overt pronouns typically receive a definite interpretation (Rodet 1992). However, *zu* 'you' and *gu* 'we' (and even *ni* 'I' in the contexts mentioned above) may be used as impersonal overt pronouns, especially if emphatic, while *haiek* 'they, those', a demonstrative that can normally function as third person pronoun, cannot receive such interpretation:

- (1255) *Zuk hori bilera batean esaten duzu*
 you.ERG that meeting one.LOC say AUX
eta hil egiten zaituzte
 and kill do.IMPF AUX
 'You (=one) say that at a meeting and they kill you.'

- (1256) *Zeuk ez dakizunean, hobe da beste*
 you.INTS.ERG not know.when better is other
bati galdetzea.
 one.DAT ask.NOM.DET
 'When you yourself (=one) don't know, it is better to ask someone else.'

- (1257) *Hor haiek beti esaten dute nahi dutena.*
 there they always say.IMPF AUX want AUX.COMP.DET
 'There, they (?one) always say whatever they want.'

The difference between the third person plural and the other pronouns can also be observed in the case of functions not retrievable from inflection such as the genitive: while *zure* 'your' can give rise to impersonal readings, *haien* 'their' cannot: *haien kotxea* 'their car' would refer here to a specific car.

- (1258) *Zure kotxea arazoak ematen hasten denean,*
 your car problems giving begin AUX.when
hobe da beste bat erostea.
 better is other one buy.NOM.DET
 'When your (=one's) car begins to give problems, it is better to buy another one.'

According to Rodet (1992), impersonal plurals are not found with subjects of unaccusative and psychological predicates: *agertzen dira* 'they show up', *kezkutzen dira* 'they worry' can only be interpreted as personal expressions.

Apparent counterexamples like the following actually contain unaccusative verbs in periphrastic constructions with other verbs:

- (1259) a. *Noiz etorriko dira telebista konpontzera?*
 when come.FUT AUX TV fix.NOM.ALL
 'when will they (someone) come to fix the TV?'
 b. *Zure bila joan dira mendira.*
 you.GEN search go AUX mountain.ALL
 'They went to the mountain to look for you.'

However, this is not a general property of all unaccusative verbs, since, given the right generic context, verbs like *jeiki* 'get up', *hil* 'die', etc. can occur with third person plural impersonals.

The usage of different grammatical persons in impersonal sentences helps modulate the involvement of the speaker and the listener in what is stated, or the degree to which they are affected by it: third person plural impersonals exclude them from involvement in what is predicated, while first and second person impersonals include them. The first person plural emphasizes the truth of the statement for 'all of us' as a group, and the rare cases of first person singular 'impersonal' usages underline its direct relevance for each of us as individuals, in ways similar to those found in impersonals with *one* in English and *uno* in Spanish.

The designated element *bat* 'one', a calque from Spanish *uno* 'one', is sometimes used as impersonal in the colloquial language and finds its way to the literary language:

- (1260) *Infernuan ere aurki dezake batek*
 hell.LOC also find(RAD) AUX.POT one.ERG
bazter epelik.
 spot cool.PRTT
 'Even in hell can one find some cool spot.' [Lertx. O.P.:74]

Impersonal interpretations do not arise freely for most of these strategies. Third person plural impersonals are here least restricted, perhaps due to the availability of existential interpretations (see below). Second persons, however, typically cooccur with elements in the linguistic context which activate generic interpretations. These non-eventive interpretations facilitate the appearance of impersonal readings, usually by defining the domain where the statement is held to be a general truth, or by defining a possible world where they hold (conditionals, modals), etc. Thus, (1261a) can receive an impersonal interpretation as is, while (1261b), with a second person, cannot,

requiring the addition of an imperfective tense and a conditional context (1261c). Similarly, while (1262a) can hardly be interpreted as impersonal without any prior context, the addition of the locative phrase in (1262b) makes this reading prominent.

- (1261) a. *Telefonoz deitu dute.*
 phone.INSTR call AUX
 'They (=someone) have called.'
- b. *Telefonoz deitu duzu.*
 phone.INSTR call AUX
 'You (?someone) have called.'
- c. *telefonoz deitzen duzunean...*
 phone.INSTR call.IMPF AUX.when
 'when you (=anyone) call...'
- (1262) a. *Aspertu egiten zara.*
 get.bored do.IMPF AUX
 'You ARE bored.'
- b. *Herri honetan, aspertu egiten zara.*
 village this.LOC get.bored do.IMPF AUX
 'In this village, you (=anyone) DO get bored.'

4.7.1.1. Semantic interpretation of impersonal subjects

As in other languages, the interpretation of the indefinite impersonal subject ranges from generic, universal readings to group or 'corporate' readings (Pesetsky 1995) to unspecified, existential readings (Rodet 1992). First and second persons only admit generic interpretations, and existential readings are not available for them. Thus, no impersonal reading emerges with the perfective tense in the following examples:

- (1263) a. *Gaur gauza inportante batzuk ahaztu*
 today thing important some forget
dituzu/ditugu.
 AUX.3A.PL/2E AUX.3A.PL/1E.PL
 'Today you/we forgot important things.'

- b. *Goizean gertaera txarrak gogoratu*
 morning.LOC event bad remember
dituzu/ditugu.
 AUX.3A.PL/2E AUX.3A.PL/1E.PL
 'In the morning you/we remembered some mishaps.'

On the other hand, a third person plural marker usually receives an existential impersonal interpretation in an eventive context:

- (1264) *Telefonoz deitu didate?*
 phone.INSTR call AUX.1D/3E.PL
 'Did they (=anyone) phone me?'

As usual, the presence of a generic context can give third person plurals a universal interpretation:

- (1265) *Bilbo aldean oso txarto gidatzen dute.*
 Bilbao area.LOC very bad drive.IMPF AUX
 'They don't drive very well in the Bilbao area.'
- (1266) *Ameriketan, hamabietan bazkaltzen dute.*
 Americas.LOC twelve.LOC have.lunch.IMPF AUX
 'In America, they have lunch at twelve.'

Here, of course, the interpretation is 'universal' within the domain of people having lunch (virtually everybody) and within the domain of 'drivers' (a group of people).

4.7.1.2. Impersonal predicates

Some predicates which occur in constructions where a subject is usually present do not have any argument in their semantic structure which could bear that function. Whether the subject position is grammatically present or not, such structures can be considered 'impersonal' in the sense that no specific subject argument exists. Perhaps the most salient group is that of weather predicates. An important set of weather expressions (with verbs like *ilundu* 'to get dark', *hoztu* 'to get cold', etc.; see 4.1.2.7), show all of the earmarks of regular transitive constructions, sometimes with the atmospheric event as object. However, no ergative nominal may stand for the impersonal quasi-argumental subject:

- (1267) *Udaran hamarretan iluntzen du.*
 summer.LOC ten.LOC get.dark.IMPF AUX.3A/3E
 'In the summer it gets dark at ten.'

- (1268) *Euria ari du.*
 rain.DET be.engaged.in AUX.3A/3E
 'It's raining.'

- (1269) *Euria dakar.*
 rain.DET brings
 'It looks like rain ('It brings rain').'

- (1270) *Bero handia egiten du.*
 heat big.DET do.IMPF AUX.3A/3E
 'It's very hot.'

Similar expressions can be found outside of weather expressions, as in *ordubiak jo zuten* 'it struck two o'clock', where the morphological plural *ordubiak* object is not even marked on the auxiliary. Intransitive impersonal constructions with predicative elements but no overt subject also exist:

- (1271) *Berandu/hotza/bero da/dago.*
 late/cold/hot is
 'It's late/cold/hot.'

- (1272) a. *Euria da.*
 rain.DET is
 'It's raining.'
 b. *Ordu biak dira.*
 hour two.DET.PL are
 'It is two o'clock.'

Outside of the weather verb class, there are some predicates which can be used without subject arguments, such as raising *irudi*, *eman* 'seem' and *merezi* 'be worth':

- (1273) *Badirudi bihar hotza izango dela.*
 ba.seems tomorrow cold be.FUT AUX.COMP
 'It seems that it will be cold tomorrow.'

- (1274) *Ez du merezi presaka ibiltzea.*
 not AUX be.worth hurry.ADV walk.NOM.DET
 'Being in a hurry is not worth it.'

In the first example, the tensed clause must be the object argument of the verb, since *-(e)la* clauses cannot occur in positions corresponding to ergative subjects. The subject position of the formally transitive *irudi*, then, does not correspond to any argument in this example (see 4.1.7.2). Similarly, the only argument of *merezi* in the second example is an absolutive nominalized clause (ergative is also acceptable), which must correspond to the object function. Therefore, no argument is associated with the subject position in that example either.

4.7.2. Detransitivization

An impersonal subject may be left unexpressed in the syntax and morphology. Thus, corresponding to the personal example (a), we can find the impersonal (b):

- (1275) a. *Etxea bost hilabetetan eraiki zuten*
 house five months.LOC build AUX.3A/3E.PL
langileek.
 workers.ERG
 'The workers built the house in five months.'
 b. *Etxea bost hilabetetan eraiki zen.*
 AUX.3A
 'The house was built in five months.'

- (1276) a. *Gaurko ekitaldian epaimahaiek sariak*
 today.REL ceremony.LOC judges.ERG prizes
banatuko dituzte.
 distribute.FUT AUX.3A.PL/3E.PL
 'In today's ceremony, the committee members will distribute the prizes.'
 b. *Gaurko ekitaldian sariak banatuko dira.*
 AUX.3A.PL
 'Prizes will be distributed in today's ceremony.'

The agent in (b) is neither present as a nominal expression with any case (whether ergative or any other), nor marked on the auxiliary. The latter is

now not transitive **edun* as in (a), but intransitive *izan* with a single third person absolutive marker related to *etxea* 'house' and *sariak* 'prizes'. The agent argument is implicit and may not be realized explicitly. Nonetheless, its presence helps differentiate impersonal constructions from the inchoative usage of verbs participating in the causative/inchoative alternation. Thus, the intransitive version (b) of a verb like *ireki* 'open' is ambiguous:

- (1277) a. *Atea bederatzietan ireki zuten langileek.*
 door nine.LOC open AUX.3A/3E.PL workers.ERG
 'The workers opened the door at nine.'
 b. *Atea bederatzietan ireki zen.*
 AUX.3A
 'The door (was) opened at nine.'

In the inchoative usage, the agentive argument of the verb has been eliminated, and the predicate only indicates a change of state (*The door opened*). However, there is another reading of (b) where an agent is implicit and which corresponds to the impersonal constructions under discussion. The passive translation into English tries to capture this impersonal interpretation. The ambiguity is similar to that between middle and inchoative interpretations of sentences like *Big objects do not move easily*, and in fact the label ‘mediopassive’ has also been used for impersonals of this type in Basque (see Brettschneider 1979). No such ambiguity emerges in (1275) because the verb *eraiki* does not participate in the inchoative/causative alternation (see 4.1.4.2).

In transitive verbs, detransitivization results in the elimination of the ergative subject, both as a nominal and in the inflection. Moreover, auxiliary forms from intransitive *izan*/**edin* 'be' are used. In unergative predicates, monoargumental 'transitives', no central argument is left once the ergative is eliminated, and the verb takes a third person singular unmarked form:

- (1278) a. *Politikari batzuek ez dute inoiz dimititzen.*
 politician some.ERG not AUX ever resign.IMPF
 'Some politicians never resign.'
 b. *Hemen inoiz ere ez da dimititzen.*
 here ever also not AUX resign.IMPF
 'Here one never resigns.'

The same applies to ergative/dative verbs: the dative argument remains dative, and an absolutive/dative auxiliary is used with a third person dummy absolutive:

- (1279) a. *Mikeli ordu erdi itxaron diogu.*
 Mikel.DAT hour half wait.for AUX.3D/1E.PL
 'We waited for Mikel for half an hour.'
- b. *Mikeli beti itxaroten zaio.*
 Mikel.DAT always wait.for.IMPF AUX.3A/3D
 'One always has to wait for Mikel.'

Notice that, since the third person absolutive marker is zero, it is of course possible that there is no absolutive marker whatsoever in these cases.

The two remaining morphologically transitive valency types (ergative/absolutive and ergative/absolutive/dative), are turned into intransitive configurations identical to the transitive one except for the elimination of the ergative:

- (1280) a. *Langileei mezuak posta elektronikoz*
 workers.DAT messages mail electronic.INSTR
bidali dizkiete.
 send AUX.3A.PL/3D.PL/3E.PL
 'They sent the messages to the workers by e-mail.'
- b. *Langileei mezuak posta elektronikoz bidaltzen*
 send. IMPF
zaizkie.
 AUX.3A.PL/3D.PL
 'Messages are sent to the workers by e-mail.'

Since in intransitive configurations the absolutive argument has subject properties in Basque, it is possible to relate these impersonals to 'reflexive passives' in Spanish where the logical object becomes the new subject, triggering agreement. Notice that, given the ergative pluripersonal agreement system in Basque, nothing 'happens' to the logical object from the point of view of morphology: in both the personal and impersonal versions, it is marked absolutive and triggers absolutive agreement. However, to the extent that it acquires subject properties as the most salient argument in the intransitive verb, the logical object may be seen as 'becoming a subject' in the impersonal sentence in Basque.

In the following section, we turn to the availability of impersonal interpretations in sentences with morphologically intransitive verbs.

4.7.2.1. Impersonal interpretations of intransitives

Unaccusative intransitives, which are normally conjugated with the help of the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be', can also be used with impersonal interpretations. However, the availability of impersonal readings is more restricted than for verbs taking the transitive auxiliary **edun*. Thus, impersonal interpretations are most easily available in generic imperfective contexts like (a), and least so in non-generic perfective ones like (b):

- (1281) a. *Gaur egun, ez da normalean etxean*
 today day not AUX usually home.LOC
jaiotzen, ospitalean baizik.
 be.born.IMPF hospital.LOC but
 'Now a days, one does not usually get born at home, but in the hospital.'
- b. ??*Gaur goizean ez da ospital honetan*
 today morning.LOC not AUX hospital this.LOC
jaio.
 be.born
 'This morning no one was born in this hospital.' (ok. meaning 'He has not been born in this hospital this morning.')
- (1282) a. *Behin baino gehiagotan ez bada saiatzen, ez*
 once than more.LOC not if.AUX try.IMPF not
da ezer lortzen.
 AUX anything achieve.IMPF
 'If one does not try more than once, nothing is achieved.'
- b. ?*Hamarretan berriro saiatu delako lortu da.*
 ten.LOC again try AUX.because achieve AUX
 'It was achieved because it was tried again at ten.' (ok. meaning 'It has been achieved because he tried at ten again.')

Note, however, that not all intransitive verbs are equally deviant in non-generic contexts. In the previous examples, *saiatu* 'try' seems to many speakers more acceptable than *jaio* 'be born'. Aspectual and thematic factors seem to be involved. Thus, *mintzatu* 'speak', which in spite of being an activity speech verb with an agentive subject is morphologically unaccusative in Basque, can occur in eventive impersonal contexts (a). So can intransitive *hasi* 'begin' in combination with the activity noun in the locative *lanean* 'at work, working' (b):

- (1283) a. *Atzoko bileran zutaz mintzatu zen.*
 yesterday.REL meeting.LOC you.INSTR speak AUX
 'You were spoken about in yesterday's meeting.'
- b. *?Bulego horretan beranduegi hasi da lanean*
 office that.LOC late.too begin AUX work.LOC
 'In that office, they began to work too late today.'

As Albizu (1997b) points out, the acceptability of these examples shows that the restrictions on impersonal formation discussed in this section do not stem from the lack of any special morphology that would identify them as impersonal, in the same way as detransitivization does for transitive predicates.

Returning to generic contexts, not all unaccusative verbs can receive an impersonal interpretation in such contexts. Rodet (1992) mentions intransitive psychological predicates like *harritu* 'be surprised', *kezkatu* 'worry', *haserratu* 'get mad', *ikaratu* 'get frightened', which only admit personal interpretations when in the third person. These same verbs do get impersonal construals with second person singular and third person plural markers.

4.7.2.2. Synthetic verbal forms and impersonal clauses

There is a further restriction on impersonal formation which is not related to transitivity, namely, the fact that synthetic verbal forms do not have impersonal interpretations:

- (1284) **Pisua dakarrenean astiro ibiltzen da.*
 weight brings.when slowly walk.IMPF AUX
 'If one ('he') brings a heavy load, one walks slowly.' (ok. meaning
 'When he brings a heavy load, he/one walks slowly.')
- (1285) **Gose balego/badago, denetarikoak jan*
 hungry if.were/if.is all.sorts.of.things eat
beharko lirateke.
 need.FUT AUX
 'If one were/is hungry, one should eat all sorts of things.' (ok. mean-
 ing 'If he is/were hungry, one would have to eat all sorts of things.')

As the examples indicate, this restriction applies equally to transitive and intransitive synthetic forms. In the case of transitive verbs of this type, one may relate the unavailability of the impersonal interpretation to the fact that

detransitivization is not available. Thus, while with periphrastic verbs this interpretation is achieved simply by using the intransitive auxiliary, it is not possible to produce new, derived intransitive forms of transitive synthetic forms. In the case of intransitive synthetic verbs, however, this account is not valid, since intransitive forms can have impersonal readings in generic contexts. This is shown in the following examples, where analytical intransitives are acceptable (a), while synthetic intransitive forms are not (b):

- (1286) a. *Bide honetatik ondo joaten da.*
 way that.ABL well go.IMPf AUX
 ‘One can go well taking this road.’
 b. **Bide honetatik gaizki doa.*
 wrong goes
 ‘One is going the wrong way taking this road.’ (ok. meaning ‘S/he goes the wrong way taking this road.’)
- (1287) a. *Presaka ibiltzen bada, ez da ezer*
 hurry.ADV walk.IMPf if.AUX not AUX anything
 lortzen.
 achieve.IMPf
 ‘If you are in a hurry, you don’t get anything.’
 b. **Presaka badabil, zerbait lortuko da.*
 hurry.ADV if.walks something achieve.FUT AUX
 ‘If you hurry up (‘walk hurriedly’), something will be achieved.’ (ok. meaning ‘If s/he hurries up, something will be achieved.’)

An alternative account might be to relate the unavailability of impersonal interpretations with synthetic forms to the predominantly non-generic, eventive temporal interpretations of the latter (see 3.5.4.1). On the other hand, Albizu (1997b) points out that synthetic forms do have impersonal readings with second singular and third plural personal markers:

- (1288) *Madrilera zoazenean, gauza asko egiten dituzu.*
 Madrid.ALL go.2A.when thing many do.IMPf AUX
 ‘when you (=one) go to Madrid, you do many things.’
- (1289) *Zure bila dato.*
 you.GEN search they.come
 ‘They (=someone) are coming to look for you.’

4.7.3. Impersonal interpretations in tenseless clauses

Tenseless clauses without overt subject arguments may have impersonal interpretations. These are particularly prominent where there is no controller for the reference of the subject in the immediate context:

- (1290) *Presaka ibiltzea txarra da.*
 hurry.ADV walk.NOM.DET bad is
 'It is bad to be in a hurry.'

- (1291) *Ez du merezi horrela jokatzea.*
 not AUX be.worth that.way act.NOM.DET
 'It's not worth acting that way.'

Where no subject is retrievable from the context, it often receives an 'arbitrary', semi-universal interpretation. As with other impersonal contexts, this interpretation is more easily available where the clause expresses a generic statement which is felt to be a general truth. Thus, if we force an eventive interpretation by including specific temporal referents and perfective verbal tenses, as in (b), it is more difficult to construe the subject as having a universal reference. Instead, it would be definite in reference, if vague due to the lack of an overt pronoun or noun phrase:

- (1292) a. *Horrela jokatzeak ondorio txarrak dauzka.*
 that.way act.NOM.ERG consequence bad.DET.PL
 has
 'Behaving that way has bad consequences.'
- b. *Gaur horrela jokatzeak ondorio txarrak izan ditu.*
 today that.way act.NOM.ERG consequence bad.DET.PL
 have AUX
 'Behaving that way today has had bad consequences.'

The same applies to participial clauses: it is the generic character of the matrix verb that will favor a specific or non-specific referent interpretation for the subject:

- (1293) a. *Gehiegi edan izana arriskutsua da*
 too.much drink be.DET risky.DET is
gidatzerakoan.
 drive.NOM.ALL.REL.DET.LOC
 'Having drunk too much is dangerous when it comes to driving.'
- b. *Gaurko festan gehiegi edan izanak*
 today.REL party.LOC too.much drink be.DET.ERG
ondorio txarrak izan ditu.
 consequence bad.DET.PL have AUX
 'Having drunk too much in today's party has had bad consequences.'

As discussed in 4.10.1.2.5, the reference of the subject in most tenseless contexts in Basque is not obligatorily controlled by a specific argument of the main clause. Moreover, overt subjects are possible in most cases. When no overt subject is present, we have the full range of interpretations for its possible reference. Thus, in the following example the impersonal reading is just one of the many possible interpretations for the embedded subject:

- (1294) *Ez zait gustatzen nitaz hori esatea.*
 not AUX like.IMPF I.INSTR that say.NOM.DET
 'I don't like me/you/her/him/them/someone/everyone to say that about me.'

As expected, an overt second person subject in the tenseless clause can be construed as universal, while a third person plural cannot (see 4.7.1):

- (1295) a. *Ondo dago zeuk zeure janariak*
 well is you.INTS.ERG your.INTS meals
prestatzea.
 prepare.NOM.DET
 'It is good to prepare your (=one's) own meals.'
- b. *Ondo dago beraiek beren janariak*
 well is they.INTS.ERG their meals
prestatzea.
 prepare.NOM.DET
 'It is good that they prepare their own meals.'

While the referential vagueness of the null subject in tenseless clauses makes it possible to produce sentences with arbitrary subjects close to those examined in the previous sections, tenseless impersonals differ from other

impersonals in important respects: as Albizu (1997b) points out, for instance, they lack the person constraints that will be described in 4.7.4, both in person and definiteness. Similarly, as will be shown presently, they differ slightly in that their subject need not be interpreted as human.

4.7.4. Some properties of impersonal subjects

The implicit impersonal subject, both in tensed and in tenseless contexts, is interpreted as human. However, nominalizations differ slightly in that non-human atmospheric quasi-arguments are also acceptable, as the last example shows:

- (1296) *Hemen ondo jaten da.*
 here well eat.IMPF AUX
 'One eats well here.'

- (1297) ??*Hemen ondo loratzen da.*
 here well bloom.IMPF AUX
 'One flowers well here.'

- (1298) ??*Hemen gau osoan egiten da zaunka.*
 here night whole.LOC make.IMPF AUX bark
 'Here you bark the whole night.'

- (1299) ??*Urik gabe ondo loratzea zaila da.*
 water.PRTT without well bloom.NOM.DET difficult.DET
 is
 'It is difficult to bloom without water.'

- (1300) a. *Euria egitea ona da landetarako.*
 rain make.NOM.DET good is meadows.for
 'Raining is good for the meadows.'
 b. *Normala da orain horren goiz iluntzea.*
 normal.DET is now so early get.dark.NOM.DET
 'It is normal (for it) to get dark so early now.'

The deviant examples contain verbs which usually require non-human subjects, and are therefore unacceptable in impersonal contexts, unless a metaphorical interpretation with human subjects is available.

The impersonal subjects may be referred back to by some, but not all, anaphoric elements. In particular, pronouns and reflexive expressions which contain them are not acceptable:

- (1301) *Loteria irabazten denean, *bere lagunak*
 lottery win.IMPF AUX.when his friends
inguratzen dira.
 get.close.IMPF AUX
 'When one wins in the lottery, his friends get close to him.' (ok. with referential *his friends*)

- (1302) **bere burua engainatzen denean...*
 his head deceive.IMPF AUX.when
 'when one deceives himself...'

- (1303) **Bere burua engainatzea erreza da.*
 his head deceive.NOM.DET easy is
 'It is easy to deceive oneself.'

On the other hand, the reciprocal anaphor *elkar* is acceptable in the same environments:

- (1304) *elkar engainatzen denean...*
 each.other deceive.IMPF AUX.when
 'when one deceives the other...'
- (1305) *Elkar engainatzea txarra da.*
 each.other deceive.NOM.DET bad is
 'It is bad to deceive one another.'

Let us turn now to a restriction on what we are assuming to be the 'derived' grammatical subject of impersonal constructions, as opposed to the implicit agent. While it is normal for third person nominals to become derived intransitive subjects of impersonals, nominals in first and second person are harder to find. Thus, corresponding to personal constructions like (a), one should expect impersonal sentences as in the (b) examples:

- (1306) a. *Hemen (zu) ondo ezagutzen zaitugu.*
 here you well know.IMPF AUX.2A/1E.PL
 'We know you well here.'

- b. ??*Hemen zu ez zara ondo ezagutzen.*
 here you not are.2A
 'You are not well known here.'

- (1307) a. *Hortik (ni) oso ondo ikusten nauzue.*
 there.ABL I very well see.IMPF AUX.1A/2E.PL
 'You see me well from there.'
 b. ??*Hortik (ni) ez naiz ikusten.*
 not AUX.1A see.IMPF
 'One does not see me from there.'

However, these impersonals are seldom found, and the first interpretation assigned to the (b) examples would be a colloquial reflexive. Nonetheless, as pointed out in Irigoyen (1992), some such sentences are occasionally attested:

- (1308) *Hainbat denporan ikusten zara kantari gure plazetan.*
 some time.LOC see.IMPF AUX.2A singer our
 squares.LOC
 'One can see you as a singer in our villages for some time now.'

- (1309) *Ez zaree ikusten ... onelako olgantzeeetan.*
 not AUX.2A.PL see.IMPF this.kind.REL
 enjoyments.LOC
 'One does not see you in this kind of diversions.' [Mogel J.J. BJEE:151]

Many speakers admit in these cases dative marking on the first or second person logical object (*ikusten zait* 'one can see me', *ikusten zaizu* 'one can see you').

Apparently similar examples with perfect participles found in older texts may be preferably interpreted as passive rather than impersonal:

- (1310) *Iltean il nintzan, da aztu nintzan.*
 time.of.death.LOC die AUX, and forget AUX.1A
 'I died in the plague and I was forgotten.' [Landuchio, DLC]

If so, *aztu nintzan* would stand for *I was forgotten*, rather than the impersonal translation given in the original text (*olvidarōme* 'they forgot me').

Euskaltzaindia (1985) mentions yet another restriction on the logical object of impersonal constructions: definite personal arguments would be deviant for some speakers.

- (1311) **Lanak ez egiteagatik zigortu da*
 works not do.NOM.because punish AUX.3A
 neskato ile gorria.
 girl hair red.DET
 ‘They punished the red-haired girl for not doing her work.’

- (1312) *Lanak ez egiteagatik zigortu dira mutilak.*
 works not do.NOM.because punish AUX.3A.PL boys
 ‘They punished the boys for not doing their work.’

There is much speaker variation in this respect. The restriction on animate definite objects resembles similar restrictions on reflexive passives in Spanish, where only those objects which do not take the preposition *a* (that is, objects which are not definite and animate, see Mendikoetxea 1999) can become subjects and agree with the verb.

4.7.5. Long impersonals

In ‘long’ impersonal constructions, the impersonal intransitive verb agrees not with its own object, but with that of the subordinate verb. This tends to occur with verbs which show some degree of ‘transparency’ in other areas, such as agreement, as well. It is particularly prominent with the semiauxiliaries *nahi* ‘want’, *behar* ‘need’:

- (1313) *Zorrak ordaindu behar dira.*
 debts pay must AUX.3A.PL
 ‘Debts must be paid/One must pay debts.’

Long impersonal are also found with verbal periphrases (3.6.5) with *ari*, as in the following example, which is ambiguous between a personal interpretation where the third plural marker stands for *haiek* ‘they’ (which can also receive a non-referential interpretation, see 4.7.1 above), and an impersonal one where it stands for *sariak* ‘prices’:

- (1314) *Orain sariak banatzen ari dira.*
 now prizes distribute.IMPF ari AUX.3A.PL
 'Prizes are now being distributed.'

Other periphrases, however, do not admit long impersonals:

- (1315) **Orain sariak banatzen daude/egoten dira.*
 now prizes distribute are/be.IMPF AUX.3A.PL
 'Prizes are being distributed now.'(ok. meaning 'They are distributing the prizes.')

- (1316) **Orain sariak banatzen dabiltza/ibiltzen dira.*
 walk/walk.IMPF AUX.3A.PL
 'Prizes are being distributed now.'(ok. if they are distributing prizes now).

- (1317) **Laister sariak banatzera doaz.*
 soon go.3A.PL
 'Prizes will soon be distributed.'(ok. meaning 'They are going to distribute the prizes soon.')

The preceding periphrases may only have an impersonal interpretation where the third person plural is a designated non-referential one, as in 4.7.1, but not one where this plural marker is the result of long agreement with *sariak* 'prizes' (cf. Spanish *están repartiendo premios* 'they are distributing the prizes', as opposed to *se están repartiendo los premios* 'prizes are being distributed'). This is so regardless of whether the main verb is synthetic or analytic. Finally, long impersonals are found with some aspectual verbs, especially *hasi* 'begin':

- (1318) *Orain mendiak ikusten hasi dira.*
 now mountains see.NOM.LOC begin AUX.3A.PL
 'Mountains begin to be seen now.'

Again, both a personal and impersonal reading are available in examples like the preceding one. Under the interpretation relevant here, the matrix auxiliary is cross-marked with the embedded object *mendiak* 'mountains'.

4.8. Causatives

J. Ortiz de Urbina

4.8.1. Lexical, morphological and analytical causatives

This section surveys different strategies to express complex events where a causer causes an action to be performed by a causee or brings about a change of state. Lexical, morphological and analytical types will be discussed in turn.

4.8.1.1. Lexical causatives

Some morphologically simple verbs conform to the general definition of causative we have given above, especially verbs participating in the inchoative/causative (or 'ergative') alternation (4.1.4.2). The transitive usage in this alternation is often called *causative* because the subject is interpreted as a causer, typically bringing about a change of state. Predicates entering in this alternation abound in Basque: *hil* 'die/kill', *sartu* 'go in, put in', *atera* 'go out, take out', *zabaltu* 'open', *jantzi* 'dress', *galdu* 'get lost, lose'. The following examples show both the inchoative and causative usage:

- (1319) *Hil da ene txakurra.*
 die AUX.izan my dog
 'My dog has died.'

- (1320) *Albaiteroak txakurra hil zuen.*
 vet.ERG dog kill AUX.edun
 'The vet killed the dog.'

The inchoative usage is conjugated with the help of the intransitive/unaccusative auxiliary *izan*, while the causative one employs the transitive auxiliary **edun*.

Older forms of the language used an infix *-ra-* to create morphological causatives. This strategy is no longer productive in the language, but some of the resulting causative verbs have remained as independent lexical items. It is not clear to what extent their meaning is causative, i.e., their subject is usually an agent as opposed to a causer. However, the original causative meaning may be reconstructed for some of them, although they are opaque to contemporary speakers. Examples include forms such as *erakutsi* 'show, make see', from *ikusi* 'see', *irakatsi* 'teach, make learn', from *ikasi* 'learn',

eragin 'cause to make, affect' from *egin*, *erantzun* 'answer' from *entzun* 'hear', etc. In several cases the causative-like meaning is far less clear, either because the original non-causative stem has gone out of use in the language or because semantic change has radically affected the 'causative' item: *erabili* 'use', from *ibili* 'walk', *eraman* 'carry', from *eman* 'give', *eroan* 'carry' from *joan* 'go', and *erantzi* 'undress' from *jantzi* 'dress'.

4.8.1.2. Morphological causatives

The most typical causative strategy involves the addition of a causative suffix to the verbal root (participle without the perfective marker *-tu* or *-i*) in eastern dialects or to the participle itself in western dialects:

- (1321) *Pertsona maite haren ezbeharra gogora-tu*
 person loved that.of disgrace remember-PRF
eraz-i ziolako.
 CAUSE-PRF AUX.because
 'Because that made him remember that beloved person.'
 [Atx.*Ob.*:321]

- (1322) *Ez digu suma-razi-ko lehen suma ezin*
 not AUX suspect-CAUSE-FUT before suspect can't
genezakeenik
 AUX.PRTT
 'He will not make us suspect anything we could not have suspected before.' [Mitx. EIG VI:99]

- (1323) *Berek etzuten nihor hil arazteko bothererik.*
 they not.AUX anyone die CAUSE.NOM.REL power.PRTT
 'They did not have any power to make anyone die.' [Lg. II:265]

Further verbal inflection is borne by the causative verb; in the previous examples we find perfective, imperfective, future and nominalizing suffixes attached to it. The tendency at present is to write the stem plus the causative verb/suffix as a single word.

The causative verb/suffix is open to some dialectal variation: *erazi*, *arazi*, *erazo*, *arazotu*, *eragin*, etc. All such forms contain the old causative infix *-ra-* attached to some verbal root which may or may not be extant as an independent verb at present (*e-ra-gin* 'cause to make' vs. *e-ra-zi* [?]). The verb *egin* itself may be causativized by using the causative infix or the

causative suffix, so that different dialects may use *eragin* itself or *eginerazi*, *egineragin*, etc., or even *eraginerazi*:

- (1324) *Nigar eginarazi dautzut anhitz aldiz.*
 cry make.CAUSE AUX many times
 'I have made you cry many times.' [Ox.:145]
- (1325) *Iges arazo eutsen euren mugeetatik.*
 flee CAUSE AUX their border.PL.from
 'They made them flee from their borders.' [Zav. *Fab.*:92]
- (1326) *Jauregi bat eragin zuen hiri hartan.*
 palace one make.CAUSE AUX city that.in
 'He had a palace built in that city.' [HEH:*eragin*]
- (1327) *besteri eraginerazi dütiüdanex*
 other.DAT make.CAUSE AUX.COMP.INSTR
 'for (the sins) I have made others commit' [Usk Lib:101]

This applies equally to the 'contentful' *egin* 'make' in the last two examples above and to its light counterpart found in unergative predicates with indefinite, bare 'objects' like *negar egin* 'cry' or *ihes egin* 'flee', as in the first two examples (see section 4.1.4.5.1).

Sentences with morphological causatives behave as single clauses, in spite of the complex predicate containing the verbal base and the causative verbal suffix. Anaphoric relations which are usually local can be established among the arguments of the complex verb as if they were part of the same clause, as observed in the usage of the reflexive phrase *bere burua* or the 'reflexive' possessive *bere* itself (see 4.9.2.2):

- (1328) *Ezagutarazi zioen bere burua, bozkarioz bethe zuen.*
 know.CAUSE AUX his head joy.INSTR fill AUX
 'He made himself known to him, filled him with joy.' [Jaur.:399]
- (1329) *zeren bere adiskide bati zeha arazi*
 since his friend one.DAT beat CAUSE
baitzeraukan bere muthila
 bait.AUX his servant
 'since he_i made a friend of his_i beat his_i servant' [Ax. 200]

Bere is used in Axular's dialect to refer to a clausemate central argument (ergative, absolutive or dative), so that the implicit causer is shown here to be clausemate with the causee phrase and the logical object of the base verb.

Another indication of the single clause character of causative sentences is the argument marking rearrangement which will be described in section 4.8.2. This is prompted by the fact that the causee may no longer act as a subject, since there is no independent verb for the caused event which could sustain a subject. Similarly, causative verbs agree with both the causer and the causee (and with the goal of the base verb), even though agreement is a strictly local relation in Basque.

4.8.1.3. Analytical causatives

Less commonly, a verb indicating 'cause' may be used as a main predicate introducing an independent complement clause. Thus, in Sarasola (1984-1995), causative entries are systematically paraphrased with *egin* 'make' taking a tensed subjunctive clause:

- (1330) *ikas dezan egin*
 learn(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).COMP make
 'make him learn'; lit. 'make that he learn'

The matrix causative predicate *egin* 'make' in these constructions is marked for the causer subject and the situation brought about (the embedded clause):

- (1331) *Ikastekoak ikas nitzan egin zuen.*
 lessons learn(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).COMP make AUX.3A/3E
 (**zidan*)
 (*AUX.1D/3E)
 'He made me learn the lessons;
 lit. 'He made that I learn the lessons.'

Occasionally, the situation brought about by a causer may be expressed by means of a nominalized clause complement of the causative predicate *eginerazi* 'cause to make' or the like:

- (1332) *Liburu guztiak irakurtzea eginerazi zidan.*
 book all read.NOM.DET make.CAUSE AUX.1D/3E
 'He made me read all the books.'

As the example above shows, the matrix verb contains a dative marker for the causee, here a first person element which is coreferential with the subject of *reading*. These structures do not usually find their way to the written language. On the other hand, sentences with matrix predicates like *behartu* 'force' are sometimes offered as causative paraphrases:

- (1333) *Liburu guztiak irakurtzera behartu naute.*
 book all read.NOM.ALL force AUX.3E/1A
 'The forced me to read all the books.'

These are object control structures, where the causee is marked as an object of the matrix verb, coreferential with the implicit subject of the allative (or inessive) nominalized clause.

4.8.2. *Causee marking in morphological causatives*

This section is devoted to causee marking in morphological causatives, where the logical subject caused to act may not occur as a subject. This grammatical function is taken over by the causer, which, if expressed, will appear in the ergative case. The causee, on the other hand, will take on absolutive or dative marking. The dialectal and argumental factors which rule the usage of one case marking versus the other are discussed in the following sections. We will examine the case marking of the causee ('logical subject') of intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive predicates. In order to make case marking patterns in the examples more illustrative, pronouns are provided in cases where the nominal would have been dropped in actual use. These pronouns are inserted in square brackets in corpus examples and in parentheses in constructed examples.

4.8.2.1. Intransitive causees

4.8.2.1.1. Unaccusatives

An important dialectal difference emerges in this area. Eastern dialects mark unaccusative causees absolutive, while western dialects (especially Bizkaian) favor dative marking. Two examples of each pattern are given below:

- (1334) *Hatsak biziarazten gaitu [gu].*
 breath.ERG live.CAUSE.IMPF AUX we
 'Breath makes us live.' [Duv. L.L.:70]
- (1335) *berekin sar-arazi ninduela elizan [ni] eta*
 him.with enter-CAUSE AUX.COMP church.in I and
bere aldean yar-arazi belauniko
 his side.at be-CAUSE knee.ADV.REL
 'that he made me go to church with him and made me stay at his
 side on my knees' [Eliss. P.A.:46]
- (1336) *Asarre bixi-bixittan jarri erazo dauste niri.*
 fury alive-alive.in get CAUSE AUX I.DAT
 'They have made me get very furious.' [Otx. B&B:141]
- (1337) *Zek jauna etorri erazo deutsu [zuri] nigana?*
 what.ERG sir come CAUSE AUX you.DAT I.ALL
 'What made you come to me, sir?' [Añ. EL:162]
- However, many speakers of western dialects admit an inanimate causee to occur also in the absolutive case:
- (1338) *Politika horrek prezioak jeitsierazi zituen.*
 policy that.ERG prices go.down.CAUSE AUX
 'That policy made prices go down.'
- (1339) *Dinamitak harriak jauzierazi ditu.*
 dynamite.ERG stones fall.CAUSE AUX
 'The dynamite has made the stones fall.'
- (1340) *Katuak lorontzia erorerazi zuen.*
 cat.ERG pot fall.CAUSE AUX
 'The cat made the pot fall.'
- (1341) *Atxagaren lanek mugimendu berria*
 Atxaga.GEN works.ERG movement new.DET
sorterazi zuten.
 arise.CAUSE AUX
 'Atxaga's works created a new movement.'

Normative practice favors absolutive marking regardless of animacy.

Turning now to causativization of unaccusative predicates with a second, dative argument, we will differentiate cases where the dative of the basic verb stands for a goal argument and cases where it represents the experiencer of a psychological predicate. Beginning with goal datives, causativization proceeds as described above. If the 'causee' is inanimate, it will retain the absolutive case, both in eastern and western dialects:

- (1342) *Ez zekien nork helerazi zion eskutitz hura*
 not knew who reach.CAUSE AUX letter that
aita Santuari.
 father holy.DAT
 'He did not know who made that letter reach the Holy Father.'
 [HEH:helerazi]

The dative is kept for the goal argument. This is also the situation one finds with animate causees in eastern dialects. However, in western dialects, which usually mark animate causees dative, a doubling of dative nominals would result, a situation which presents processing problems which render it unacceptable in many cases (see 4.8.2.3 below). This can be avoided in the (b), 'western' pattern by reserving dative marking for the causee, and substituting an allative marker for the goal argument originally expressed with the dative:

- (1343) *Mikel diru eske etorri zait.*
 Mikel money asking.for come AUX.3A/1D
 'Mikel came up to me asking for money.'
- (1344) a. *Beharrak Mikel diru eske*
 need.ERG
etorrerazi dit.
 come.CAUSE AUX.3A/1D/3E
 'Need made Mikel come up to me asking for money.'
- b. *Beharrak Mikeli diru eske etorrerazi*
 dio nigana.
 AUX.3A/3D/3E I.ALL
 'Need made Mikel come up to me asking for money.'

Yet another set of basic unaccusative verbs with absolutive-dative argument grids is that formed by psychological, 'inverted' predicates like *iruditu* 'seem' and *gustatu* 'like'. As in many other languages, the experiencer argument is marked dative in the basic usage of the verb. Their causative ver-

sion is also exceptional in that the causee is not the subject theme argument, but the experiencer. The latter remains then in the dative, although this marking corresponds now to its status as a causee:

- (1345) a. *Txakurra den baino handiagoa iruditu*
 dog is.COMP but bigger.DET seem
zait (niri).
 AUX.3A/1D I.DAT

‘The dog has seemed to me bigger than it is.’

- b. *Izuak txakurra (niri) den baino*
 fear.ERG dog I.DAT
handiagoa irudierazi zidan.
 seem.CAUSE AUX.3A/1D/3E

‘Fear made the dog seem to me bigger than it is.’

- (1346) a. *Zopa izugarri gustatzen zaio mutilari.*
 soup greatly like.IMPF AUX.3A/3D boy.DAT
 ‘The boy likes the soup a lot.’

- b. *Goseak zopa hori izugarri gustatuerazi*
 hunger.ERG soup that greatly like.CAUSE
zion mutilari.
 AUX.3E/3D boy.DAT

‘Hunger made the boy like that soup a lot.’

Such sentences are also possible with clausal themes:

- (1347) *Irudierazi zieten [haiei] haien alde*
 seem.CAUSE AUX.3A/3D.PL/3E.PL they.DAT their side
zeudela.
 were.COMP

‘They made it seem to them that they were on their side.’
 [HEH:*irudierazi*]

The dative in the preceding example is also interpreted as some sort of causee-experiencer. These psychological verbs have then causative counterparts with case marking identical to that of basic (ergative/absolutive) transitive verbs.

4.8.2.1.2. Unergatives

Unergatives, intransitive predicates conjugated with the ‘transitive’ auxiliary **edun*, show considerable variation, although, in general, dative marking of the causee seems to be slightly preferred. Verbs like *iraun* ‘last’, *irakin* ‘boil’ appear with both treatments in Sarasola’s dictionary:

- (1348) *beren gizontasunak iraun erazten*
 their fatness.ERG last CAUSE.IMPF
dielako [haiei]
 AUX.3D.PL/3E.because they.DAT
 ‘because their fatness makes them last’ [HEH:*iraun*]
- (1349) *Nola iraun erazten du sakramentu honek*
 how last CAUSE.IMPF AUX sacrament this.ERG
arimako bizitza?
 soul.REL life
 ‘How does this sacrament make the soul’s life last?’ [HEH:*iraun*]
- (1350) *harri goriak kaikuan sartu esnea(ri) irakin*
 stone red.hot bowl.in put milk(DAT) boil
erazteko
 CAUSE.in.order.to
 ‘put red-hot stones in the bowl in order to make the milk boil’
 [HEH:*irakin*]
- (1351) *Tabako-hostoak irakin erazten zituzten ur*
 tobacco-leaves boil CAUSE.IMPF AUX water
garbian.
 clean.in
 ‘They made the tobacco-leaves boil in clean water.’ [HEH:*irakin*]

It may not be a coincidence that all of the absolute causees above are inanimate, in view of the role played by that factor in causee marking in western dialects. More examples with *iraun* ‘last’ and other verbs in the more common dative pattern are given below:

- (1352) *iraunerazi albaleraukate gehiago biziari*
 last.CAUSE AUX more life.DAT
 ‘if only they made life last longer’ [Ax. 393]

- (1353) *ikhusiz debruak zonbat sofriarazten*
 see.INSTR devil.ERG how.much suffer.CAUSE.IMPF
dioen haren alaba maiteari
 AUX.COMP his daughter dear.DAT
 'upon seeing how the devil made his dear daughter suffer'
 [Duhalde, *Med.*:111]
- (1354) *Zerk begiratu arazten dit*
 what.ERG watch CAUSE.IMPF AUX.1D/3E
 [niri] lurrera?
 I.DAT earth.ALL
 'What makes me look down?' [Bil. 160]
- (1355) *Barkatu itxoin arazi badizutet [zuei]*
 excuse wait CAUSE if.AUX.2D.PL/1E you.PL.DAT
 'Excuse me if I have made you wait.' [Lab. Eg.:78]
- (1356) *kargutik dimitiarazi diogulako [berari]*
 post resign.CAUSE AUX.3D/1E.PL.because he.DAT
 'because we have made him resign from his post' [Aresti. *Tob.*:282]

4.8.2.2. Monotransitive causees

Monotransitive causees are marked dative and cross-referenced on the verb if the latter is tensed:

- (1357) *Gurasoek indabak janarazi dizkiote*
 parents.ERG beans eat.CAUSE AUX.3A.PL/3D/3E.PL
mutilari.
 child.DAT
 'The parents made the child eat the beans.'
- (1358) *Egoera latz horrek neurri bereziak*
 situation harsh that.ERG measure special.DET.PL
harrerazi zizkigun (guri).
 take.CAUSE AUX.3A.PL/1D.PL/3E we.DAT
 'That harsh situation made us take special measures.'

- (1359) *Nork sortuarazi dio nere emazte*
 who.ERG conceive.CAUSE AUX.3A/3D/3E my wife
Mariari aurtxo ori?
 Mari.DAT child that
 ‘Who made my wife Mary conceive that child?’ [M. Atx. *Gazt.*:29]

Monotransitive verbs which mark their direct object dative will be dealt with in the following section.

4.8.2.3. Ditransitive causees

Where the basic verb is ditransitive, causativization is usually possible: the causee is then marked dative, so that a dative doubling situation may arise. However, only the causee dative may be marked on the inflection. In fact, quite often, it is the verbal inflection alone that identifies the causee:

- (1360) *Salgai nuen landa Mikeli salerazi*
 on.sale had land Mikel.DAT sell.CAUSE
didate gurasoek [niri].
 AUX.3A/1D/3E.PL parents I.DAT
 ‘My parents made me sell to Mikel that plot of land I had on sale.’
 [EGLU II:62]

- (1361) *Elizak pobreei dirua emanerazten*
 church.ERG poor.DAT money give.CAUSE.IMPF
digu (guri).
 AUX.3A/1D.PL/3E we.DAT
 ‘The Church makes us give money to the poor.’

The original dative argument (*pobreei* ‘to the poor’ and *Mikeli* ‘to Mikel’) is not marked on the verb. If it were, it would then be wrongly interpreted as a causee. Cases like the following seem to be less acceptable, mostly out of parsing difficulty: since both datives are third person singular, verbal agreement is not successful in clarifying who is the causee and who the goal:

- (1362) ??*Gurasoek Mikeli Joni etxea salerazi*
 parents.ERG Mikel.DAT Jon.DAT house sell.CAUSE
diote.
 AUX.3A/3D/3E.PL
 ‘His parents made Mikel/Jon sell the house to Mikel/Jon.’

- (1363) *?Aitari liburua emanarazi diote*
 father.DAT book give.CAUSE AUX.3A/3D/3E.PL
Joxeri.
 Joxe.DAT
 'They made father/Joxe give the book to father/Joxe.' [EGLU II:62]

Word order may be used in the previous situation to clarify a potentially ambiguous sentence, in which case dative doubling will be acceptable. The following sentence is given as an acceptable example of ditransitive causativization in Hualde et al. (1994:176):

- (1364) *Gorkari maixuak Edurneri liburua emon*
 Gorka.DAT teacher.ERG Edurne.DAT book give
eraiñ eutzan.
 CAUSE AUX.3A/3D/3E
 'The teacher made Gorka give the book to Edurne.'

The first dative to the left of the verb is interpreted as the goal here as well as in the more dubious examples above. The same facts are found with quirky monotransitive verbs whose single object is marked dative. Since the causee will be marked dative, the number of arguments bearing that case will be doubled, but only the causee may be cross-referenced on the inflection:

- (1365) *Taxistari kotxe bati jarraituerazi diote.*
 taxi driver.DAT car one.DAT follow.CAUSE AUX.3D/3E.PL
 'The have made the taxi driver follow a car.'
- (1366) *Aurpegiari begiraerazi zidan.*
 face.DAT look.at.CAUSE AUX.1D/3E
 'He made me look at his face.'
- (1367) *Anaiari itxaronerazi didate.*
 brother.DAT wait.for.CAUSE AUX.1D/3E.PL
 'The have made me wait for my brother.'

The first example is perfectly acceptable even though the two datives are third person singular, since the inanimate one (*kotxe bati* 'to one car') cannot be interpreted as the causee and no ambiguity arises.

4.8.2.4. 'Impersonal' causatives

It is possible to form causatives where no causee is explicitly marked (see section 4.7 for impersonal sentences in Basque), that is, impersonal causatives to the extent that they are causee-less (as opposed to causer-less). In that case, verbal inflection will not include any causee marker, whether absolutive or dative.

- (1368) *Herri horretan soldadutzara bi urtez*
 country that.in military.service.to two year.INSTR
joanerazten da.
 go.CAUSE AUX.3A
 'In that country, they make one go to the military service for two years.'

- (1369) *Hor akats bakar batengatik ere dimitituerazten*
 there fault single one.due.to even resign.CAUSE.IMPF
dute.
 AUX.3A/3E.PL
 'There, they make one resign even for a single mistake.'

- (1370) *Hilarazi duzu Naboth, eta yabetu*
 kill.CAUSE AUX.3A/2E Naboth and appropriate
zara haren ontasunaz.
 AUX his riches.INSTR
 'You have had Naboth killed, and have taken his riches.' [Lg I:351]

- (1371) *Herrira zerorrek eramana-razi beharko nauzu.*
 village.ALL you.yourself carry.CAUSE must.FUT AUX.1A/2E
 'You will have to make someone take me to the village yourself.'

In the following example, a passive has been causativized, so that the causee, although present, is marked as a normal passive agent in this dialect (*mutilez* instrumental), rather than as a transitive causee (*mutilei* dative):

- (1372) *Mutilez zain-arazten zitian*
 boys.INSTR look.after-CAUSE.IMPF AUX.3A.PL/3E
bere arthalde handiak.
 his flock large.DET.PL
 'He had his large flocks looked after by boys.' [Eliss. P.A.:80]

Any dative goal argument of the basic verb that is being causativized will have to remain unmarked on the inflection:

- (1373) *Elizak pobreei dirua emanerazten du.*
 church.ERG poor.DAT money give.CAUSE.IMPF AUX.3A/3E
 'The Church forces to give money to the poor.'

- (1374) *Epaileak droga saltzaileari jarraituerazi zuen.*
 judge.ERG drug dealer.DAT follow.CAUSE AUX.3A/3E
 'The judge had the drug dealer followed.'

Had the dative been marked in the inflection, it would have been interpreted as a causee, rather than as a goal.

4.8.3. Direct and indirect causation

There is no mechanism to differentiate overtly examples where the causee is more or less directly caused to act. However, different causativization strategies vary as to the degree of coercion exerted upon the causee. Thus, analytical causatives seem to indicate a smaller amount of direct pressure than morphological causatives:

- (1375) *Amak umeari indabak janerazi*
 mother.ERG child.DAT beans eat.CAUSE
zizkion.
 AUX.3A.PL/3D/3E
 'The mother made the child eat the beans.'

- (1376) *Amak umeak indabak jatea eragin zuen.*
 child.ERG beans eat.NOM.DET make AUX.3A/3E
 'The mother made the child eat the beans.'

Moreover, analytical causatives where the matrix verb encodes a dative marker ('dative control' examples like (b) below) indicate a higher degree of coercion:

- (1377) a. *Amak umeak indabak jatea eragin zuen.*
 AUX.3A/3E
 'The mother made the child eat the beans.'

- b. *Amak umeari indabak jatea eragin zion.*

AUX.3A/3D/3E

'The mother made the child eat the beans.'

The second example suggests that the mother directly forced the child to eat, while in the first example it may have been the case that the child had to eat as a result of some other action taken by the mother.

There is some amount of overlapping between causativization with *-erazi* etc. and the transitive ('causative') usage of a verb in the causative-inchoative alternation, since the latter is in principle equivalent to morphological causativization of the inchoative verb. However, it is possible to use both:

- (1378) *Anhitz Egiptoar hilarazi zituen Jainkoak.*
 many Egyptians die.CAUSE AUX.3A.PL/3E God.ERG
 'God made many Egyptians die.' [Jauf.: 26]

- (1379) *Anhitz Egiptoar hil zituen Jainkoak*
 die AUX.3A.PL/3E
 'God killed many Egyptians.'

In such cases, the *-arazi* version is interpreted as less direct causation than the transitive ('causative') usage of the verb *hil* 'die, kill'. It is of course possible to combine both possibilities and to attach the causative morpheme to the transitive usage of a verb which participates in the causative-inchoative alternation. As a consequence, the same verb *hilarazi* could be interpreted as 'cause to die', as above, or 'cause to kill' as below:

- (1380) *Erregeak soldaduei haur guztiak hilarazi*
 king.ERG soldiers.DAT child all.DET.PL kill.CAUSE
zizkien.
 AUX.3A.PL/3D.PL/3E
 'The king made the soldiers kill all the children.'

- (1381) *Erregeak haur guztiak hilarazi zituen.*
 king.ERG child all.DET.PL kill.CAUSE AUX.3A.PL/3E
 'The king had all the children killed.'

The last sentence is an example of a causee-less causative (see 4.8.2.4). Sentence (1378) above could also be interpreted as a causee-less causative ('*God had many Egyptians killed*'). Such ambiguity is only possible in east-

ern dialects, where both transitive themes and animate intransitive causees are marked absolutive. In western varieties the absolutive may only correspond to the theme, so that only the 'impersonal' causee-less interpretation is available (see 4.8.2.1.1).

The direct causation reading ('interactive' as opposed to the 'circumstantial' indirect causation) of the morphological causative strategy using *-erazi*, etc. is found in all verb types, including unaccusatives, unlike what happens in some other languages (Turkish, see Kural 1997). It is not possible to attach multiple causative morphemes to the same verbal root: **janerazerazi* 'make someone make somebody else eat'.

4.9. Reciprocal and reflexive constructions

X. Artiagoitia

4.9.1. Reciprocals

The two typical Basque reciprocal anaphors are *elkar* 'each other' (cf. western *alkar*, eastern *elgar*) and *bata beste* or *bata bertze*, 'one another' literally. Following Michelena (1976:69), the first one is generally assumed to have historically arisen from the combination of the two third degree demonstratives: *elkar* < **(h)ark+(h)ar* 'that (ergative) that'. Although both reciprocal expressions have for most part the same distribution, there are some interesting differences. First of all, the anaphor *elkar* cannot appear in subject position or be bound from a higher argument when it is embedded in the subject position, whereas *bata beste* can occur in both positions. On the other hand, one finds *bata beste* in the subject position of NPs, whereas *elkar* is generally rejected in that position. Finally, Rebuschi (1993) reports that *bata beste* cannot occur as direct object in eastern dialects, but the judgements seem to vary even for those dialects.

4.9.1.1. *Elkar*

As explained in the previous paragraph, the reciprocal pronoun *elkar* 'each other' is excluded in subject position and requires a clausemate antecedent; note that *elkar* invariably displays singular agreement:

- (1382) a. *Epik eta Blasek elkar maite dute.*
 Ernie.ERG and Bert.ERG each.other love AUX
 'Ernie and Bert love each other.'

- b. **Elkarrek Epi eta Blas maite ditu.*
 each.other.ERG Ernie and Bert love AUX
 'Each other loves Ernie and Bert.'
- c. **Epik eta Blasek ez dakite*
 Ernie.ERG and Bert.ERG not know
elkarrek zer egin duen.
 each.other.ERG what do AUX.COMP
 'Ernie and Bert don't know what each other has done.'
- d. **Epik eta Blasek uste dute elkar*
 Ernie.ERG and Bert.ERG think AUX each.other
maite dudala.
 love AUX.that
 'Ernie and Bert think that I love each other.'

Furthermore, it cannot be embedded in the subject position of the clause and have an antecedent in the higher clause:

- (1383) **Epik eta Blasek uste dute*
 Ernie.ERG and Bert.ERG think AUX
elkarren jostailuak politak direla.
 each.other.GEN toys neat.DET.PL are.that
 'Ernie and Bert think that each other's toys are neat.'

These features, in turn, imply that *elkar* can bear almost any case-ending or postposition but the ergative, provided it has a clausemate antecedent:

- (1384) a. *Haserre pasatu eta gero, Epik eta*
 quarrel pass and after Ernie.ERG and
Blasek bostekoa eman diote elkarri.
 Bert.ERG hand give AUX each.other.DAT
 'After the quarrel, Ernie and Bert shook hands with each other.'
 (lit. 'to each each other')
- b. *Maitaleek elkarrekin egiten dute lo.*
 lovers.ERG each.other.with do.IMPF AUX sleep
 'Lovers sleep with each other, together.'
- c. *Elkarrez uste dut mintzatu direla*
 each.other.INSTR think AUX talk AUX.that
Patxi eta Isabel.
 Patxi and Isabel
 'I think that Patxi and Isabel talked about EACH OTHER.' [Sala-
 buru 1986a:89]

- d. *Ez dute zer ikusirik elkarrekin.*
 not have what see.PRTT each.other.with
 'They don't have anything to do with each other.' [EH: 213]
- e. *Etsaiek elkarrengatik urrundu gaituzte.*
 enemies.ERG each.other.from distance AUX
 'Enemies have distanced us from each other.' [EH: 213]
- f. *Jon eta Miren elkarrekin ikusi ditut.*
 Jon and Miren each.other.with see AUX
 'I have seen Jon and Miren together, with each other.'

Elkar cannot be in the subject position even when it is marked absolutive:

- (1385) a. *Epi eta Blas elkarrekin joan dira erosketak egitera.*
 and each.other.with go
 AUX purchases do.NOM.ALL
 'Ernie and Bert went shopping with each other.'
- b. **Elkar Epi eta Blasekin joan dira erosketak egitera.*
 each.other Ernie and Bert.with go AUX
 purchases do.NOM.ALL
 'Each other went shopping with Ernie and Bert.'

The data in (1385), together with (1383), show then that the restriction on the distribution of *elkar* is not just a morphological one, but a syntactic one.

With respect to the distribution of the genitive form of this pronoun, *elkarren*, we find it as complement of location nouns and postpositions, and as complement of inherent relational or predicate nouns like *berri* 'news', or *lagun* 'friend', *etsai* 'enemy':

- (1386) a. *Epi eta Blas elkarren ondoan jezarri dira.*
 and each.other.GEN
 side.LOC sit AUX
 'Ernie and Bert sat next to each other.'
- b. *Epi eta Blas elkarren kontra borrokatu dira.*
 and each.other.GEN against
 fight AUX
 'Ernie and Bert fought against each other.'

- (1387) a. *Abokatuak senar-emazte presoek*
 lawyer.ERG husband-wife prisoner.PL.DAT
elkarren berri eman die.
 each.other.GEN new give AUX
 'The lawyer gave the convicted husband and wife information on each other.'
- b. *Epi eta Blas elkarren lagunak dira*
 and each.other.GEN friend are
 'Ernie and Bert are friends with each other.'
- c. *Elkarren lehia dabilta.* [EH: 213]
 each.other.GEN competition.LOC walk
 'They are in competition with each other.'
- d. *elkarren antzeko bi hitz* [EH: 213]
 each.other.GEN similarity.REL two word
 'Two words similar to each other.'

Most speakers reject *elkar*, however, when it occurs as a true possessor or subject of the NP:

- (1388) a. *??Epik eta Blasek elkarren goxokiak*
 and each.other.GEN cookies
jan dituzte.
 eat AUX
 'Ernie and Bert ate each other's cookies.'
- b. **Epiri eta Blasi elkarren*
 Ernie.DAT and Bert.DAT each.other.GEN
Gustavoren erretratua gustatzen zaie.
 Kermit.GEN picture please.IMPV AUX
 'Ernie and Bert like each other's picture of Kermit.'

Note that (1388a) is slightly better than (1383); this indicates that one can dissociate the deviant occurrence of *elkarren* as subject of NP and the impossibility of a long distance antecedent relationship. For a few speakers, (1388a) is acceptable with a collective, group interpretation *Epi and Blas ate the candy of the two*, in which case *elkar* loses its reciprocal meaning.

4.9.1.2. *Bata bestea*

The reciprocal expression *bata bestea* or eastern (Lapurdian and Navarrese) *bata bertzea* is a combination of the numeral *bat* ‘one’ and *beste/bertze* ‘other, another’, each followed by the article. The two words can in fact act as independent, though correlative pronouns:

- (1389) a. *Batak baietz dio; bestea,*
 one.DET.ERG yes says other.DET.ERG
berriz, ezetz.
 instead no
 ‘One says yes; the other, on the other hand, [says] no.’
- b. *Batak egin zuena bestea*
 one.DET.ERG do AUX.COMP.DET other.DET.ERG
desegin zuen.
 undo AUX
 ‘What one did was undone by the other.’ [EH: 108]
- c. *Ezberdintasun franko baitago bataren*
 difference many bait.is one.DET.GEN
eta bestearen artean.
 and other.DET.GEN between
 ‘There are many differences between one and the other.’ [EH: 108]

When *bata beste* is used as a true reciprocal pronoun, it is generally the second element the only one that bears the postpositions and case-endings, while the first one remains unaffected, frozen:

- (1390) a. *Epik eta Blasek ez dute zer*
 and not have what
ikusirik bata bestearekin.
 see.PRTT bata bestea.with
 ‘Ernie and Bert have nothing to do with one another.’
- b. *Epi eta Blas bata*
 and bata
bestearengandik urrundu dituzte.
 bestea.from distance AUX
 ‘They have distanced Ernie and Bert from one another.’

- c. *Epik eta Blasek opariak eman*
 and presents give
dizkiote bata besteari.
 AUX *bata bestea*.DAT
 ‘Ernie and Bert have presents to each other.’

Nevertheless, one finds examples in the Basque literature where the first element bears the ergative case, sometimes even without the article. Here are some examples that illustrate the point:

- (1391) a. *Gothortzearekin bata**k** bertze**ari** traba*
 develop.NOM.COM one.ERG other.DAT hinder
eginen dio.
 do.FUT AUX
 ‘As they develop, they will hinder each other.’ [Duv. L.L.]
- b. *erresek nola baitute bata**k** bertzea pusatzen...*
 sheep.ERG how bait.AUX one.ERG other push.IMP
 ‘just as sheep push each other...’ [Gazteluzar]
- c. *Baina emagun auzotik*
 but let.us.assume neighborhood.from
auzora doala, batek bertzea
 neighborhood.to goes.that one.ERG other
kotsatuz.
 contaminate.INSTR
 ‘But let’s assume that it goes from neighborhood to neighbor-
 hood, one contaminating the other.’ [H. U.:222]

In some cases, the singular verb agrees with *batak*, as though it were a separate pronoun that is correlative with *bertze*; we could gloss these cases roughly as ‘one ... the other’; these examples seem to be close to the ones in (1389). In other cases, *batak bertze...* shows no singular agreement and the entire expression seems to behave just like a single pronoun with the ergative case being part of that pronoun, roughly translatable as ‘one another, each other’.

Be it as it may, this fact could help us understand one of the differences between *elkar* and *bata bertze*; namely, that the latter can be bound by an antecedent outside its clause when it occurs in subject position or inside a subject:

- (1392) a. *Epik eta Blasek ez dakite bata*
 and not know *bata*
besteak zer egin duen. (cf. 1382c)
bestea.ERG what do AUX.COMP
 ‘Ernie and Bert don’t each know what the other will do.’
- b. *Epik eta Blasek uste dute bata*
 and think AUX *bata*
bestearen jostailuak politak direla. (cf. 1383)
bestea.GEN toys neat.DET.PL are.that
 ‘Ernie and Bert think that each other’s toys are neat.’

As for the postpositions or case-endings that *bata beste* may bear, one finds that the comitative postposition is unusual with *bata beste*; perhaps because the word *elkarrekin* has specialized with the meaning ‘together’. Thus, whenever the actual interpretation of the reciprocal pronoun is not truly reciprocal, *bata bestearekin* is rejected:

- (1393) a. *Jonek eta Mirenek elkarrekin*
 Jon.ERG and Mary.ERG each.other.with
afalduko dute.
 dine.FUT AUX
 ‘John and Mary will have dinner together.’
- b. *??Jonek eta Mirenek bata*
 bata
bestearekin afalduko dute.
bestea.with
 ‘John and Mary will have dinner with one another.’
- c. *Zu eta biok elkarrekin joango gara.*
 you and two.PL each.other.with go.FUT AUX
 ‘You and I will go together.’
- d. *??Zu eta biok bata bestearekin*
 bata bestea.with
joango gara.
 ‘You and I will go with one another.’

But *bata beste* is perfectly natural with other verbs or predicates that express a true reciprocal action:

- (1394) a. *Jon eta Miren elkarrekin haserretu dira.*
 Jon and Miren each.other.with quarrel AUX
 ‘Jon and Miren quarreled with each other.’

- b. *Jon eta Miren bata bestearekin*
bata bestea.with
haserretu dira.
 'Jon and Miren quarreled with one another.'
- c. *Gai horretan Epi eta Blas ados*
 topic that.LOC Ernie and Bert in.agreement
daude elkarrekin.
 are each.other.with
 'Ernie and Bert agree with each other on that topic.'
- d. *Gai horretan Epi eta Blas ados*
daude bata bestearekin.
bata bestea.with
 'Ernie and Bert agree with one another on that topic.'
- e. *betidaniko adiskideak bata bestearekin*
 always.REL friends bata bestea.with
areriotzen zirela
 become.enemy.IMPF AUX
 'that good friends were becoming enemies to [lit. 'with'] one another.' [EH: 54]

In other cases, the interpretation may differ for *elkar* and *bata beste*, again due to the group interpretation favored by *elkar*:

- (1395) a. *Elkarrekin hasi dira borrokan.*
 each.other.with start AUX fight.LOC
 'They started fighting each other.' or 'They started fighting together.'
- b. *Bata bestearekin hasi dira borrokan*
bata bestea.with start AUX fight.LOC
 'They started fighting one another.'
 ('They started fighting together.')

Example (1395a) is also felicitous when we mean that some individuals started fighting together against a third party, whereas example (1395b) can only convey the idea that some individuals within a group started fighting with each other.

The second major difference between *elkar* and *bata bestea* is that the latter is grammatical in any NP internal position, whether the head is an inherently relational noun or not:

- (1396) a. *Abokatuak senar-emazte presoiei bata*
 lawyer.ERG husband-wife prisoner.DAT *bata*
bestearen berri eman die.
bestea.GEN new give AUX
 'The lawyer gave the convicted husband and wife information on one another.'
- b. *Herri honetan denok gara bata bestearen*
 town this.LOC all are *bata bestea.GEN*
lagunak edo ezagunak.
 friends or acquaintances
 'In this town all of us are friends or acquaintance with one another.'
- (1397) a. *Epik eta Blasek bata bestearen*
 E.ERG and Bert.ERG *bata bestea.GEN*
goxokiak jan dituzte.
 cookies eat AUX
 'Ernie and Bert ate one each other's cookies.'
- b. *?Epiri eta Blasi bata bestearen*
 E.DAT and B.DAT *bata bestea.GEN*
Gustavoren erretratua gustatzen zaie.
 Kermit.GEN picture like.IMPF AUX
 'Ernie and Bert like one another's picture of Kermit.'

Though some speakers express a preference for *elkar* in contexts like (1396b), *bata beste* is perfectly grammatical. The reader should note that, although (1397b) is somewhat marginal, it is far better than the corresponding example with *elkar* (cf. 1388b).

Leaving this NP-internal position, *bata beste* can occur as complement to location nouns or postpositions, just like *elkar*:

- (1398) a. *Epi eta Blas bata bestearen*
bata bestea.GEN
ondoan jezarri dira.
 side.LOC sit AUX
 'Ernie and Bert sat next to one another.'
- b. *Epi eta Blas bata bestearen*
bata bestea.GEN
kontra borrokatu dira.
 against fight AUX
 'Ernie and Bert fought against one another.'

- c. *Ezin izango gaituzte bata*
 cannot be.FUT AUX *bata*
bestearengandik banatu.
bestea.from separate
 'They won't be able to separate us from one another.'

There are however location nouns that only allow either pronoun, probably because of the combination of the semantics of the noun and the two pronouns. Here are some illustrative examples:

- (1399) a. *Lana elkarren artean egin dugu.*
 job each.other.GEN between.LOC do AUX
 'We did it between all of us (lit. 'between each other').'
 b. **Lana bata bestearen artean*
 job each.other.GEN between.LOC
egin dugu.
 do AUX
 'We did it between one other.'
- (1400) a. ??*Epi eta Blas elkarren*
 each.other.GEN
atzean/aurrean jezarri dira.
 behind/front.LOC sit AUX
 'Ernie and Bert sat behind/in front of each other.'
 b. *Epi eta Blas bata bestearen*
bata bestea.LOC
atzean/aurrean jezarri dira.
 behind/front.LOC sit AUX
 'Ernie and Bert sat behind/in front of one another.'
 c. *Epi eta Blas elkarri bizkarra*
 each.other.DAT back
emanda jezarri dira.
 give.PTCP sit AUX
 'Ernie and Bert sat back to back.'
 d. *Epi eta Blas aurrez aurre jezarri dira.*
 front.INSTR front sit AUX
 'Ernie and Bert sat face to face.'

The word *artean* 'in between' only allows *elkar*, whereas most speakers reject *elkar* when it occurs as complement of *atzean* 'in the back, behind' or *aurrean* 'in front'; note that (1400a) and (1400b) do not mean the same

thing, and it is perfectly possible to sit back to back or face to face. Nonetheless, neither *atzean* nor *aurrean* tolerate the reciprocal *elkar*, and the possible meanings of (1400a) have to be paraphrased as (1400c) or (1400d).

Finally, according to Rebuschi (1993), some speakers of the eastern dialects seem to reject *bata bertze* in object position, at least in isolation, but the judgements improve considerably if some contextual information is introduced; the rest of speakers accept, however, the corresponding *bata be-stea* examples:

- (1401) a. %Bata bertzea ikusi dugu. (eastern dialects)
see AUX

'We have seen one another.'

- b. *Orok* *elkar* *maite* *dute*, *eta* *batek*
all.ERG each.other love AUX and *bata*
bertzea *errespetatzen* *dute*.
bertzea respect.IMPF AUX
'They love each other, and they respect one another.'

- (1402) a. *Goizero-goizero, bata bestea ikusten*
 every morning *bata bestea* see.IMPF
dugu kalean. (other dialects)
 AUX street.LOC

‘We see one another in the street every single morning.’

- b. *Familiar denok elkar maite dugu,*
 family.LOC all.ERG each.other love AUX
eta bata bestea errespetatzen dugu.
 and bata bestea respect.IMPF AUX.
 ‘We love each other in this family, and we respect one another.’

4.9.1.3. Valency change and reciprocity

In western dialects, another strategy when there is a reciprocal relation between subject and direct object of the clause is detransitivization (see 4.1.2.9); in these cases there is one surface argument bearing absolutive case, and the auxiliary verb *izan* is used:

- (1403) a. *Bihar ikusiko gara.*
tomorrow see.FUT AUX
'We will see each other tomorrow.'

- b. *Anai-arrebak asko maite dira.*
 brother-sister much love AUX
 'The brothers and sisters love each other.'
- c. *Euskaldunok normalean agurtu egiten*
 Basques usually greet do.IMPF
gara mendian.
 AUX mountain.LOC
 'We Basques usually greet each other as we are hiking.'

This seems to be a relatively recent construction that has not spread to eastern dialects. It remains to be determined the class of verbs that allow this reciprocal detransitivization, for not all verbs accept it (see 4.1.2.9):

- (1404) a. **Senar-emazteak hil ziren.*
 husband-wife kill AUX
 'The husband and wife killed each other.'
- b. **Epi eta Blas egunero jotzen dira.*
 every.day hit.IMPF AUX
 'Ernie and Bert hit each other every day.'

In some western varieties (e.g. Lekeitio), there is detransitivization in constructions with *elkar* where there is a reciprocal relationship between subject and direct object. Thus, examples like the following are used:

- (1405) *Elkar ikusiko gara bihar*
 each.other see.FUT AUX tomorrow
 'We will see each other tomorrow.'
 (from Hualde et al. 1994:176)

4.9.1.4. Other reciprocal pronouns: *bakoitza*

Another, less common, way to express reciprocity involves the two-constituent expression *bakoitza... beste* 'each ... the other', where *bakoitza* 'each one' is generally (though not exclusively) in subject position:

- (1406) a. *Urteak egitean, ume bakoitzak*
 years do.NOM.LOC child each.ERG
goxokiak ekartzen dizkie beste guztiei.
 cookies bring.IMPF AUX other all.DAT
 'On their birthday, every child brings cookies to the others.'

- b. *Ikasle bakoitzak besteentzako opari bat*
 student each.ERG others.for.REL present one
ekarri behar du.
 bring must AUX
 'Each student has to bring a present for the others.'
- c. *Irakasleak ume bakoitzari beste baten*
 teacher.ERG child each.DAT other one.GEN
irudia erakutsi dio.
 picture show AUX
 'The teacher showed each child a picture of some other child.'

The constituent *bakoitza* can also display plural agreement:

- (1407) a. *Urteak egitean, bakoitzak besteei*
 years do.NOM.LOC each.ERG others.DAT
goxokiak ekartzen dizkiete.
 cookies bring.IMPV AUX
 'On their birthday, they each bring cookies for the others.'
- b. *Bakoitzak besteentzako opari bat ekarri*
 each.ERG others.BEN.REL present one bring
behar dugu.
 must AUX
 'We each have to bring a present for the others.'

What is more, there can be an overt, explicit subject besides *bakoitza*; the latter thus becomes some sort of apposition (cf. Hualde et al. 1994:178):

- (1408) a. *Epik eta Blasek bakoitzak badakite bestearen berri.*
 E.ERG and B.ERG each.ERG ba.know other.GEN new
 'Ernie and Bert each have informatin about the other.'
- b. *Zuei bakoitzari beste baten idazlana*
 you.DAT each.DAT other one.GEN essay
emango dizuet zuzentzeko.
 give.FUT AUX correct.NOM.REL
 'I shall give each one of you some other person's essay to correct.'

Having overviewed reciprocal constructions, we now turn to reflexives.

4.9.2. Reflexives

4.9.2.1. X-en burua

X-en burua ‘X-s head’ is the typical reflexive pronoun in Basque, where X’s is the genitive form of the personal pronouns:

- (1409) a. *Zeure buruan baino ez duzu pentsatzen.*
 your head.LOC but not AUX think.IMPF
 ‘You only think about yourself.’
- b. *Ikastaldi neketsu batek bakarrik eramán gaitzake[ela] geure buruaren jabe, ez irudipenen eskuko, izatera.*
 lesson tiring one.ERG only carry
 AUX[that] our head.GEN owner not
 illusions.GEN dependent be.NOM.ALL
 ‘Only a hard lesson could lead us to be masters of ourselves, not slaves of illusions.’ [EH:170]
- c. *Zeuen burua saldu duzue.*
 your.PL head sell AUX
 ‘You gave yourselves away.’
- d. *Nik ondo baino hobeto ezagutzen dinat*
 I.ERG well than better know.IMPF AUX
neure burua, baina hik ez dun
 my head but you.ERG not AUX
heure burua batere ezagutzen.
 your head at.all know.IMPF
 ‘I know myself pretty well, but you don’t know yourself at all.’

Traditionally, and even today for many speakers, the intensive pronoun forms (*neure*, *heure*, *geure*, *zeuen*) are the ones that are used in the first and second person; in the examples above, however, many speakers accept the regular genitive pronouns:

- (1410) a. *Zure buruan baino ez duzu pentsatzen.*
 b. *Ikastaldi neketsu batek bakarrik eramán gaitzake gure buruaren jabe izatera.*
 c. *Zuen burua saldu duzue.*
 d. *Nik ondo baino hobeto ezagutzen dinat nire burua, baina hik ez dun hire burua batere ezagutzen.*

The third reflexive forms are invariably *bere burua* (singular) or *beren burua* (plural):

- (1411) a. *Mirandek bere burua hil zuen.*
 Mirande.ERG his head kill AUX
 'Mirande killed himself.'
- b. *Kirolari hauek beren burua erakustera*
 athlete these.ERG their head show.NOM.ALL
etorri dira.
 come AUX
 'These athletes came just to show off (lit. 'exhibit themselves').'

The varieties of western Basque that use interchangeably either the third person possessive reflexive anaphors (*bere* and *beren*) and the possessive pronouns (*beraren* and *euren*) are the only exceptions to this generalization:

- (1412) a. *Mirandek bera(re)n burua hil eban.* (western only)
 b. *Kirolari honek euren burua erakusten etorri dira.* (western only)

Although this is not required, the entire NP *X-en burua* can be turned plural when the *possessive* is plural:

- (1413) a. *Zeuen buruen etsaiak zarete zuek.*
 your heads.GEN enemies are you
 'You are your own enemies, enemies of yourselves.'
- b. *Orduan, [etxetiarrek] beren buruak enganaturik,*
 then tenants.ERG their heads deceive.PTCP
beren baithan erraiten dute: Aurthen
 their inside.LOC say.IMPF AUX this.year
hemen naiz...
 here am
 'Then, the tenants, deceiving themselves, say in their mind: I am here this year...' [Duv. L.L.]
- c. *Geure egiazko irudia atzendu edo*
 our true.INSTR.REL picture forget sort
zaigu, eta amets irudipenezko argitan
 AUX and dream image.INSTR.REL light.LOC
ikusten ditugu behialako geure buruak.
 see.IMPF AUX long.REL our heads
 'We have kind of forgotten our true picture, we see our old selves in the light of dreamy images.' [EH:39]

In principle, *zeuen buruaren*, *beren burua* and *geure burua* could be used just the same.

The reflexive expression *X-en burua* is usually barred from subject position:

- (1414) **Bere buruak Mirande hil zuen.*
 his head.DET.ERG Mirande kill AUX
 ‘Himself killed Mirande.’

The subject is the preferred antecedent of *X-en burua*, but other arguments may be also be the antecedent:

- (1415) a. *Hautagai posibleen artean, Anak*
 candidate possible.PL.GEN among Ana.ERG
 zuzendariari bere burua aipatu dio.
 director.DAT her head mention AUX
 ‘Ana mentioned herself to the director as a possible candidate.’
 b. (?)*Txakurrari bere burua erakutsi diot*
 dog.DAT its head show AUX
 ispiluan, eta zaunka hasi da.
 mirror.LOC and barking start AUX
 ‘I showed the dog itself in the mirror, and it started barking.’

In (1415a), the interpretation *Ana* = *bere burua* is the preferred one and, indeed, the only possible one for many speakers; on the other hand, most speakers accept example (1415b), where the only possible antecedent for *bere burua* is the dative argument.

Despite its anaphoric nature, the reflexive *X-en burua* behaves sometimes as though it were a regular third person NP; as Oyharçabal (1989:77-78) points out, it can be relativized (=1416a) even when it doesn’t correspond to a true reflexive within the relativized clause (=1416b):

- (1416) a. *Zergatik kalte egiten diozu hain maite*
 why harm do.IMPF AUX so love
 duzun zure buruari?
 AUX.COMP your head.DAT
 ‘Why do you do harm to yourself whom you love so much?’

- b. *Zergatik hainbeste preziatzen dugun*
 why so.much appreciate.IMPF AUX.COMP
zure burua gutiesten duzu?
 your head diminish.IMPF AUX
 'Why do you think poorly of yourself whom we appreciate so much?'

Furthermore, one finds occasional examples where *X-en burua* lacks a clear clausemate antecedent altogether:

- (1417) a. [*Horko lagunen buru hausteen*
 there.REL friends.GEN problems.ERG
badute gerok ditugunen, edo izan
ba.have we.ERG have.COMP.GEN or have
genitzakeenen, eitea]... *Geure burua aipatu*
 AUX.COMP.GEN form our head mention
dut, eta ez dakit zuzen mintzatu naizen,
 AUX and not know right speak AUX.COMP
nik behintzat ez baitut Hipokratesekin
 I.ERG at.least not bait.have Hypocrates.with
zer ikusirik.
 what see.PTCP
 'The problems of the people out there resemble those we have or might have... I have mentioned ourselves, and I don't know if I said it right, for I have nothing to do with Hypocrates.'
 [Mitx. EIG I:149]
- b. *Begi zorrotzak izan ditut hutsak*
 eye sharp.DET.PL have AUX errors.DET.PL
ikusteko, batez ere, huts horiek geure
 see.NOM.REL above all error these our
buruarenak, neronenak barne, direnean.
 head.GEN.DET.PL my.DET.PL inside are.when
 'I had sharp eyes to detect errors, especially when these errors are our own, including mine.' [Mitx. EIG VII:37]

- c. *Hizketan, besteri zerbait esaten*
 speech.LOC other.DAT something say.IMPF
diogunean, eta beste hori geure burua ere
 AUX.when and other that our head even
izan daiteke, besteren itxuraz estalia...
 be AUX other.GEN form.INSTR cover.DET
 'In actual speech, when we say something to other people, and
 these other people can also be ourselves, disguised in the form of
 some other...' [EH :170]

We may regard the first example as an instance of a true reflexive, for there is at least person agreement between *geure* and *nik*; in fact, using the actual pronoun *gu* gives rise to ungrammaticality:

- (1418) **Gu aipatu gaitut.*
 we mention AUX
 'I mentioned us.'

Examples (1417b) and (1417c), however, suggest that *X-burua* is being used as an emphatic pronoun.

4.9.2.2. Reflexive possessives

As attested in the literature of the language during the 16th-19th centuries, earlier forms of Basque had an entire set of reflexive possessives: the emphatic forms *neure* 'my', *heure* 'your; sg. fam.', *geure* 'our', *zeure* 'your; sg.', *zeuen* 'your; pl.' were used for first and second person provided there was a corresponding first or second person argument, overt or covert, marked ergative, absolutive, or dative that could serve as antecedent; otherwise, the regular possessive forms (*ene*, *hire*, *gure*, *zure*, *zuen*) were used (see 3.1.6.1.2). This generalization is known as the *Aresti-Linschmann Law* in the tradition of Basque linguistics, for these two scholars came up with the generalization independently. Here are some relevant examples that illustrate how the Aresti-Linschmann Law works (see Sarasola 1979):

- (1419) a. *Ene ardiek ene boza entzuten dute.*
 my sheep.PL.ERG my voice hear.IMPF AUX
 'My sheep hear my voice.' [Leiz., Io 10, 27]

- b. *Ezagutzen ditut neure ardiak.*
 know.IMPF AUX my.INTS sheep
 'I know my sheep.' [Leiz., *Io* 10, 14]

- (1420) a. *O emaztea, handi dun hire fedea.*
 woman big is thy faith
 'Oh woman, big is thy faith.' [Leiz., *Mt* 15, 28]
 b. *Eure Iainko Iauna adoratuko duk.*
 your.INTS god lord adore.FUT AUX
 'Thou shalt worship thy Lord.' [Leiz., *Mt* 4, 10]

The contrast between *enel/neure* and *hire/heure* related then to the presence/absence of a clausemate NP antecedent (ergative in the cases at hand). Despite appearances, the form *dun* in (1420a) is an allocutive form (see 3.5.2.5) where there is no real second person, hence the regular possessive pronoun *hire* is used.

The third person possessive pronouns also have reflexive forms that comply with the Aresti-Linschmann Law: *bere* and *beren*, which contrast with regular third person possessives like *haren* and *haien*. The first two pronouns are true reflexives and do not correspond to any emphatic form; the emphatic forms for third person would be *beraren* and *beraien*, rather than *bere* and *beren* themselves. Here are some illustrative examples:

- (1421) a. *Andoni bere etxera eraman nuen.*
 Andoni his home.to carry AUX
 'I took Andoni to his (own) house.' [EH: 128]
 b. *Andonik bere etxera eraman ninduen.*
 Andoni.ERG his home.to carry AUX
 'Andoni took me to his (own) house.' [EH: 128]
 c. *Goiz guztiek dute beren arratsaldea.*
 morning all.ERG have their evening
 'All mornings have their (own) evening.' [EH: 130]
 d. *Joni eta Mireni beren liburua eman diet.*
 Jon.DAT and Miren.DAT their book give AUX
 'I gave Jon and Mary their (own) book.'

In all three cases, one interprets *bere* and *beren* as coreferent with some clausemate ergative, dative, or absolutive NP argument. This is true of earlier Basque, and it is still true of the dialects spoken in the eastern part of the Basque Country. The so called Aresti-Linschmann Law is, thus, operative in these dialects only for third person possessive reflexive pronouns.

The lack of true possessive reflexives in most dialects, however, gives rise to the following dialectal contrasts:

- (1422) %*Peiok_i* *erran du bere_i zakurra hil dela.*
 Peio.ERG say AUX his dog die AUX.that
 ‘Pello_i said that his_i dog died.’ [Rebuschi 1989: 32]
- (1423) A: *Ezagutzen al duzu Peru Arrieta?*
 know.IMP Q AUX Peru Arrieta
 ‘Do you know Peru Arrieta?’
 B: %*Bai horixe! Sarritan izan naiz bere_i etxean.*
 yes that.INTS often be AUX his house.LOC
 ‘Yes, of course! I have often been to his house.’ [EH: 128]

Sentence (1422) is ungrammatical for eastern speakers due to a violation of the Aresti-Linschmann Law: the antecedent of *bere* is not in the same clause; the same thing is true of the second use of *bere*. Speakers who accept both (1422) and (1423) have lost the distinction between the possessive reflexives *bere* and regular possessives *haren* or *beraren*. There is, in fact, one further dialectal distinction: in western Basque, *haren* is simply the possessive form of the demonstrative, and *beraren* is used as the general third person possessive pronoun. Thus in the example:

- (1424) *Peiok esan du haren txakurra hil dela.*
 Peio.ERG say AUX haren dog die AUX.that
 ‘Peio said that his/that person’s dog died.’

The dog cannot be Peio’s for these western speakers, but must be someone else’s.

One remark is in order regarding a certain parallelism between the reflexive *X-en burua* forms of modern Basque, common to all dialects, and the semi-extinct possessive reflexives, of which only the third person forms *bere* and *beren* preserve their reflexive nature. As the reader may check from the examples above, it is the formerly possessive reflexives *neure*, *heure*, *geure*, *zeure*, *zeuen* (together with *bere/beren*) that occur most often inside the reflexive phrase *X-en burua*, even presently, despite the fact that these possessives no longer have a pure reflexive use. This fact seems to indicate that some part of the grammatical reflexivity of *X-en burua* is due to the possessor, at least from a diachronic point of view.

To finish this section, we will point out some distributional differences between *X-en burua* and the reflexive possessives that resemble some of the

differences between the reciprocal *elkar* and *bata beste*. For one thing, *bere burua* is excluded from the subject position internal to NP, but it is the only possible pronoun as a complement to an inherently relational or predicate noun or as a complement to a location noun or a postposition:

- (1425) **Jonek bere buruaren txakurra jotzen du.*
 Jon.ERG his head.GEN dog hit.IMPFX AUX
 Lit. 'Jon hits himself's dog.'
- (1426) a. *Jon bere buruaren etsairik handiena da.*
 Jon his head.GEN enemy.PRTH biggest.DET is
 'Jon is the biggest enemy of himself.'
 b. *Jon bere buruaren beldur da.*
 fear is
 'Jon is afraid of himself.'
 c. *Jonek bere buruaren berri daki.*
 his head.GEN new knows
 'Jon has a good account of himself.'
- (1427) a. *Amaia beti dabil bere buruaren gainean berba egiten.*
 Amaia always walks her head.GEN top.LOC
 word do.NOM.LOC
 'Amaia is always talking about herself.'
 b. *Amaia_i bere buruarekin_i haserretu da.*
 Amaia her head.with quarrel AUX
 'Amaia got angry with herself.'
 c. *Amaiak konfiantza dauka bere buruarengan.*
 Amaia.ERG confidence have her head.LOC
 'Amaia has confidence in herself.'
 d. *Amaia bere buruaren bila dabil.*
 her head.GEN search walks
 'Amaia is looking for herself (lit. 'in the search of herself').'

The possessive *bere* displays the mirror image distribution of *bere burua* in this respect:

- (1428) *Jonek_i bere_i txakurra jotzen du.*
 Jon.ERG his dog hit.IMPFX AUX
 'Jon hits his (own) dog.'

- (1429) a. *Jon_i bere_i etsairik handiena da.
Jon his enemy.PRTT biggest.DET is
'Jon is the biggest enemy of himself.'
- b. *Jon_i bere_i beldur da.
Jon his fear is
'Jon is afraid of himself.'
- c. *Jonek_i bere_i berri daki.
Jon.ERG his new knows
'Jon has a good account of himself.'
- (1430) a. *Amaia_i beti dabil bere_i gainean berba
Amaia always walks her top.LOC word
egiten.
do.NOM.LOC
'Amaia is always talking about herself.'
- b. *Amaia_i berekin_i haserretu da.
Amaia her.with quarrel AUX
'Amaia got angry with herself.'
- c. *Amaiak_i konfiantza dauka beregan_i.
Amaia confidence has her.LOC
'Amaia has confidence in herself.'
- d. *Amaia_i bere_i bila dabil.
Amaia her search walks
'Amaia is searching herself (lit. 'in the search of herself').'

Note that it is the *reflexive* interpretation that is excluded in (1429-1430); the examples are acceptable with a disjoint reference interpretation for speakers who accept a non-reflexive use of *bere* (i.e. those who are not from the east). We must make a final remark: despite the generalized complementary distribution between *bere* and *bere buruaren*, speakers of western Basque, who use *bere* and *beraren* interchangeably, need not have such a complementary distribution when the NP is the complement of a location noun:

- (1431) a. Amaiak_i beraren_{i,j} gainean berba egin eban.
Amaia.ERG her top.LOC word do AUX
'Amaia_i spoke about her_{i,j}.'
- b. Amaiak_i bere buruaren_i gainean berba egin eban.
Amaia.ERG her head.GEN top.LOC word do AUX
'Amaia spoke about herself.'

Thus, example (1431a) accepts both a reflexive and a non-reflexive interpretation.

4.9.2.3. Valency change and reflexivity

Detransitivization of a two-argument predicate is also a means of conveying a reflexive construction (4.1.2.9):

- (1432) a. *Ispiluan txarto ikusten dut neure burua.*
 mirror.LOC badly see.IMPF AUX my head
 b. *Ispiluan txarto ikusten naiz.*
 mirror.LOC badly see.IMPF AUX
 'I see myself badly in the mirror.'

The two-place predicate *ikusi* is changed to a one-place predicate with the sole argument being marked absolutive. Correspondingly, the intransitive auxiliary verb *izan* is used. This detransitivization extends to other, though not all, verbs:

- (1433) a. *Amaiak gehiegi erretzen du, eta ez*
 Amaia.ERG too.much smoke.IMPF AUX and not
du bere burua zaintzen
 AUX.TR her head care.IMPF.
 b. *Amaiak gehiegi erretzen du, eta ez da*
 and not AUX.INTR
zaintzen.
 care.IMPF
 'Amaia smokes too much and doesn't take care of herself.'
- (1434) a. *Nahastuta sentitzen dut neure burua.*
 confuse.PTCP feel.IMPF AUX.TR my head
 b. *Nahastuta sentitzen naiz.*
 confuse.PTCP feel.IMPF AUX.INTR
 'I feel (myself) confused.'
- (1435) a. *Mirandek bere burua hil zuen.*
 Mirande.ERG his head kill AUX.TR
 'Mirande killed himself.'

- b. **Mirande hil zen.*
 Mirande kill AUX.INTR
 'Mirande killed himself.' (intended interpretation)

- (1436) a. *Autoreak etengabe aipatzen du bere burua.*
 author.ERG constantly cite.IMPF AUX.TR her head
 b. **Autorea etengabe aipatzen da.*
 author constantly cite.IMPF AUX.INTR
 'The author constantly cites herself.'

See 4.1.2.9 for a brief survey of verbs which can and cannot undergo reflexive detransitivization.

4.9.3. A note on psychological verbs

Psychological predicates of the absolutive/ergative or absolutive/dative/ergative type where the experiencer argument corresponds to the absolutive or dative argument allow the reflexive *X-en burua* in subject position:

- (1437) a. *Batzuetan lotsatu egiten nau neure buruak.*
 some.LOC embarrass do.IMPF AUX my head.ERG
 Lit. 'Sometimes, myself embarrasses me.'
 b. *Niri batez ere neure buruak ematen*
 I.DAT above.all my head.ERG give.IMPF
dit beldurra.
 AUX fear
 'Above all it is myself that causes me fear.'
 c. *Zerk kezkatzen nauen? Neure buruak*
 what worry.IMPF AUX.COMP my head.ERG
kezkatzen nau!
 worry.IMPF AUX
 Lit. 'What worries me? Myself worries me!'

The same is true of absolutive/dative verbs where the experiencer argument is case-marked dative, but in this case it is not all that clear whether the dative should be regarded as the subject (cf. Albizu 1997a, and Artiagoitia in press):

- (1438) a. *Joni asko gustatzen zaio bere burua.*
 Jon.DAT much please.IMPf AUX his head
 'John likes himself a lot (lit. 'himself pleases Jon a lot.').'
 b. *Zuri zeure burua baino ez zaizu interesatzen.*
 you.DAT your head but not AUX interest.IMPf
 'Nothing but yourself interests you.'

Reciprocal pronouns are barred from the subject position of these verbs:

- (1439) a. **Joni eta Mireni bata bestea*
 Jon.DAT and Miren.DAT bata beste.ERG
ematen die beldurra.
 give.IMPf AUX fear
 'One another cause Jon and Mary fear.'
 b. **Jon eta Miren bata bestea kezkatzen ditu.*
 Jon and Miren bata beste.ERG worry.IMPf AUX
 'One another worry Jon and Mary.'

Nonetheless, a reciprocal pronoun embedded in the subject position is more easily accepted:

- (1440) a. *Niri neure buruaren erretratuek ematen*
 I.DAT my head.GEN pictures.ERG give.IMPf
didate beldurra.
 AUX fear
 'It is portraits of myself that cause me fear.'
 b. *Bere buruaren erretratuak lotsa*
 her head.GEN picture.ERG embarrassment
ematen dio Amaiari.
 give.IMPf AUX Amaia.DAT
 'The portrait of herself causes embarrassment to Amaia.'
 c. *%Jon eta Miren norberaren lan-egoerak*
 Jon and Miren one.GEN work-situation.ERG
kezkatu beharrean, bata bestearen
 worry instead bata beste.GEN
lan-egoerak kezkatzen ditu.
 work-situation.ERG worry.IMPf AUX
 'Instead of being worried by their own work-situation, each other's situation is worrying Jon and Mary.'

- d. %Joni eta Mireni bata bestearen
 Jon.DAT and Miren.DAT bata beste.GEN
 gurasoek pena ematen diete.
 parents.ERG sadness give.IMPF AUX
 'Each other's parents make Jon and Mary sad.'

All speakers consulted accept examples (1440a-b) but *prefer* similar examples with a plain possessive reflexive pronoun:

- (1441) a. Niri neure erretratuak ematen didate beldurra.
 I.DAT my pictures.ERG give.IMPF AUX fear
 'It is my portraits that cause me fear.'
- b. Bere erretratuak lotsa ematen dio
 her picture.ERG embarrassment give.IMPF AUX
 Amaiari.
 Amaia.DAT
 'The portrait of herself causes embarrassment to Amaia.'

Note, however, that these preferred examples are ambiguous in that the possessive may be interpreted as the subject or the object of *erretratu* 'picture', while no such ambiguity arises in the case of (1440a-b). Examples (1440c-d), on the other hand, are accepted by half of the speakers consulted with no clear relation between acceptance and dialect.

4.10. Subordination

X. Artiagoitia (4.10.1-4.10.2), B. Oyharçabal (4.10.3) and J.I. Hualde & J. Ortiz de Urbina (4.10.4)

In this section, we shall review how subordinate clauses are formed in the grammar of Basque. First (4.10.1), we will tackle complement structures, both finite and non-finite. Secondly (4.10.2), we will turn to adjunct subordinate structures, both finite and non-finite. Relative clauses are described in 4.10.3 and comparative structures in 4.10.4.

As the reader may verify from the outline, the approach we shall follow in 4.10.1 and 4.10.2 is basically *syntactic* and *form-driven*; the major division is based on whether the subordinate structure is a constituent subcategorized for by the verb or not and, then, we proceed on a form-by-form (be it a true complementizer or some nominalizing affix) basis. In all cases, clarity has been our leading guideline. A great deal of the following description, especially the first subsection, has been inspired by Goenaga (1984), a

debt we gladly acknowledge. For ease of reference, we include here a chart where the major subordination morphemes and uses are displayed:

Table 148. Tensed complement types and complementizers

COMP	<i>Complement type</i>
-(e)la	declarative complement
	subjunctive complement
-(e)n	interrogative complement
	subjunctive complement
-(e)n + PRTT	negated complements
-(e)n + DET	factive complements
comp	<i>Examples</i>
-(e)la	<i>ikusi du-ela</i> 'that s/he has seen'
	<i>ikus deza-la</i> 'that s/he see'
-(e)n	<i>ikusi du-en</i> '(whether/when) s/he has seen'
	<i>ikus deza-n</i> 'that s/he see'
-(e)n + PRTT	<i>ikusi duzu-n-ik</i> 'that s/he has seen'
-(e)n + DET	<i>ikusi duzu-n-a</i> 'that she has seen'

Tenseless complements present a wider variety of shapes; only the main types are illustrated in the chart. We leave aside most postpositional complement types, which will be discussed in detail in the text and leave aside case-marked participles, which pattern like the verbal noun complements in *-t(z)e* (4.10.1.2.1.2):

Table 149. Tenseless complement types

Verbal noun: (-t[z)e]	Selecting verb examples
+ ABS	<i>nahi</i> 'want', <i>erabaki</i> 'decide', <i>ona izan</i> 'be good'...
+ DAT	<i>eritzi</i> 'consider', <i>utzi</i> 'quit'
+ REL	order and request verbs
+ LOC	aspectual, perception, tough constructions, etc.
+ ALL	movement verbs
Perfect participle: (-il-tu)	
like subject complement	<i>nahi</i> 'want' and <i>behar</i> 'need'
indirect questions (W)	<i>ez jakin</i> 'not know', <i>galdetu</i> 'ask'
Verb radical:	
indirect questions (E)	<i>ez jakin</i> 'not know', <i>galdetu</i> 'ask'

4.10.1. *Complementation (noun clauses)*X. *Artiagoitia*4.10.1.1. *Finite clauses*

The two main subordinating suffixes on finite verbs are *-ela* and *-en*, an example of each of which is given below:

- (1442) *Ipar Ameriketako zinemaz zerbait*
 north America.REL cinema.INSTR something
dakitenek— etxe aurre zuritua
 know.en.PL.ERG house front whitened.DET
baino barrenagoko zerbait, alegia—
 than interior.more.REL something that.is
badakite Stanley Kramer dela oraindik, hiru
 ba.know Stanley Kramer is.ela still three
edo lau lagunekin, zerbait esan nahi
 or four friends.with something say want
luketenakoa.
 AUX.POT.COMP.REL.DET

‘Those who know something about cinema in North America—that is to say, something more than the evident [lit. something more inside than the whitened façade]—already know that Stanley Kramer is, together with three or four people, amongst those who would like to say something.’ [Mitx. EIG I:149]

- (1443) ‘*Zorte etsaiak*’ *Romeo eta Julieta nola*
 fate enemy.ERG Romeo and Juliet how
galbideratzen dituen berriz ere astiro-astiro
 ruin.IMPF AUX.en again slowly
ikusi eta entzun beharrak ez gaitu agian
 see and hear have.ERG not AUX maybe
gehiegi kilikatzen.
 too.much excite.IMPF

‘Having to see and hear again how fate slowly ruins Romeo and Juliet may not be very stimulating for us.’ [Mitx. EIG I:154]

In (1) *-ela* heads a declarative clause complement to the verb *badakite* ‘they know’; in (2) *-en* heads an indirect interrogative clause complement to the verbs *ikusi eta entzun* ‘to see and hear’. Below, we provide a more detailed account of these complementizers.

4.10.1.1.1. The declarative complementizer-*ela*

This complementizer or subordinating suffix is common to all dialects of Basque and is used as the unmarked declarative complementizer:

- (1444) *EAEko ekonomia aurten inguruko*
 EAE.REL economy this.year area.REL
herrietakoa baino gehiago haziko dela
 town.PL.REL.DET than more grow.FUT AUX.*ela*
iragarri du Jaurlearitzak.
 announce AUX government.ERG
 'The Basque Government has announced that the economy of the Basque Autonomous Region will grow this year more than that of the surrounding areas.' [Egunk. 1999/2/24]
- (1445) *Udaltzainek ukatu dute Rubioren bizkartzain*
 policemen.ERG deny AUX Rubio.GEN bodyguard
zirela.
 were.*ela*
 'The town policemen have denied that they were Rubio's bodyguards.' [Egunk. 1999/2/24]
- (1446) *Ez omen zuen iduri [Vaillant horrek] amets*
 not PTCL AUX seem that.ERG dream
handirik egiten zuela.
 big.PRTT do.IMPF AUX.*ela*
 'It didn't seem that that Vaillant had big dreams.' [H.U. Gontz.:130]
- (1447) *Eztut erran nahi eskualdunaren ongaitz*
 not.AUX say want Basque.GEN good.bad
guziak oro bazituela.
 all.DET.PL all ba.had.*ela*
 'I don't mean to say that he had all the good and bad qualities of a Basque.' [H.U. Gontz.:140]
- (1448) *Batzuek uste dute hauk oro kazeten*
 some.ERG think AUX these all journals.GEN
eta kazeta-egileen egitekoak direla.
 and journal.makers.GEN duties are.*ela*
 'Some think that all these are duties of journals and journalists.' [H.U. Gontz.:236]

Some classical writers from the northeast, use *ezen* to introduce long, post-verbal, subordinate clauses headed by *-ela* (and occasionally also subjunctive complements):

- (1449) ...*ikusirik ezen okasionea presentatzen zela*,
 see.PTCP *ezen* occasion present.IMPF AUX.*ela*
bai eta esperantzaz ezen ni baino sufizientagorik
 and also hope.INSTR *ezen* I than capable.more.PRTT
izanen zela obran esku edukiren luenik...
 be.FUT AUX.*ela* task.LOC hand have.FUT AUX.*en*.PRTT
 'seeing that the occasion was presenting itself and also with the hope that someone more capable than me would take part in the job...' [Leiz.]

- (1450) *Zeren iduritzen zait ezen oraiño bizi*
 because seem.IMPF AUX *ezen* still live
zarela, begien aitzinean zaitudala.
 AUX.*ela* eyes.GEN front.LOC have.*ela*
 'Since it seems to me that you are still alive, that I have you in front of my eyes.' [Ax.]

In contemporary speech, however, such preclausal pseudo-complementizers are less common, except for the marginal usage of *ze* 'what' in some western varieties (Villasante 1979:52).

Sometimes, *-ela* is used without a governing verb, as an imperative form, especially (but not exclusively) if the subject is a third person; the verb must either be a synthetic form or be in the subjunctive mood:

- (1451) a. *Dagola bakhotxa bere zedarrietan.*
 stay.*ela* each her/his landmarks.LOC
 'Let each person be in his/her own landmarks.' [H.U. Gontz.:236]
- b. *Ez dakiola gerta behintzat*
 not AUX(SUBJ).*ela* happen(RAD) at.least
Doniane-inguruan sorginaren begiari gertatu
 Doniane-around.LOC witch.GEN eye.DAT happen
ohi zaiona!
 usually AUX.*en*.DET
 'Let it not happen to him/her what happens to the eye of the witch around Doniane.' [Mitx. EIG I:146]

- c. *Ez zaitetzela ordea engaina, irakurle.*
 not AUX(SUBJ).*ela* but deceive(RAD) reader
 ‘(May I say that you) do not deceive yourself, my reader.’
 [Mitx. EIG I:123]
- d. *Has nadila beti ere umore*
 start(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).*ela* always even mood
on honekin lanean!
 good this.with work.LOC
 ‘If only I could start always working in this good mood!’
 [Goenaga 1997:129]

The use of subjunctive verbs + complementizer *-ela* with the first and second persons without a governing verb differs from the regular imperative forms, in that they suggest a request, or advisory nuance (=1451c), or, else, a wish (=1451d), as though a governing verb were missing.

4.10.1.1.2. The interrogative complementizer *-en*

The suffix *-en*, on the other hand, is the unmarked interrogative complementizer, whether the complement clause is headed by a *wh*-phrase (cf. examples 1452-1453) or not (cf. examples 1454 and 1455):

- (1452) *Esango dizuet zer den film hori, ikusi*
 tell.FUT AUX what is.*en* film that see
gabe lasai geldi zaitetzen.
 without calm remain(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).*en*
 ‘I will tell you what that movie is, so you remain relaxed without seeing it.’ [Mitx. EIG I:131]
- (1453) *...harrigarri da zenbat eta zenbat badiren*
 surprising is how.many and how.many *ba.are.en*
jadanik ari direnak aintzinetik zilatu beharrez
 already ari are.*en*.DET.PL before.ABL hole need.INSTR
21.garren mendea nolakoa izanen den..!
 21.st century how be.FUT AUX.*en*
 ‘It is surprising how many there are already that are trying to say what the 21st century will look like out of the need to forecast in advance.’ [Herria 1999/2/18]

- (1454) *Jakin nahi dut gure lagunak hemen izan diren.*
 know want AUX our friends here be AUX.en
 'I want to know if our friends have been here.'

- (1455) *Ez dakit guztiak ohartu diren.*
 not know all.DET.PL realize AUX.en
 'I don't know if all have noticed.' [Mitx. EIG I: 190]

Interrogative complement clauses can be introduced by the interrogative word *ea*, usually at the beginning of the clause; *ea* is banned, however, if the interrogative complement clause is not a true question (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1999):

- (1456) a. *Jakin nahi dut ea gure lagunak hemen*
 know want AUX *ea* our friends here
izan diren.
 be AUX.en
 'I want to know if our friends have been here.'
- b. *Badakit (*ea) gure lagunak hemen izan diren.*
ba.know ea our friends here be AUX.en
 'I know whether our friends have been here.'
- (1457) *Galdetuko balit norbaitek ea merezi duen*
 ask.FUT if.AUX someone.ERG *ea* deserve AUX.en
Ginak daraman izengoitia, erdal idazkiez
 Gina.ERG carries.en nickname.DET foreign letters.INSTR
beste norbaitek esaten duena
 other someone.ERG say.IMPF AUX.en.DET
esan beharko nioke.
 say must.FUT AUX.POT
 'If someone asked me whether Gina deserves the nickname she carries, I should answer what someone else says in another language.'
 [Mitx. EIG I: 158]
- (1458) *Baina, hain gaztea ez naizenez, nahiago dut*
 but so young.DET not am.en.INSTR prefer AUX
begiratu ea beti aurreraka ibili ote garen.
 look *ea* always forward.ADV walk indeed AUX.en
 'But, since I am not that young, I prefer to look and see whether we have always been moving forward.' [Mitx. EIG I: 160]

The wh-phrase *nola* 'how' often loses its literal meaning in indirect questions and gives rise to hidden declarative statements that are also well-known in other languages (cf. Uriagereka 1992); here is an example illustrative of this use:

- (1459) *Nik behintzat gogoan daukat nola izan*
 I.ERG at.least mind.LOC have how be
ginen han Oñatiko alkatearekin, zer esan
 AUX.en there Oñati.REL mayor.with what say
zigun eta zertan gelditu ginen.
 AUX.en and what.LOC stop AUX.en
 'I at least remember how we were there with the mayor of Oñati, what he said to us, and what we agreed upon.' [EH:595]

The sentence *nola izan ginen han Oñatiko alkatearekin* is perfectly translatable as 'that we were there with the mayor of Oñati'; the speaker doesn't mean that she remembers the way the event took place, but rather that the event itself took place.

In yes-no questions, the suffix *-en* may form a more complex suffix incorporating what looks like the negation itself:

- (1460) a. *Jakin nahi dut gure lagunak hemen izan*
 know want AUX our friends here be
diren ala ez.
 AUX.en or not
 'I want to know whether or not our friends have been here.'
- b. *Jakin nahi dut gure lagunak hemen izan*
 know want AUX our friends here be
direnentz.
 AUX.enentz
 'I want to know whether or not our friends have been here.'
- (1461) *Pentsa kazetak ixilik zaudenentz.*
 think journals quiet were.enentz
 'Consider whether or not journals remained silent.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:114]

Leaving aside its use in interrogative complement clauses, the suffix *-en* is used without a governing verb in exclamations:

- (1462) a. *Zein ederra den udaberria!*
 which beautiful.DET is.en spring
 'How beautiful spring is!'
- b. *Nolako lotsagabeak zareten!*
 how scoundrel.DET.PL are.en
 'What (kind of) scoundrels you are!'

And also as a complement to deictic adverbs:

- (1463) *Horra zer irabazi duten Italian*
 there what gain AUX.en Italy.LOC
gaixtaginen hil-arazteko legea kenduz.
 criminals.GEN die-CAUSE.NOM.REL law remove.INSTR
 'There (it is) what they have gained in Italy by removing the law to
 execute criminals.' [H.U. Gontz.:17]

Let us now turn to the analysis of subjunctive clauses.

4.10.1.1.3. Subjunctive clauses headed by *-en* and *-ela*

There are verbs and predicates in Basque which require that the verb of the complement clause they select be in the subjunctive mood; these include volitional verbs like *nahi* 'to want', *behar* 'to need', *espero* 'to hope', etc., and emotive, effective (= influence and order/command) verbs like *agindu* 'command', *debekatu* 'forbid', *erabaki* 'decide', *erregutu* 'beg, urge', *esan* 'tell' itself, *eskatu* 'ask, demand', *galarazi* 'forbid', *gomendatu* 'recommend', *opatu* 'wish', *proposatu* 'propose' and *utzi* 'permit' and predicate adjectives (or nouns) like *ona/ txarra/ aski/ harrigarria/ zilegi/ beharrezko/ ordul/ beldur... izan* 'be good, bad, enough, surprising, licit, necessary, time, afraid (literally 'fear')...'. The most common complementizer for subjunctive clauses is *-en*:

- (1464) *Euskara Euskal Herri osoan ofiziala izan*
 Basque Basque Country entire.LOC official be
dadin nahilespo dute euskaldun askok.
 AUX(SUBJ).en want/hope AUX Basque.speaker many.ERG
 'Many Basque speakers want/hope that the Basque language be official in the entire Basque Country.'

- (1465) *Ordu da solas delakoaz hitz bat*
 time is issue referred.DET.INSTR word one
erran dezagun.
 say AUX(SUBJ).en
 'It's high time that we say a word about said issue.' [H.U. Gontz.:66]
- (1466) *Unibertsitateak agiri guztiak euskaraz*
 university.ERG document all.DET.PL Basque.INSTR
eta gaztelaniaz egin daitezen
 and Spanish.INSTR do AUX(SUBJ).en
erabaki/eskatu/agindu/proposatu du.
 decide/demand/order/propose AUX
 'The University has decided/demanded/ordered/proposed that all documents be written in Basque and Spanish.'
- (1467) (*Emakume batek*) *ez luke nahi (alabari)*
 woman one.ERG not AUX want daughter.DAT
gerta lekion berari gertatua
 happen AUX(SUBJ).en she.DAT happen.DET
 'A woman would not wish that the same thing that happened to her might happen to her daughter.' [Mitx. EIG I:163]

The interesting point is that the complementizer for these subjunctive clauses can be either *-ela* or *-en* in some cases; but the occurrence of *-ela* seems to be more frequent in the western dialects, where a sentence like (1466) would usually have *daitezela* rather than *daitezen*. According to Goenaga (1997), the tendency in the Basque literary tradition has been for the verbs *nahi* and *behar*, as well as for the predicate adjectives, to prefer subjunctive clauses headed by *-en*, while the rest of the verbs would choose either complementizer. Nonetheless, the authors of this grammar find that some speakers of the southern/western dialects accept the complementizer *-ela* even in sentences like (1464). One example of this:

- (1468) *Semea pilotari izan dadila nahi*
 son ball.player be AUX(SUBJ).ela want
badu, lagun diezaiola Josetxuk.
 if.AUX help(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).ela Josetxu.ERG
 'If he wants his son to be a ball-player, let Josetxu help him.'
 [Mitx. EIG I:134]

Subjunctive clauses with first person subjects can be used as independent clauses, with no governing subject:

- (1469) a. *Gatozen harira.*
 go.en thread.ALL
 'Let us go to the point.'
- b. *Beude behingoz bide berriak: gabiltzan*
 remain for.one.time path new.DET.PL walk.en
lehengoetan barrena.
 old.PL.LOC through
 'Let the new paths stay away: let us walk through the old ones.'
 [Mitx. EIG I:153]
- c. *Guztiarekin ere, bildu dudan uzta*
 all.DET.with even gather AUX.en harvest
eskasa iraul dezadan luzatu gabe.
 small.DET unload(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en delay without
 'Nonetheless, let me unload with no delay the scarce harvest that I have gathered.' [Mitx. EIG I:177]
- d. *Ditzagun ikus eta erran gauzak*
 AUX(SUBJ).en see(RAD) and say things
lañoki, diren bezala.
 flatly are.en like
 'Let us see and say things bluntly, the way they are.' [H.U. Gontz.:48]

In these cases, *-en* is the only possible choice as a neutral imperative; in the tradition of Basque grammar, it is assumed that the suffix is part of the verb form itself, rather than the actual subordinating suffix *-en*.

There is one further occurrence of *-en* as a non-interrogative complementizer; that is, heading complement clauses of *conjecture* verbs (cf. Lafitte 1944:395) like *uste izan* 'to believe' or *badaitekel/baliteke* 'it is possible':

- (1470) a. *Bainan guk ez dut uste [solas hau]*
 but we.ERG not AUX thing topic this
oraino aiphatu dugun Euskaldun-ean.
 yet mention AUX.en Euskaldun-LOC
 'I don't think we have mentioned this topic yet in *Euskaldun*.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:66]

- b. *Nik uste hortarik hasi diren... zerbeitetarik*
 I.ERG think that.ABL start AUX.en something.ABL
hasteko.
 start.NOM.REL
 'I think they started from that...just to start from somewhere.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:190]
- c. *Baina badaiteke -larik molde horretan*
 but ba.can.be larik way that.LOC
erabiltzeagatik den.
 use.NOM.because is.en
 'But it could very well be that that phenomenon takes place be-
 cause of that use of *larik*.'

This use of *-en* is restricted to the eastern dialects, and is found in contexts where the other dialects resort to the complementizers *-ela* or *-enik* in the case of *uste* or to a plain nominalization in the case of *badaiteke*.

4.10.1.1.4. The negative complementizer *-enik*

The occurrence of this *negative* complementizer, restricted for most part to the western and central (Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan) dialects, is triggered by the presence of negation (overt or covert) in the main governing clause:

- (1471) *Bi udaltzainek ukatu dute bidaian*
 two policemen.ERG deny AUX trip.LOC
Rubioren bizkartzain izan ziren.
 Rubio.GEN bodyguard be were.enik
 'Two police officers have denied that they had been Rubio's body-
 guards during the trip.' [Egunk. 1999/2/24]

As the reader can check, example (1471) is exactly the same as (1445) except for the difference in complementizer; examples (1445) and (1471) are worth noting in this regard because they are both taken from the same newspaper article: while the writer chose the suffix *-ela* for the headline, she or he chose the suffix *-enik* for the main body of the article. Nevertheless, they seem for the most part to be equivalent; the former is valid in every non-interrogative context, whereas the latter would be restricted to the domain of a governing negative verb.

- (1472) *Ez zaio nonbait iruditzen legeak ongi*
 not AUX apparently seem.IMPF laws well
jarriak daudenik edo, hobeto esan, ez zaio
 set.DET.PL are.enik or better say not AUX
iruditzen legearen zigorra behar bezala
 seem.IMPF law.GEN punishment need like
dantzatzen denik.
 dance.IMPF AUX.enik

'He apparently doesn't think that laws are well set, or rather, he doesn't think the punishment of the law is applied as it should.'
 [Lit. 'it doesn't seem to him that the punishment of the law dances as it should'] [Mitx. EIG I:137-8]

- (1473) *Ez dugu horrenbestez esan nahi berarekin*
 not AUX that.much.INSTR say want she.with
bat gatozenik.
 one come.enik

'We therefore don't want to say that we agree with her.'
 [Mitx. EIG I:138]

As Laka (1990:213, citing Saltarelli 1988) has pointed out, within the same dialect, a governing negative verb may accept a finite clause headed by both *-ela* or by *-enik*, but there will be a difference in presupposition: when headed by the former, the speaker presupposes that the proposition expressed by the finite clause is a true fact, but no such presupposition is made when headed by *-enik* (Laka 1990:214):

- (1474) *Gure alabak ez du sinesten lurra*
 our daughter.ERG not AUX believe.IMPF earth
eguzkiaren inguruan dabilela/dabilenik.
 sun.GEN around walk.ela/walk.enik

'Our daughter doesn't believe that the earth revolves around the sun.'

- (1475) *Ez zaigu inor ari gau eta egun bi*
 not AUX anybody ari night and day two
eta bi lau direla esaten.
 and two four are.ela say.ten

'We are not being told night and day that two and two are four.'
 [Mitx. EIG I:143]

In example (1475) the author, K. Mitxelena, is taking for granted that two and two are four; and in (1474), when *-ela* is used we presuppose that the earth truly revolves around the sun regardless of our daughter's beliefs, whereas no such presupposition is made with the form *-enik*. Laka (1990:214) and Uribe-Etxebarria (1994:173) suggest that a sentence headed by *-enik* is necessarily interpreted within the scope of negation, whereas the opposite would be true of a sentence headed by *-ela*. See 4.5.4.4.

It is hard not to see that this *-enik* suffix looks like the combination of the *-en* (be it relative or interrogative) plus the partitive determiner *-rik*. Two pieces of data confirm this suspicion: just like in the case of the partitive determiner, a yes-no matrix question may reportedly trigger the use of *-enik* (instead of the more general *-ela*) as the head of the embedded non-interrogative clause:

- (1476) a. *Uste al dezute dirua nik ostu dedanik?*
 think Q AUX money I.ERG steal AUX.*enik*
 'Do you think that I stole the money?' [de Rijk 1972:170]
 b. *Jakin dok ezkontzen gareanik?*
 know AUX get.married.IMPF AUX.*enik*
 'Did you know (anything about the fact) that we are getting married?' [Arejita 1984:83]

Furthermore, the same may happen when the subordinate clause is itself interrogative, provided there is a yes-no matrix question or a governing negated verb; in this case, we find *-enik* instead of the more general *-en*:

- (1477) a. *Badakizu zuen laguna datorren astean*
 ba.know your friend next week.LOC
ezkonduko denik?
 marry.FUT AUX.*enik*
 'Do you know if your friend will get married next week?' [Hualde et al.:186]
 b. *Trena igaro danik badaki inork?*
 train pass AUX.*enik* ba.knows anybody.ERG
 'Does anybody know if the train has passed by?' [Arejita 1984:84]
 c. *Ez dakigu nor denik.*
 not know who is.*enik*
 'We don't know who is.'

- d. *Noiz etorriko zarenik ere ez dakit.*
 when come.FUT AUX.enik even not know
 'I don't even know when you will arrive.' [de Rijk 1972:170]

Nonetheless, despite the last two appearances (as complement to a yes-no question, and as alternative to interrogative *-en* in either negative contexts or yes-no questions), the most common syntactic environment for *-enik* is as the head of a declarative complement to a negated governing verb.

4.10.1.1.5. Factive complements headed by *-ena*

Just like *-enik* looks like the combination of *-en* followed by the partitive determiner, *-ena* seems to be composed of the same *-en* complementizer followed by the definite article *-a*. This *-ena* complementizer is restricted to complement clauses with a factive interpretation and is mainly used by speakers of western (mostly Bizkaian) Basque:

- (1478) a. *Argi dago Amaiak asko ikasten duena.*
 clear is Amaia.ERG much study.IMPFX AUX.ena
 'It's clear that Amaia studies a lot.'
- b. *Banekien Mikel berandu etorriko zena.*
ba.knew Mikel late arrive.FUT AUX.ena
 'I knew that Mikel would arrive late.'
- c. *Igarri diot markinarra zena.*
 notice AUX Markina.from was.ena
 'I noticed that she was from Markina.'
- d. *Entzun dut Amaiaren neba hil dena.*
 hear AUX Amaia.GEN brother die AUX.ena
 'I heard that Amaia's brother died.'

In all the examples, it is equally possible to have *-ela* instead of *-ena*; however, whereas the statement expressed in the complement sentences in (1478) is taken to be a true fact by the speaker, the same need not hold when the complement sentence is headed by *-ela*. Let's clarify this with the following minimal pair:

- (1479) a. *Entzun dut Amaiaren neba hil dena*
 hear AUX Amaia.GEN brother die AUX.ena
 (#*baina ez da egia*).
 but not is true
 'I heard that Amaia's brother died (# but it's not true).'
- b. *Entzun dut Amaiaren neba hil dela*
 AUX.ela
 (*baina ez da egia*).
- c. *Amaiaren neba hil dela entzun dut.*

In (1479a) the speaker asserts that (s)he heard the fact that Amaia's brother died *and* assumes that the death is a fact; in (1479b), on the other hand, the speaker asserts that (s)he heard that Amaia's brother died, where the death may be true or not. Consequently, the tag ... *baina ez da egia* 'but it is not true' gives rise to a contradiction in (1479a), while there is no such contradiction in (1479b). Sentence (1479c) intends to show that the sentence headed by *-ela* is more likely to occupy a preverbal position than the corresponding one headed by *-ena*.

In the case of other examples, there may not be a real difference in interpretation between *-ena* and *-ela*, yet many speakers of Western Basque will prefer *-ena* if the statement introduced by the complementizer is assumed to be true and is not the real focus of the main sentence:

- (1480) Speaker A: *Zer dago argi?/Zer entzun duzu?*
 what is clear/what hear
 'What is clear?' 'What have you heard?'
- (1481) a. Speaker B: *Amaiak asko ikasten duela.*
 Amaia.ERG much study.IMPF AUX.ela
 'That Amaia studies a lot.'
- b. Speaker B: **Amaiak asko ikasten*
 Amaia.ERG much study.IMPF
duena.
 AUX.ena
 'That Amaia studies a lot.'

Therefore, sentences introduced by *-ena* are necessarily true statements in the mind of the speaker, statements that she or he takes for granted and do not provide new information; consequently, they cannot be the focus of the sentence.

4.10.1.1.6. *bait-* and complementation

Although uncommon, one of the reported (cf. Lafitte 1944:405) uses of the verbal prefix *bait-* is to form complement clauses:

- (1482) *Hau da haren abantailik handiena, ez*
 this is his advantage.PRTT biggest.DET not
baitu ainitz xahutzen.
bait.AUX much spend.IMPF
 'That's the main advantage, that he doesn't spend much.'

As Lafitte himself notes, a sentence headed by *-ela* would be equivalent.

4.10.1.1.7. Finite complement clauses and argument positions

Finite clauses in Basque cannot be ergative case-marked, so they seem to be ruled out from subject positions of transitive verbs:

- (1483) a. **Faxistek boz gehiago atera dezatenek*
 fascists.ERG vote more win AUX(SUBJ).en.ERG
beldurra ematen dit.
 fear give AUX
 'That the fascists get more votes frightens me.'
- b. **Faxistek boz gehiago atera dezatelak*
 fascists.ERG vote more win AUX(SUBJ).ela.ERG
beldurra ematen dit.
 fear give AUX
 'That the fascists get more votes frightens me.'
- (1484) a. **Zenbat diru lortzen dugunek*
 how.much money get.IMPF AUX.en.ERG
erabakiko du auzia.
 decide.FUT AUX issue.DET
 'How much money we get will decide the issue.'
- b. **Harritu egin nau zenbat diru lortu*
 surprise do AUX how.much money get
dugunek.
 AUX.en.ERG
 'How much money we got surprised me.'

- (1485) **Faxistek boz gehiago atera dutelak*
 fascists.ERG vote more win AUX.ela.ERG
denok harritu gaitu.
 all surprise AUX
 'That the fascists have won more votes has surprised us.'

In the case of indirect questions and subjunctives, the same sentences may improve, although marginally, once the ergative marker is removed:

- (1486) a. **Faxistek boz gehiago atera dezaten*
 fascists.ERG vote more win AUX(SUBJ).en
beldurra ematen dit.
 fear give.IMPF AUX
 'That the fascists get more votes frightens me.'
- b. **Faxistek boz gehiago atera dezatela*
 fascists.ERG vote more win AUX(SUBJ).ela
beldurra ematen dit.
 fear give.IMPF AUX
 'That the fascists get more votes frightens me.'
- (1487) a. *?*Zenbat diru lortzen dugun erabakiko*
 how.much money get.IMPF AUX.en decide.FUT
du auzia.
 AUX issue
 'How much money we get will decide the issue.'
- b. *?*Harritu egin nau zenbat diru lortu*
 surprise do AUX how.much money get
dugun.
 AUX.en
 'How much money we got surprised me.'
- (1488) **Faxistek boz gehiago atera dutela denok*
 fascists.ERG vote more win AUX.ela all
harritu gaitu.
 surprise AUX
 'That the fascists have won more votes has surprised all of us.'

To express the intended meanings, nonfinite clauses may be used (see 4.10.1.2).

Expressions like *ez dit arduralaxola* 'I don't care', which require an ergative subject in many dialects, admit sentential subjects in the form of indirect questions.

There is no restriction for subject sentences to the verbs or predicates that are not transitive, i.e. that do not require an ergative NP:

- (1489) a. *Ageri da deus onik ez dezaketela igurik.*
 apparent is anything good.PRTT not AUX.*ela* wait(RAD)
 'It is apparent that they cannot hope for anything good.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:19]
- b. *Ezen ez da hoin segur, erretretaren hitzemaileek*
 for not is so sure retirement.GEN promisers.ERG
hitza luzaz atxik ahalko dutela.
 word long.time keep can.FUT AUX.*ela*
 'For it is not all that sure that those who promised a retirement will be able to stick to their word for a long time.' [H.U. Gontz.:36]
- c. *Garbi ageri zen gaizki-esaleak ugariagoak*
 clean appear was bad-sayers abundant.PL.DET
zirela ontzat zeukatenak baino.
 were.*ela* good.for had.en.DET.PL than
 'It was evident that the detractors were more than those who regarded it [the movie] as good.' [Mitx. EIG I:165]

We leave open whether these subject sentences are indeed true subjects or object clauses.

With respect to object clauses, one should point out that there exist a few verbs that subcategorize for finite complement clauses even though they select an intransitive auxiliary; the list includes verbs like *konturatu*, *ohartu* 'realize' and *gogoratu* 'remember'. We provide some illustrating examples:

- (1490) a. *Horretaz konturatzen/ohartzen/gogoratzen naiz.*
 that.INSTR realize.IMPF/realize.IMPF/remember.IMPF AUX
 'I remember/realize that.'
- b. *Mendi hau arrisku handikoa dela*
 mountain this risk big.REL.DET is.*ela*
konturatzen/ohartzen/ gogoratzen naiz.
 realize.IMPF/realize.IMPF/ remember.IMPF AUX
 'I remember/realize that this mountain is very risky.'

- c. *Ohar daitezela non dabiltzan*
 realize(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).ela where walk.en
eta nora doazen.
 and where.ALL go.en
 ‘Let them realize where they stand and where they are going.’
 [EH:606]

Finite clauses cannot be dative case-marked either; thus, verbs that require a dative complement can only resort to a nominalization in order to have a clausal complement (see 4.10.1.2.1.1 below):

- (1491) a. *Jonek diruari garrantzia ematen dio.*
 Jon.ERG money.DAT importance give.IMPF AUX
 ‘Jon gives importance to money.’
 b. **Jonek dirua irabazten duelari*
 Jon.ERG money gain.IMPF AUX.ela.DAT
garrantzia ematen dio.
 importance.DET give.IMPF AUX
 ‘Jon gives importance to that he earns money.’
 c. *Jonek dirua irabazteari garrantzia*
 Jon.ERG money gain.NOM.DET.DAT importance.DET
ematen dio.
 give.IMPF AUX
 ‘Jon gives importance to earning money.’

In short, we can conclude that Basque finite complement clauses are restricted to the function where they don’t require any morphological case-marking; that is, to the direct object function, leaving aside the status of sentences like those in (1489).

4.10.1.1.8. Finite complement clauses and word order

Finite complement clauses may appear in either pre- or postverbal position:

- (1492) a. *Inkesta batek [Hegoaldeko biztanleak pozik*
 survey one.ERG South.REL inhabitants happy
bizi direla] erakutsi du.
 live AUX.ela show AUX

- b. *Inkesta batek erakutsi du [Hegoaldeko*
 survey one.ERG show AUX South.REL
biztanleak pozik bizi direla.]
 inhabitants happy live AUX.ela
 'A survey has shown that citizens from the South (of the Basque
 Country) are happy with their lives.'

It should be pointed out, however, that the preverbal order is more frequent when the finite complement is focalized. This tendency becomes more evident if the sentence is a reply to a question:

- (1493) a. *Zer esan du irratia?*
 what say AUX radio.ERG
 'What did the radio say?'
 b. *Euria dakarrela esan du.*
 rain brings.ela say AUX
 'It said that it's going to rain.'
 c. *%Esan du [euria dakarrela].*

Nonetheless, the longer the finite complement is, the more likely it will be for it to be in postverbal position, even if it is focalized:

- (1494) a. *Zer esan du irratia?*
 what say AUX radio.ERG
 'What did the radio say?'
 b. *?[Pirinioetan Balaitus igotzera joandako*
 Pyrenees.LOC Balaitus climb.NOM.ALL go.PTCP.REL
hiru euskaldun galdu egin direla] esan du.
 three Basque lose do AUX.ela say AUX
 'It said that three Basque people that went to climb Balaitous got
 lost in the Pyrenees.'
 c. *Esan du Pirinioetan Balaitus igotzera joandako hiru euskaldun*
galdu egin direla.

A long answer that includes a complement clause in preverbal position is regarded as awkward by most speakers; instead, a postverbal complement, preceded by a slight pause, is preferred.

4.10.1.1.9. Raising verbs and finite complements

There is one scarcely studied fact about Basque complement clauses that we would like to mention; the phenomenon in question suggests that Basque has a rule of (optional) argument raising in finite clauses which are complement to raising verbs (equivalent to English 'it seems that...'). The term 'raising' is used here in a purely descriptive sense. Let us briefly summarize the facts.

Basque has two (or rather three) raising predicates: one is *eman* (literally 'give'), the other one is *irudi*; in some dialects this latter verb has synthetic forms which display ergative-agreement markers, or else shows up as a verbal locution in the form of the noun *iduri* 'appearance' (from the general form *irudi* 'picture') followed by the auxiliary verb **edun*. Below we provide the relevant examples:

- (1495) *Jonek dotore ematen du jaka horrekin.*
 Jon.ERG elegant give.IMPF AUX jacket that.with
 'Jon looks elegant with that jacket on.'

- (1496) a. *Jonek pertsona argia eta azkarra dirudi.*
 Jon.ERG person bright.DET and smart.DET seems
 'Jon seems a bright and smart person.'
 b. *Zuk aberatsa dirudizu.*
 you.ERG rich.DET seem
 'You seem [to be] rich.'

- (1497) *Arbolen adarrek hilak iduri zuten.*
 trees.GEN branches.ERG dead.DET.PL seem AUX
 'The branches of the trees looked dead.' [EH:401]

Although not all dialects have all the three verbs and although there is some variation from speaker to speaker as to the range of predicates that each verb may take as complements (e.g. some speakers are reluctant to accept some stage-level predicates), the three variants seem to accept either the structure *subject + predicate + raising verb* or *finite clause + raising verb*. They do not take non-finite clause complements:

- (1498) *Ematen du Jon nekatuta dagoela.*
 give.IMPF AUX Jon tire.PTCP is.ela
 'It seems that Jon is tired.'

- (1499) *Badirudi Jon nekatuta dagoela.*
ba.seems Jon tire.PTCP is.ela
 'It seems that Jon is tired.'

- (1500) *Iduri du Jon nekatutrik dagoela.*
seem AUX Jon tire.PTCP is.ela
 'It seems that Jon is tired.'

Interestingly, the subject of the complement clause may optionally display ergative case marking, i.e. as though it were the subject argument of the raising verb:

- (1501) *Jonek nekatuta dagoela ematen du.*
Jon.ERG tire.PTCP is.ela give.IMPF AUX
 'Jon seems that [he] is tired.'

- (1502) *Jonek ematen du nekatuta dagoela.*
Jon.ERG give.IMPF AUX tire.PTCP is.ela
 'Jon seems that [he] is tired.'

Here are more examples drawn from different texts:

- (1503) *Eskeini digun ingurutxoko dantzariak prozesio batean*
offer AUX.en dance.REL dancers.ERG procession one.LOC
dabiltzala dirudite, edo meza nagusia ematen.
walk.ela seem.3E.PL or mass main.DET give.IMPF
 'The dancers of the 'ingurutxo' [a dance] that he has offered us look
 as if they are in a procession, or celebrating High Mass.'
 [Mitx. EIG I:165]

- (1504) a. ('Duela') *hitz horrek iduri du eskuara dela.*
duela word that.ERG seem AUX Basque is.ela
 'That "duela" word seems to be [that it is] Basque.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:85]
- b. (*Espainolek*) *iduri dute ez dakitela*
spaniards.ERG seem AUX not know.ela
borrokatzen elgar sangratu gabe.
fight.IMPF each.other bleed without
 'Spaniards seem not to know [that they don't know] how to fight
 without bleeding each other.' [H.U. Gontz.:10]

For the vast majority of speakers consulted, the phenomenon is restricted to third person; from a survey conducted by X. Artiagoitia among 21 native speakers, it turned out that 16 accepted examples like (1501) and (1502); interestingly, only 6 accepted similar examples with overt second person ergative pronoun and its corresponding agreement:

- (1505) %*Nekatuta zaudela ematen duzu.*
 tired are.ela give.IMPF AUX.2E
 ‘You seem that [you] are tired.’

It should also be pointed out that some speakers (7/21 in the survey) did accept raising of arguments other than the embedded subject, as long as these are arguments that can potentially agree with the verb in the complement clause:

- (1506) %*Jonek ematen du norbaitek min egin diola.*
 Jon.ERG give.IMPF AUX someone.ERG pain do AUX.ela
 ‘Jon seems that someone has caused pain [to him].’

- (1507) %*Jonek ematen du norbaitek jo egin duela.*
 Jon.ERG give.IMPF AUX someone.ERG hit do AUX.ela
 ‘Jon seems that someone has hit [him].’

- (1508) **Jonek ematen du Ana nekatuta dagoela.*
 Jon.ERG give.IMPF AUX Ana tired.PTCP is.ela
 ‘Jon seems that Ana is tired.’

Note that in (1506) and (1507) *Jonek* is interpreted as the dative and direct object of the corresponding verb in the complement clause respectively, and that the verb in Basque agrees with the NPs that perform these two grammatical functions. In no case, however, can the NP that agrees with the main (raising) verb be an argument that is not understood in the complement clause itself (cf. example 1508); in other words, the majority of speakers reject sentences where these raising verbs are construed as taking two separate arguments, an external argument and a finite complement clause (Salaburu (1987a,b), however, reports that some speakers accept two arguments with these verbs. It may be the case that these speakers have a second, transitive usage of these verbs, meaning ‘give the impression that’, taking two arguments).

The number of speakers that accepted raising of a second person absolute or dative went down to four:

- (1509) *%Ematen duzu norbaitek min egin dizula.*
 give.IMPF AUX.2E someone.ERG pain do AUX.ela
 'You seem that someone has caused pain [to you].'

- (1510) *%Ematen duzu norbaitek jo egin zaituela.*
 give.IMPF AUX.2E someone.ERG hit do AUX.ela
 'You seem that someone has hit [you].'

To sum up, the phenomenon discussed in this section seems to have four kinds of speakers; in one extreme, we have a few speakers for whom *irudi* 'seem'-type verbs may indeed have two arguments and hence accept all the examples (1501) through (1510); in the other extreme, there is a small group of speakers for whom *irudi*-type verbs can never have an ergative agreement pattern (they reject all data (1501) through (1510)). In the middle, there remain two mainstream trends: some (the majority of) speakers accept raising of a third person argument that must generally be the subject of the finite complement clause; fewer speakers accept raising of any person argument. There is a clear implication for the latter group of speakers: if they accept raising of a non-third person subject, then they will accept raising of an argument that is not a subject.

We have, therefore, a case of optional argument raising from a tensed clause, which appears to be more productive with 3rd person subjects. The phenomenon, needless to say, could also be viewed as a subcase of control.

4.10.1.2. Non-finite structures

Based strictly on the form, there may be four non-finite complement structures in Basque: (a) those based on the verbal noun, formed with the suffix *-t(z)e*; (b) those based on the nominalization of the participle *-n/-i/-tu* (the 'perfective' counterpart of (a)); (c) those based on the participle itself; and (d) those based on the verb radical, where the verb radical can alternate with the participle, depending on the dialect. Here are some prototypical examples:

- (1511) *Damu dut zuri gezurra esatea.*
 regret have you.DAT lie say.NOM.DET
 'I regret telling you a lie.'

- (1512) *Damu dut zuri gezurra esana.*
 regret have you.DAT lie say.PRF.DET
 'I regret having told you a lie.'
- (1513) *Leihotik sartu behar izan dut etxera.*
 window.ABL get.in must be AUX home.to
 'I've had to get home through the window.'
- (1514) *Ez dakit etxera nola sar(tu).*
 not know home.to how get.in(PRF)
 'I don't know how to get home.'

Given that the first two non-finite structures are closely related to each other, as we hope to show, and given that there are some non-finite structures based on the verbal noun itself which are not plain nominalizations in a strict tense (even though they follow the verbal noun + case ending pattern), we have chosen to structure this section as follows: first we will study the two kinds of nominalization exemplified in (1511-1512); then, we will describe other structures based on the verbal noun; third, we will turn to the structures based on the perfective participle; and four, we will describe the structures where the verb stem alternates with the participle.

4.10.1.2.1. Nominalizations or nominalized clauses

We shall call them so because they are based on the suffixes *-t(z)e* or *-il-tu*, which give rise to derived nouns (see 3.7) and, also, because they can take the entire range of inflectional suffixes that noun phrases can take. We first provide examples of the derivational use of the nominalizing suffixes *-t(z)e* and *-il-tu*. We keep the glosses (NOM and PRF) used for more 'verbal' contexts:

- (1515) a. *Jonen urtebete-tze-a*
 Jon.GEN year.fill-NOM-DET
 'Jon's birthday' ('Jon's year-filling')
- b. *haurren eskolara-tze goiztiarra*
 children.GEN school.to-NOM early.DET
 'the early schooling of children'

- (1516) a. *Urra-tu bat egin dut praketan.*
 scratch-PRF one do AUX trousers.LOC
 'I made a scratch on my trousers.'
- b. *Aurtengo irabazi handiak ez ditugu*
 this.year.REL gain.PRF big.DET.PL not AUX
hain erraz errepikatuko.
 so easy repeat.FUT
 'We won't repeat this year's huge earnings that easily.'

In the structures under scrutiny in this section, both of these suffixes give rise to constituents that have the same external distribution as a regular noun phrase, although they have an internal clausal structure. Consider the following nominalization:

- (1517) *haurrek etxean liburuak sarri irakur-tze-a*
 children.ERG home.LOC books often read-NOM-DET
 'children's often reading books at home'

This nominalized constituent behaves internally as a clause: in the example at hand, it has an ergative case-marked subject, an absolutive object, a locative phrase of the same kind one finds in regular sentences, and an adverb. Yet, as a regular noun phrase, it will be able to take a determiner and any case-ending that regular noun phrases may take (cf. Goenaga 1980, Ortiz de Urbina 1989a, and especially Artiagoitia 1995a: 57ff):

- (1518) a. *Haurrek liburuak sarri irakurtze-a-k*
 children.ERG books often read.NOM-DET-ERG
poztu egiten gaitu.
 cheer do.IMPf AUX
 'Children's often reading books make us happy.'
- b. *Haurrek liburuak irakurtze-a-ri*
 children.ERG books read.NOM-DET-DAT
lehentasuna emango dio Hezkuntza Sailak.
 priority give.FUT AUX education department.ERG
 'The Education Department will give priority to children's reading books.'
- c. *Begi onez ikusten dut haurrek*
 eye good.INSTR see.IMPf AUX children.ERG
etxean liburuak sarri irakurtze-a.
 home.LOC book often read.NOM-DET
 'I regard children's often reading books at home as positive.'

- d. *haurrek etxean liburuak sarri*
 children.ERG home.LOC books often
irakurtze-an/-tik/-agatik...
 read.NOM-LOC/-ABL/-because
 'upon/from/because of children's often reading books at home...'

Interestingly, when it is case-marked absolutive, the nominalized clause may take the partitive determiner (or even, less commonly, a demonstrative):

- (1519) a. *Ez dugu alkatearekin hitz egiterik lortu.*
 not AUX mayor.with word do.NOM.PRTT get
 'We haven't managed to talk to the mayor.' (lit. 'We haven't gotten any talking to the mayor.')
- b. *Nahi duzue nik alkatearekin hitz egiterik?*
 want AUX I.ERG mayor.with word do.NOM.PRTT
 'Do you want me to talk to the mayor?' (lit. 'Do you want any of my talking to the mayor?')
- c. *Ni zuekin joaterik nahi baduzue,*
 I you.with go.NOM.PRTT want if.AUX
ondo hartu beharko nauzue.
 well treat have.FUT AUX
 'If you want me to go with you, you'll have to treat me well.'
- d. *Haurrek liburuak irakurtze hau aspaldiko*
 children.ERG books read.NOM this time.ago.REL
kontua da.
 issue is
 'This (thing about) children reading books is an old issue.'

The reader should bear in mind, however, that the presence of the partitive is, contrary to what we have seen for regular non-specific noun phrases (see 3.1.2.4), optional with nominalizations, so that the article *-a* would also be suitable in all the examples above, albeit with some semantic nuances which we will not delve into here.

The only kind of admissible adjective for these structures is *huts* or *soil* 'bare, mere' (cf. Goenaga 1984:86):

- (1520) a. *Eskoletan haurrei euskara irakaste hutsak*
 schools.LOC children.DAT Basque teach.NOM bare.ERG
ez du euskararen etorkizuna bermatzen.
 not AUX Basque.GEN future guarantee.IMPF
 'The mere teaching Basque to children in schools doesn't guarantee the future of the Basque language.'
- b. **Eskoletan haurrei euskara irakaste goiztiarrak*
 schools.LOC children.DAT Basque teach.NOM early.ERG
ez du euskararen etorkizuna bermatzen.
 not AUX Basque.GEN future guarantee.IMPF
 'The early teaching Basque to children in schools doesn't guarantee the future of the Basque language.'

As for agreement, coordination of these nominalized clauses may trigger plural agreement on the verb:

- (1521) *On egingo dizute atsedena hartzeak*
 good do.FUT AUX.3A/2D/3E.PL rest take.NOM.DET.ERG
eta kirol apur bat egiteak.
 and sport little one do.NOM.DET.ERG
 'Taking a break and doing a bit of exercise will do you good.'

To sum up, we will call these structures nominalizations or nominalized clauses in as much as they have an external noun phrase distribution, even though they have an internal clausal structure; in this respect, they seem equivalent to the English NP-gerund. Many Basque grammarians refer to them as 'infinitives', even though they do not have a sentence distribution.

- (1522) *Epaimahaikideek, hautagaia atzera botatzeko*
 tribunal.members.ERG candidate back.to throw.NOM.REL
arrazoien artean, euskaraz ez jakitea
 reasons.GEN among Basque.INSTR not know.NOM.DET
eta prestakuntza urria izatea
 and preparation scarce.DET have.NOM.DET
aipatu zituzten.
 mention AUX.3A.PL/3E.PL
 'The members of the committee, among the reasons to turn down the candidate, mentioned not knowing Basque and having poor qualifications.'

4.10.1.2.1.1. Nominalizations based on the verbal noun *-t(z)e*

As we have suggested in the previous paragraphs, these nominalizations can be subjects of sentences, since they are case-marked ergative or absolutive:

- (1523) a. *Haurrek euskal liburu asko irakurtzeak*
 children.ERG Basque book many read.NOM.DET.ERG
euskarari onura dakarkio.
 Basque.DAT benefit brings
 'Children's reading a lot of books in Basque brings benefit to the Basque language.'
- b. *Komeni da haurrek etxean liburuak*
 convenient is children.ERG home.LOC book
irakurtzea.
 read.NOM.DET
 'It's convenient for children to read books at home.'

As for occurring as complement to a governing verb, the same kind of verbs that select a subjunctive clause will generally select these nominalizations; the nominalized complement is, by far, much more common:

- (1524) *Euskara Euskal Herri osoan ofiziala izatea*
 Basque Basque Country entire.LOC official be.NOM.DET
nahilesperoleskatu dute euskaldun askok.
 want hope/demand AUX Basque many.ERG
 'Many Basques want/hope/demand for the Basque language to be official in the entire Basque Country.'
- (1525) a. *Haurrari kalera bakarrik joatea*
 child.DAT street.to alone go.NOM.DET
galarazi diote.
 forbid AUX
 'They forbade the child to go to the streets alone.'
- b. *Urrutikoetxeari plenoan egotea*
 Urrutikoetxea.DAT meeting.LOC be.NOM.DET
galarazi dio Entzutegi Nazionalak.
 forbid AUX court national.ERG
 'The National Court forbade Urrutikoetxea to be present at the meeting.' [Egunk. 1999/2/10]

- (1526) *Gurasoek haurra eskolara bakarrik joatea*
 parents.ERG child school.to alone go.NOM.DET
onartul/ erabaki/proposatu dute.
 accept decide/propose AUX
 'The parents have accepted/decided/proposed the child's going to school alone.'

- (1527) *Indarkeriaren biktimen inguruan etengabe*
 violence.GEN victim.GEN around.LOC continuous
jendaurrean eztabaidatzen aritzea
 public.front.LOC discuss.IMPF ari.NOM.DET
gaitzetsi zuten EAk eta EAJk.
 criticize AUX EA.ERG and EAJ.ERG
 'EA and EAJ criticized [others'] repeatedly arguing in public about the victims of violence.' [*Egunk.* 1999/2/27]

- (1528) a. *Ezinezkoa da gizakiok hegan egitea.*
 impossible.DET is persons flying do.NOM.DET
 'It is impossible for us people to fly.'
 b. *Gizakiok hegan egitea ederra litzateke.*
 persons flying do.NOM.DET beautiful.DET would.be
 'People's being able to fly would be beautiful.'

The exception to this generalization comes from verbs of command/order, which shall be studied in the next subsection:

- (1529) **Haurrari kalera bakarrik joatea...*
 child.DAT street.to alone go.NOM.DET
eskatul/erregutul/agindulesan diote.
 demand/urge/order/tell AUX
 'They demanded/urged/ordered/told the child to go to the streets alone.'

In some other cases, however, we find that the nominalized clauses are complements to verbs which do *not* select a subjunctive clause:

- (1530) a. *Zigortzeko orduan Justiziak bi neurri*
 punish.NOM.REL time.LOC justice.ERG two measure
erabiltzea salatu dute euskal alderdiek.
 use.NOM.DET denounce AUX Basque parties.ERG
 'Basque parties have denounced Justice's using different ways
 for punishment.' [Egunk. 1996/8/3]
- b. *...bi neurri erabiltzen dituela salatu*
 use.IMPF AUX.ela
dute euskal alderdiek.
 'Basque parties have denounced that [it] uses two standards.'
- (1531) a. *ETAren zaintzapean egotea egotzi*
 ETA.GEN surveillance.LOC be.NOM.DET throw
diete PPK eta PSOEk alderdi
 AUX PP.ERG and PSOE.ERG party
abertzaileei.
 nationalist.PL.DAT
 'PP and PSOE have reproached the nationalist parties for being
 under ETA's surveillance.' [Egunk. 1999/2/26]
- b. *?ETAren zaintzapean daudela egotzi diete.*
 ETA.GEN surveillance.LOC are.ela throw AUX
 '(lit.). have reproached them that they are under ETA's surveil-
 lance.'
- (1532) a. *Haren bila joatea bururatu zitzaidan.*
 his search go.NOM.DET occur AUX
 'It occurred to me to go in search of her/him.'
- b. *Haren bila joango nintzela bururatu zitzaidan.*
 his search go.FUT AUX.ela occur AUX
 'It occurred to me that I would go in search of her/him.'
- (1533) a. *HBko Mahai Nazionalaren auzia Europako*
 HB.REL table national.GEN issue Europe.REL
Auzitegira eroatea aztertzen ari da defentsa.
 Court.ALL take.NOM.DET consider ari AUX defense
 'The defense is considering taking the issue of HB's National Di-
 rection to the European Court.' [Egunk. 1999/2/24]

-t(z)ea nominalizations (with the already noted exception of command/order verbs), the reverse (namely, the statement that all verbs which select *-t(z)ea* nominalizations select subjunctive clauses) is not necessarily true. Nominalized clauses, thus, can also be complements to other kinds of verbs; some of them (*egotzi* 'blame'; literally 'throw', *ekarri* 'bring', *sartu* 'include, put in', *leporatu* 'blame' (literally 'carry/put on one's back') are originally movement verbs, and some others are verbs of intellectual activity (*aztertu* 'consider, analyze', *pentsatu* 'think of', *kontuan hartu* 'bear in mind', *bururatu* 'occur, come to mind'). A more detailed study would be necessary to draw more definite conclusions on the entire range of verbs that may admit a *-t(z)ea* nominalization as their complement.

One final case of selection of nominalized clauses comes from verbs which select a dative noun phrase; these, too, will usually allow for a nominalized clause bearing dative case:

- (1537) a. *Liburuari interesgarria deritzot.*
 book.DAT interesting.DET consider
 'I consider the book interesting.'
- b. *Haurrek liburuak irakurtzeari*
 children.ERG books read.NOM.DET.DAT
aberasgarria deritzot.
 enriching.DET consider
 'I consider children's reading books enriching.'
- (1538) a. *Lanari ekin behar diogu.*
 job.DAT engage have AUX
 'We have to start work.'
- b. *Liburuak irakurtzeari ekin behar diogu.*
 books read.NOM.DET.DAT engage need AUX
 'We have to engage in reading books.'
- (1539) a. *Errua ezjakintasunari bota behar zaio.*
 blame ignorance.DAT throw need AUX
 'Blame is to be imputed to ignorance.'
- b. *Errua ingelesez ez jakiteari*
 blame English.INSTR not know.NOM.DET.DAT
bota behar zaio.
 throw need AUX
 'Blame is to be imputed to not knowing English.'

This class includes verbs or predicates like *lotu* ‘engage’, *ohartu* ‘realize’ and *zor izan* ‘be due, owe’.

The possibility of having regular noun phrases alternating with nominalized clauses extends to other case-endings selected by the main verb:

- (1540) a. *Nire lagunak soldaduskatik/soldaduska egitetik*
 my friends service.from/service do.NOM.from
 libratu dira.
 free AUX
 ‘My friends got rid of the military service/doing the the military service.’
- b. *Oroït zaitetz nitaz/Amaiari deitzeaz.*
 remember AUX I.INSTR/Amaiia.DAT call.NOM.INSTR
 ‘Remember me/to call Amaia.’

In general, verbs which select a specific case-ending may often have a nominalized clause bearing the corresponding case-ending as their complement.

4.10.1.2.1.2. Nominalizations based on the perfective participle

The kind of nominalization exemplified by the example (1517) above, which we repeat for convenience as (1541a), has a *perfective* (or *past*) counterpart (1541b):

- (1541) a. *hurrek etxean liburuak sarri irakur-tze-a*
 children.ERG home.LOC books often read-NOM-DET
 ‘children’s often reading books at home’
- b. *hurrek etxean liburuak sarri irakurr-i-a*
 children.ERG home.LOC books often read-PRF-DET
 ‘children’s having often read books at home’

Here we find the participle itself instead of the suffix *-t(z)e* as the alleged nominalizer. The structure in (1541b) has become less common in modern Basque and, instead, it is the participle of the auxiliary verb *izan* that often heads the nominalization (1542). Some speakers resort to the nominalized form of *izan*; the combination of this form with the perfective participle gives the past value to the nominalization (1543):

(1542) *haurrek etxean liburuak sarri irakurri iza-n-a*
 children.ERG home.LOC books often read.PRF be-PRF-DET
 ‘children’s having often read books at home’

(1543) *Irratia baztertua utzi izatea kolpe*
 radio exclude.PRF.DET leave be.NOM.DET hit
handia izan da.
 big.DET be AUX
 ‘Their having left the radio [station] aside has been a hard blow.’
 [Egunk. 1999/2/27]

It is certainly not uncontroversial to regard the perfective participial ending as a nominal suffix. In the case of *-t(z)e* the claim is easier to argue for, since the suffix is productively used to form new derived nouns (see 3.7); in the case of the various participial endings, the suffix is productively used to form what looks like derived adjectives:

- (1544) a. *ardi galdua*
 sheep lose.DET
 ‘the lost sheep’
 b. *pertsona haziak*
 person grow.DET.PL
 ‘(the) grown up people’
 c. *piper beteak*
 pepper stuff.DET.PL
 ‘stuffed peppers’
 d. *etxe berritua*
 house renew.DET
 ‘the/a renewed house’
 e. *hizkuntza gutxituak*
 language diminish.DET.PL
 ‘minority languages’
 f. *bihotz mindua*
 heart hurt.DET
 ‘a broken heart’

And, as we have seen in (1516), this process can be used to form derived nouns, but this doesn’t seem to be productive. Some nouns have become lexicalized and are common to most speakers:

- (1545) a. *Urra-tu bat egin dut praketan.*
 scratch-PRF one do AUX trousers.LOC
 'I made a scratch on my trousers.'
- b. *Aurtengo irabaz-i handiak ez ditugu*
 this.year.REL gain-PRF big.DET.PL not AUX
hain erraz errepikatuko.
 so easy repeat.FUT
 'We won't repeat this year's huge earnings that easily.'
- c. *Aitonaren esanak eta eginak*
 grandfather.GEN say-PRF.DET.PL and do-PRF.DET.PL
bildu ditugu liburuxka honetan.
 gather AUX booklet this.LOC
 'We have gathered grandpa's sayings and doings in this small book.'
- d. *Bota begiratu bat aldizkari honi.*
 throw look-PRF one journal this.DAT
 'Have a look at this journal.'
- e. *Etorri handiko bertsolaria da Iturriaga.*
 come-PRF big.REL improviser is
 'Iturriaga is a verse-improviser of great inspiration.'

Nonetheless, and for ease of exposition, we shall consider that constituents like (1541b) and (1542) are in principle parallel to (1541a) in that they behave internally as a clause and have an external noun phrase distribution, probably due to the presence of some nominal element (whether this is the participle itself or a zero noun morpheme, we leave open). Here are some examples:

- (1546) *Damu dut zu iraindua.*
 regret have you offend-PRF.DET
 'I regret having offended you.' [EH: 178]
- (1547) *Harrigarria egiten zait haurrak*
 surprising.DET do-IMPF AUX child.DET.ERG
gezurra esan (izan)-a.
 lie tell be-PRF-DET
 'I find the child's having said a lie surprising.'

- (1548) *Harritu egin nau haurrak gezurra esan*
 surprise do AUX child.DET.ERG lie tell
(izan)a-k.
 be.PR.F.DET-ERG
 'The child's having said a lie surprised me.'

- (1549) *Ez diot garrantzi handirik eman nahi*
 not AUX importance big.PRTT give want
haurreak gezurra esan (izan)ari.
 child.DET.ERG lie tell be.PR.F.DAT
 'I don't want to give relevance to the child's having said a lie.'

As is the case with nominalizations headed by *-t(z)e*, nominalizations headed by the perfective participle may take the article, any case ending, etc., exactly as we expect if they are noun phrases externally.

These perfective nominalizations tend to have a perfective interpretation, i.e. they denote an event or situation that has already actually happened:

- (1550) a. *Harrigarria da haurrak gezurra esan izana.*
 surprising.DET is child.ERG lie tell be.PR.F.DET
 'It is surprising for the kid to have said a lie.'
- b. *Akusatuak bere aita hil izana onartu zuen.*
 accuse.ERG own father kill be.PR.F.DET accept AUX
 'The defendant admitted having killed his/her father.'
- c. *Gure aitak milagrotzat hartu zuen idia*
 our father.ERG miracle.PROL take AUX ox
ez amildua.
 not fall.PR.F.DET
 'Our father regarded the ox's not having fallen as a miracle.'
 [Goenaga 1984:22]
- d. *Josu Arkauz Espainiaratu izana legez*
 Spain.ALL be.PR.F.DET law.INSTR
kanpokoa dela dio Paueko Auzitegiak.
 out.REL.DET is.ela says Pau.REL court.ERG
 'The Court in Pau says that to have expelled Josu Arkauz to Spain is illegal.' [Egunk. 1999/2/27]

- e. *Kopet harro ez direnek... ez dute*
 forehead proud not are.en.DET.ERG not have
damu izango ikustera joana.
 regret have.FUT see.NOM.ALL go.PR.F.DET
 'Those who are not stilted won't regret having gone to see it.'
 [Mitx. EIG I: 124]
- f. *Eskertzen dizuet ekitaldi honetara etorri izana.*
 thank.IMP.F AUX festival this.ALL come be.PR.F.DET
 'I thank you all [for] having come to this event.'

That is to say, in the examples above, the kid has said a lie, the defendant did kill her/his father, the cow did fall over, France has already expelled Josu Arkauz from France, and so on. This perfective or past interpretation need not always be an actual event, e. g. when the nominalization occurs as a complement to an emotive verb or, say, *ukatu* 'to deny':

- (1551) a. *Espero dut haurrak gezurra esan ez izana.*
 hope AUX child.ERG lie.DET say not be.PR.F.DET
 'I hope that the child has not said a lie.'
- b. *Gazteek kale istiluetan parte hartu izana ukatu dute.*
 youngsters.ERG street riots.LOC part take
 be.PR.F.DET deny AUX
 'The youngsters denied having taken part in the street riots.'

In general, it seems that the same kind of verbs which select regular nominalizations will accept these perfective nominalized clauses.

4.10.1.2.2. Other non-finite structures based on the verbal noun

There are three kinds of non-finite structures based on the verbal noun: those based on the verbal noun followed by the relational postposition *-ko*; those based on the same verbal noun followed by the bare locative ending *-n*; and those based on the verbal noun followed by the allative suffix *-ra(t)*. The reason for studying these three separately is that it is hard to maintain a [*t(z)e* + case suffix] analysis from a synchronic point of view in the case of the first two structures. Most grammarians list or mention them as separate 'complementizers' or subordinating elements, and they do indeed have idiosyncratic properties (i.e. properties which do not seem to follow from a noun + case suffix analysis). This leads us to regard them as separate subordinators altogether. We have included nominalized clauses with the allative

suffix *-ra(t)* in this separate subsection because this ending alternates with *-t(z)en* in some dialects.

4.10.1.2.2.1. *-t(z)eko* complements

Although the sequence *-t(z)eko* is decomposable into the nominalizing affix followed by the relational suffix, it is better considered as a chunk from a synchronic perspective. This is the form that most command/order verbs select as their non-finite complement; it is also the form to report a command expressed without an auxiliary verb:

- (1552) a. *Ez ardorik edan!*
 not wine.PRTT drink
 'Don't drink wine!'
- b. *Mila bider esan/agindu dizut ez*
 thousand times tell/command AUX not
ardorik edateko.
 wine.PRTT drink.tzeko
 'I've told/ordered you one thousand times not to drink wine.'
- (1553) a. *Politika ez bakearen aurretik jartzeko*
 politics not peace.DET.GEN front.from put.tzeko
eskatu die Gobernuak EAJ eta EAri.
 ask AUX government.ERG EAJ and EA.DAT
 'The Government asked EAJ and EA not to put politics before peace.' [Egunk. 1999/2/27]
- b. *Bakean uzteko erregutzen dizut.*
 peace.LOC leave.tzeko beg.IMPf AUX
 'I beg you to leave me alone.'
- c. *Gu denok ixilik egoteko agindu zidan.*
 we all quiet be.tzeko command AUX
 'She/he ordered me for all of us to stay quiet.'
- d. *Mikel espetxeratzeko agindu du epaiak.*
 Mikel prison.send.tzeko command AUX judge.ERG
 'The judge has ordered that Mikel be sent to prison.'

These *-t(z)eko* non-finite constituents may optionally take the partitive determiner in the same contexts that a regular noun phrases does: if the governing verb is negated, if it is part of a yes-no question, or if it is embedded in a conditional sentence (c-d, from Arejita 1984:108, in Bizkaian):

- (1554) a. *Inork ez dit esan ixilik egotekorik.*
 anybody.ERG not AUX say quiet be.tzeko.PRTT
 'Nobody told me to stay quiet.'
- b. *Agindu dizu inork hona etortzekorik?*
 command AUX anybody.ERG here.to come.tzeko.PRTT
 'Did anybody tell to come here?'
- c. *Niri neuri ez deust aitatu etortekorik.*
 I.DAT I.INTS.DAT not AUX mention come.tzeko.PRTT
 'She/he didn't mention to come here to me.'
- d. *Inork esan dau ixilik egotekorik ala?*
 anybody.ERG say AUX quiet be.tzeko.PRTT or
 'Has anybody said to stay quiet or what?'

Non-finite constituents headed by *-t(z)eko* can also be complements to a noun inside a noun phrase. One feature that distinguishes *-t(z)eko* structures from nominalized clauses is the different position of negation: in the former structures, the negation element *ez* may be either at the beginning of the structure or right before the verb, just as in auxiliaryless direct commands (see 4.5.2.1.1.2):

- (1555) a. *Ez gezurrik esateko esan dizut.*
 not lie.PRTT say.tzeko say AUX
 'I told you not to tell any lies.'
- b. *Gezurrik ez esateko esan dizut.*
 lie.PRTT not say.tzeko say AUX
 'I told you not to tell any lies.'

In regular nominalized clauses, however, negation must immediately precede the verb:

- (1556) a. *??Pinocchiok ez gezurrik esatea*
 Pinocchio.ERG not lie.PRTT say.NOM.DET
erabaki zuen.
 decide AUX
 'Pinocchio decided not to tell any lies.'
- b. *Pinocchiok gezurrik ez esatea*
 Pinochio.ERG lie.PRTT not say.NOM.DET
erabaki zuen.
 decide AUX
 'Pinocchio decided not to tell any lies.'

There are a few verbs that seem to alternate between selecting a plain nominalized clause and a *-t(z)eko* complement; *eskatu* 'to ask' and *agindu* 'to command; to promise' are two of them. Here are some relevant examples:

- (1557) a. *Eskolak Leioako campusean ematea*
 classes Leioa.REL campus.LOC give.NOM.DET
eskatu dut.
 ask AUX
 'I asked to teach classes at the Leioa campus.'
- b. *Eskolak Leioako campusean emateko*
 classes Leioa.REL campus.LOC give.tzeko
eskatu dut.
 demand AUX
 'I demanded that classes be taught at the Leioa campus.'
- (1558) a. *Eskolak Leioako campusean ematea*
 classes Leioa.REL campus.LOC give.NOM.DET
agindu dut.
 promise AUX
 'I promised to teach classes at the Leioa campus.'
- b. *Eskolak Leioako campusean emateko*
 classes Leioa.REL campus.LOC give.tzeko
agindu dut.
 command AUX
 'I ordered to teach classes at the Leioa campus.'

In the case of *agindu*, the translations and the glosses make it clear that the dual subcategorization goes hand in hand with a change in interpretation: *agindu* requires a nominalized clause case-marked with absolutive if the intended meaning is roughly 'promise'; it selects a *-t(z)eko* complement when it has a command interpretation ('order'). As for *eskatu*, the difference is harder to grasp: when it takes a plain nominalization, it is roughly equivalent to *request* or *ask for* (a particular choice), and it is usually a subject-control verb: in the example at hand, the subject of the nominalization is null and interpreted as coreferential with the subject of the main clause. If the *-t(z)eko* complement is selected, then the interpretation is similar to *demand*, and there may or may not be control: in (1558b) above, the subject of *emateko* can be an arbitrary third person or *eskolak* 'classes' itself (in the latter case, the entire constituent is interpreted as an impersonal sentence); but, if there is control, it will be object control:

- (1559) a. *Eskolak Leioako campusean ematea*
 classes Leioa.REL campus.LOC give.NOM.DET
eskatu dit.
 ask AUX.3A/1D/3E
 ‘S/he requested (‘to me’) teaching the classes at the Leioa campus.’
- b. *Eskolak Leioako campusean emateko*
 classes Leioa.REL campus.LOC give.tzeko
eskatu dit.
 demand AUX
 ‘S/he asked me to teach the classes at the Leioa campus.’

Roughly speaking, in the examples above, where there is dative agreement with the first person (*-t-* in *dit*), the person making the request would be the teacher in example (a), but the first person singular would be the teacher in (b). Similarly, a verb like *esan* ‘say’ introduces a report if it takes a *-t(z)e+a* complement (marked absolutive) and a command (as in English *tell* with infinitives) with *-t(z)eko* complements. In other words, there truly seems to be no free variation between the two complement types, and the choice usually goes hand in hand with a difference in syntactic behavior and interpretation. The difference, however, may be blurred if there is no dative argument present.

4.10.1.2.2.2. *-t(z)en* complements

This is one of the most common forms of non-finite complementation in Basque; it is a combination of the verbal noun followed by the locative suffix *-n* without the presence of the morpheme *-a*. In this regard, we should note that regular nominalized clauses bearing the locative case-ending and what we will neutrally call *-t(z)en* complements do not share the same distribution in most dialects; in contexts where locative nominalized clauses are possible, *-t(z)en* complements are excluded, and viceversa:

- (1560) a. *Borroka-izpiritu-a-n dago gizakiaren handitasuna.*
 fight-spirit-DET-LOC is human.DET.GEN greatness.DET
 ‘A person’s greatness lies in the spirit of fight.’

- b. *Jainko etsaiei, Izadiaren indar itsuei*
 god enemies.DAT nature.GEN force blind.DET.DAT
alegia, gogor egite-a-n dago
 that.is hard do.NOM-DET-LOC is
gizonaren handitasuna.
 man.GEN greatness
 'The greatness of man lies in facing the rival gods, that is to say,
 the blind forces of Nature.' [Mitz. EIG I: 147]
- c. **Jainko etsaiei... gogor egiten dago*
 do.tzen
gizonaren handitasuna
- (1561) a. **Jon hitz egite-a-n hasi da.*
 Jon word do.NOM-DET-LOC start AUX
 'Jon has started working.'
- b. *Jon hitz egiten hasi da.*
 Jon word do.tzen start AUX
 'Jon has started working.'

These *-t(z)en* complements are common to all dialects of Basque, but their distribution may vary from dialect to dialect. We may distinguish the following sets of verbs that select *-t(z)en* complements:

1. periphrastic constructions with semiauxiliary verbs: *ari izan, egon, ibili* (see 3.5.5.1);
2. aspectual verbs: *hasi, bukatu, amaitu, jardun* (see 4.1.2.8.1);
3. verbs of knowledge: *ikasi, irakatsi, erakutsi, jakin, ahaztu*;
4. perception verbs;
5. triadic verbs of the *utzi* 'allow' class;
6. *saiatu* 'try' class verbs;
7. movement verbs (in western Basque only);
8. *tough* or complex adjectival constructions

4.10.1.2.2.2.1. Semiauxiliary verbs: *ari izan, egon, ibili*

These are verbs which are not considered auxiliary verbs proper (like *izan* and **edun*) but select a *-t(z)en* complement to form what can be best translated as a progressive:

- (1562) a. *Amaia makila batekin dabil.*
 Amaia stick one.with walks
 'Amaia walks with a stick.'
- b. *Amaia liburu bat irakurtzen dabil.*
 Amaia book one read.tzen walks
 'Amaia is reading a book.'
- (1563) a. *Amaia etxean egon da.*
 Amaia home.LOC stay AUX
 'Amaia has stayed home.'
- b. *Amaia liburu bat irakurtzen egon da.*
 Amaia book one read.tzen stay AUX
 'Amaia has been reading a book.'
- (1564) a. *Bihotza, batere larritu gabe, lasai ari da*
 heart at.all upset without calm ari AUX
bere lanean.
 own work.LOC
 'The heart, without worrying at all, is working steadily.'
 [Mitx. EIG I: 131]
- b. *Beste film bat egiten ari omen da Chaplin.*
 other film one do.tzen ari reportedly AUX Chaplin
 'Chaplin is reportedly making another movie.' [Mitx. EIG I: 137]

The first two verbs *ibili*, *egon* (literally 'walk', and 'stay, remain') are de-voided of their real semantic content in this progressive construction (3.5.5.1.2); the third one, *ari izan* 'engage, do, function' doesn't have a meaning that is clearly separate from the semiauxiliary usage (3.5.5.1.1).

The fact that *-t(z)en* complements are selected by these verbs (and, let us not forget, by true auxiliary verbs) which don't seem to assign a semantic role to their subject, and the fact that they never really allow for an overt subject (unlike *-t(z)ea* or *-t(z)eko* complements) may lead one to consider them not real clauses but more similar to bare VP structures. There are, however, some differences with respect to true auxiliary verbs: first, *-t(z)en* complements have a freer distribution and need not precede the semiauxiliary verb (cf. examples in (1565)); secondly, unlike a regular VP, they can be fully replaced by a *wh*-phrase (cf. 1566); and finally, they can coexist with a set of locative or instrumental phrases (cf. 1567) that denote activities such as *lanean* '(lit.) at work, working', *pilotan* 'at the ball, playing ball', *musean* 'at mus, playing mus', *kartetan* 'at cards, playing cards', *olgetan* */jolasean* 'at game, playing (games)', *bertsotan* 'at verses, improvising

verses', *hizketan/berbetan* 'at words, speaking', *dantzán* 'at dance, dancing', *barrez* 'by laugh, laughing', *negarrez* 'in tears, crying' or with set of *-ka* headed phrases that also denote activities such as *harrika* (< *harri* 'stone') 'throwing stones', *oihuka/deiadar* (< *oihu/deiadar* 'shout') 'shouting', etc.:

- (1565) a. *Amaiak liburu bat irakurtzen du.*
 Amaia.ERG book one read.IMPF AUX
 'Amaia reads a book.'
- b. *%Amaiak liburu bat du irakurtzen.* (OK in northern dialects)
 Amaia.ERG book one AUX read.IMPF
- c. *%Liburu bat du Amaiak irakurtzen?* (OK in northern dialects; 4.4.2)
 book one AUX Amaia.ERG read.IMPF
- d. *Amaia liburu bat irakurtzen dabil.*
 Amaia book one read.tzen walks
 'Amaia is reading a book.'
- e. *Amaia liburu bat dabil irakurtzen.*
 Amaia book one walks read.tzen
- f. *Liburu bat dabil Amaia irakurtzen?*
 book one walks Amaia read.tzen
 'Is Amaia reading a book?'
- (1566) a. **Zer du Amaiak? Liburu bat irakurri.*
 what AUX Amaia.ERG book one read
 '*What does Amaia have? Read a book.'
- b. *Zertan dabil Amaia? Liburu bat irakurtzen/lanean/txistuka.*
 what.LOC walks Amaia book one read.tzen/work.LOC/whistle.ka
 'What is Amaia doing? Reading a book/working/whistling.'
- (1567) a. **Amaiak lanean eta ikasten du.*
 Amaia.ERG work.LOC and study.tzen AUX
 'Amaia works and studies.'
- b. *Amaia lanean eta ikasten dabil.*
 Amaia work.LOC and study.tzen walks
 'Amaia is working and studying.'

There is one further difference between *-t(z)en* complements to auxiliary and non-auxiliary verbs that is only observable in northern dialects: in these dialects, the object of a nominalized clause may optionally surface bearing genitive case (Heath 1972); the genitive object is indeed possible when the *-t(z)en* structure is complement to *ari izan* but not when it is complement to a true auxiliary verb:

- (1568) *Deliberatu dute zuk eta nik paper*
 decide AUX you.ERG and I.ERG paper
guziak/guzien biltzea.
 all.DET.PL/GEN gather.tze.DET
 ‘They decided upon you and I gathering all the paper.’

- (1569) a. *Peio artoa / artoaren jorratzen ari da.*
 Peio corn / corn.GEN weed.t(z)en ari AUX
 ‘Peio is weeding the corn.’
 b. *Peiok artoa / * artoaren jorratzen du.*
 Peio.ERG corn / corn.GEN weed.IMPF AUX
 ‘Peio weeds the corn.’

We will return to the study of *-t(z)en* complements in section 4.10.1.2.5.

4.10.1.2.2.2. Aspectual verbs

These include verbs like *hasi* ‘start’, *bukatu/amaitu* ‘finish’, *jardun* ‘be engaged in’, *jarraitu / segitu* ‘continue/ keep’, *ohitu* ‘make/be used to’; they, too, select *-t(z)en* complements:

- (1570) a. *Hasiko zaizkizu txistulariak soinua jotzen,*
 start AUX flute.players sound play.tzen
eta besteak dantzan, ‘espatadantxan’,
 and others dance.LOC sword.dance.LOC
eguerdialdean, izerditan blai, herrira itzuli arte.
 noon.LOC sweat.LOC wet village.to return until
 ‘The fluteplayers will start playing music and the others dancing,
 [doing] the sword-dance, until they go back to their town all of a
 sweat around noon.’ [Mitx. EIG I:132]

- b. *Baina Charlot bera, urteekin, hasi zen*
 but Charlot himself years.with start AUX
etsaiagana hurbiltzen.
 enemy.towards approach.tzen
 'But Charlot himself, over the years, started getting closer to the enemy.' [Mitx. EIG I: 136]

(1571) *Liburua irakurtzen amaitul/bukatu dut.*
 book read.tzen finish/finish AUX
 'I finished reading the book.'

(1572) *Liburuak irakurtzen jardun dut.*
 book read.tzen engage AUX
 'I have been busy reading books.'

(1573) *Liburua irakurtzen segitzen/jarraitzen dut.*
 book read.tzen continue/continue AUX
 'I keep on reading the book.'

(1574) *Eman nahi diotena eskatzen ohitu dute jendea.*
 give want AUX.en.DET ask.tzen use AUX people
 'The have gotten people used to asking whatever they wish to give them.' [Mitx. EIG 1: 139]

The set of locative phrases that denote activity can be used with semiauxiliary verbs can also be used with *hasi*, *jarritu/segitu* and *jardun*, but not with the verbs *amaitul* *bukatu* if the intended meaning is "completion of the activity":

(1575) *Anaia laster barru hasiko da lanean.*
 brother soon in start.FUT AUX work.LOC
 'Our brother will soon start working (lit. '... at work...').'

(1576) *Bostak arte jardun genuen pilotan.*
 five.DET.PL until engage AUX ball.LOC
 'We kept playing ball until five o'clock (lit. '... at ball...').'

(1577) *Jonek museoan jarraitzen du lanean.*
 Jon.ERG museum.LOC continue.IMPF AUX work.LOC
 'Jon continues working at the museum.'

- (1578) **Lanean bukatu genuen.*
 work.LOC finish AUX
 ‘*We finished working.’

Example (1578) is fine, nonetheless, if one means “we ended up working” or “finished something up (while) working”.

4.10.1.2.2.2.3. Verbs of knowledge

The term is borrowed from Lafitte (1944), who calls them *verbes de connaissance*. The list includes verbs like *ahaztu* ‘forget’, *asmatu* ‘succeed, manage’, *erakutsi* ‘show, teach’, *ikasi* ‘learn’, *irakatsi* ‘teach’, and *jakin* ‘know’. They also select a *-t(z)en* complement:

- (1579) a. (*Zinemak*) *hizketan ez ezik, soinua*
 cinema.ERG conversation.LOC not *ezik* sound.DET
jotzen ere ikasi zuen.
 play.tzen even learn AUX
 ‘Not only did cinema learn how to speak but also how to play music as well.’ [Mitx. EIG I:160]
- b. *Ukabilkadak behar bezala —suminez itsutu*
 punches require like wrath.INSTR blind
gabe, alegia— ‘jasotzen’ ikasi duenak,
 without that.is receive.tzen learn AUX.en.DET.ERG
ez du alajaina gutxi ikasi.
 not AUX thus little learn
 ‘She/he who has learned how to receive punches the right way—without becoming blinded by wrath, that is—has not learned a small matter.’ [Mitx. EIG I:167]
- (1580) (*Marrazki-filmek*) *txantxetan eta irriparrez ez ezik,*
 picture-films.ERG joke.LOC and smile.INSTR not *ezik*
zinez eta bene-benetan ere mintzatzen badakite.
 faithfully and truly too speak.tzen *ba.know*
 ‘Animated movies have learned how to speak not only joking and smiling but also faithfully and realistically.’ [Mitx. EIG I:175]

- (1581) *Umeei eskolan hiru hizkuntzatan hitz*
 children.DAT school.LOC three language.LOC word
egiten irakatsi ahal zaie adituen arabera.
 do.tzen teach can AUX experts.GEN according
 'According to the experts, one can teach children how to speak three
 languages at school.'
- (1582) *Ainhoari, urteekin, gitarra jotzen ahaztu zaio.*
 Ainhoa.DAT years.with guitar play.tzen forget AUX
 'Ainhoa eventually forgot how to play the guitar.'
- (1583) *Azkenean, bere autoaren atea irekitzen*
 end.LOC own car.DET.GEN door open.tzen
asmatu zuen.
 manage AUX
 'She/he finally managed to open the door of the car.'

Locative phrases that denote activities can also be the complement of these verbs:

- (1584) a. *Jonek badaki bertsotan.*
 Jon.ERG ba.knows verse.LOC
 'Jon knows (how to improvise) verses
 (lit. "... knows at verses.").'
- b. *Jonek bertsotan ikasi du.*
 Jon.ERG verse.LOC learn AUX
 'Jon has learned how to improvise verses.'
- c. *Jonek bertsotan irakatsi dit.*
 Jon.ERG verse.LOC teach AUX
 'Jon has taught me how to improvise verses.'
- d. *Musean ahaztu zait.*
 mus.LOC forget AUX
 'I forgot how to play *mus* (card game).'

The verb *ahaztu* also accepts plain nominalizations, with the corresponding change in interpretation:

- (1585) *Ainhoari gitarra jotzea ahaztu zaio.*
 Ainhoa.DAT guitar play.tze.DET forget AUX
 'Ainhoa forgot to play the guitar.'

As the corresponding English paraphrases show, (1582) indicates a loss of an ability on the part of Ainhoa, whereas (1585) simply indicates that she unwillingly fails to perform a specific task or action.

4.10.1.2.2.4. Perception verbs

Those perception verbs that allow some form of non-finite complementation will most likely subcategorize for a *-t(z)en* complement. The list (not at all exhaustive) includes verbs like *aurkitu* 'find', *harrapatu* 'catch', *ikusi* 'see', *entzun* 'hear', *ipini/jarri* 'render/put' and *utzi* 'leave':

- (1586) *Ama sukaldean aurkitu nuen afaria prestatzen.*
 mother kitchen.LOC find AUX supper prepare.tzen
 'I found my mother in the kitchen making supper.'
- (1587) *Irakaslea komunean patxarana edaten*
 teacher restroom.LOC patxaran drink.tzen
harrapatu zuten.
 catch AUX
 'They caught the teacher drinking patxaran [liquor] in the restroom.'
- (1588) *Martin Fiz parkean ikusten dut beti entrenatzen.*
 Martin Fiz park.LOC see.IMPF AUX always train.tzen
 'I always see Martin Fiz training in the the park.'
- (1589) *Amak platerak garbitzen ipini du gure aita.*
 mother.ERG dishes clean.tzen put AUX our father
 'Mother had our father doing the dishes.'
- (1590) *Seme-alabak telebista ikusten utzi ditut.*
 son-daughter.DET.PL television see.tzen leave AUX
 'I left my sons and daughters watching TV.'
- (1591) *Ez dugu atea zabaltzen ikusi.*
 not AUX door open.tzen see
 'We haven't seen the door opening.' [Mitx. EIG I:199]

4.10.1.2.2.2.5. Triadic verbs: the *utzi* 'allow' class

In this section, we include verbs that may take three arguments, one of which is the non-finite *-t(z)en* complement; this doesn't mean that taking two arguments is not a possibility for these verbs. Two clear examples are the verbs *utzi* with the meaning 'let, allow', and *lagundu* 'help':

- (1592) a. *Legeak ez digu autobusean erretzen uzten.*
 law.ERG not AUX bus.LOC smoke.tzen allow.IMPF
 'The law doesn't allow us to smoke on the bus.'
- b. *Jonek egoera gaiztotzen utzi du.*
 Jon.ERG situation worsen.tzen let AUX
 'Jon let the situation deteriorate.'
- (1593) a. *Lagunduko didazu mahai hau hemendik kentzen?*
 help.FUT AUX table this here.from remove.tzen
 'Will you help me remove this table from here?'
- b. *Alderdi batzuen jarrerak egoera*
 party some.GEN attitude.ERG situation
gaiztotzen lagundu du.
 worsen.tzen help AUX
 'The attitude of some political parties has helped the situation deteriorate.'
- c. *...ez dituela delako akordioak nausiak*
 not AUX.ela said agreement.ERG chiefs
eta ekonomiaren arduradunak lagunduko lan
 and economy.GEN managers help.FUT job
postu berri eraikitzen.
 post new make.tzen
 '... that the said agreement will not help managers and economy officials create new jobs.' [Herria 99/2/25]
- d. *Parasol giderraz batek laguntzen du*
 parasol easy-to-use one.ERG help.IMPF AUX
sugea hegiratzen.
 snake corner.tzen
 'A parasol that is easy to use helps to corner the snake.' [H.U. Gontz.:106]

The verb *eman* 'give' may also follow this pattern, but it is usually restricted to a few options in the range of complements:

- (1594) a. *Jesusek jaten eta edaten eman zien*
 Jesus.ERG eat.tzen and drink.tzen give AUX
apostoluei.
 apostles.DAT
 'Jesus gave the apostles food and drink.' (cf. Sp *dio de comer y beber*)
- b. *Retegik aditzen eman du laster*
 Retegi.ERG understand.tzen give AUX soon
erretiratuko dela.
 retire.FUT AUX.ela
 'Retegi made public that he will soon retire.'
 (cf. Sp *dio a entender*)

The verb *galerazi* (or its variant *galerazo*) 'prevent, stop from' also chooses a *-t(z)en* complement when used as the antonym of *utzi* 'let, allow':

- (1595) a. *Nok galerazoko dautso aziari*
 who.ERG prevent AUX seed.DAT
norberen soluan jausten?
 own.GEN garden.LOC fall.tzen
 'Who will prevent the seed from falling in one's garden?'
 [Kir. *Abarrak*:64]
- b. *...ez baldin bada euskalgintzari aurrera*
 not if if.is Basque.work.DAT forward.to
egiten galerazten dioten inertziak zirtziltzeko.
do.tzen prevent.IMPF AUX.en inertia.PL.DET fray.tzeko
 '... if it is not to undo the inertia that prevents the work in favor of the Basque language from moving forward.'
 [Egunk. 1999/5/6]

As we shall see in the next section, *-t(z)en* complements alternate with *-t(z)era* (= *-t(z)e* + allative case ending *-ra*) in eastern dialects; this alternation is not restricted to the triadic verbs we are considering here but extends also to the *saiatu* ('try') class, which we shall study next.

4.10.1.2.2.2.6. The *saiatu* 'try' class

At first sight, this verb and its synonym *ahalegindu* seem to pattern with aspectual verbs, in that they plainly take a *-t(z)en* complement:

- (1596) ...*agintariaren erantzun beharra eta*
 commander.DET.GEN respond need and
bakardade astuna erakusten saiatu dira gehienbat.
 solitude heavy.DET show.tzen try AUX above
 'Above all, they have tried to show the immense loneliness and the
 responsibility of a commander.' [Mitx. EIG I:177]
- (1597) *Lehen ere asko saiatu zen gerrako— politikako—*
 before even many try AUX war.REL politics.REL
hautsi-konpondu eta josi-urratuen itsumena adierazten.
 break-fix and sew-rips.GEN blindness express.tzen
 'Prior to this too, many have tried to reflect the blindness of all the
 deals and extreme changes of war—politics.' [Mitx. EIG I:187]
- (1598) a. *Sanz zuzendaria ahalegindu zen bere*
 Sanz director try AUX his
agerraldi osoan ardura guztia
 appearance entire.LOC responsibility all.DET
bere gainean hartzen.
 his top.LOC take.tzen
 'During his appearance Director Sanz tried to take on all respon-
 sibility.' [Egunk. 1999/2/27]
- b. *Jon etxean harrapatzen ahaleginduko naiz.*
 Jon home.LOC catch.tzen try.FUT AUX
 'I will try to get a hold of Jon at home.'

However, unlike aspectual verbs, the non-finite complement of this class may be an allative *-t(z)era* complement in eastern dialects:

- (1599) *Bestela adieraztera saiatuko naiz.*
 otherwise express.NOM.ALL try AUX
 'I will try to express [it] in a different way.' [EH:675]

Furthermore, the complement may also be a finite subjunctive clause:

- (1600) a. ...*dirua eman ziezaien saiatu zen Benegas.*
 money give AUX(SUBJ).en try AUX Benegas
 'Benegas tried for him to give them the money.'
 [Egunk. 1997/11/5]

- b. *IRA gerrara itzul dadin*
 IRA war.to return(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en
ahalegintzen ari dira unionistak.
 try.IMPF ari AUX loyalists
 'Loyalists are trying for the IRA to come back to war.'
 [Egunk. 1999/2/28]

These two reasons lead us to regard it as a separate class, as far as complement selection is concerned.

Finally, *ausartu* 'dare' (or synonyms) is another candidate verb for this class: it takes a *-t(z)en* complement for speakers of some dialects, but *-t(z)era* in others:

- (1601) *Ainhoa ez da zinemara bakarrik*
 Ainhoa not AUX cinema.to alone
joaten/joatera ausartzen.
 go.tzen/go.NOM.ALL dare.IMPF
 'Ainhoa doesn't dare go by herself to the movies.'

It should be pointed out, however, that the *-t(z)en/-t(ze)ra* isogloss need not coincide for *saiatu* 'try' and *ausartu* 'dare'.

4.10.1.2.2.7. Movement verbs in western Basque

In the westernmost dialects, we find that, instead of the more general allative suffix *-ra*, movement verbs that optionally select a nominalization to indicate 'goal' resort to the locative *-n*:

- (1602) a. *Ogia erosten noa kalera.* (Bizkaian)
 bread buy.tzen go street.ALL
 b. *Ogia eroatera noa kalera.* (standard)
 bread buy.NOM.ALL go street.ALL
 'I am going out [to the street] to buy bread.'
- (1603) a. *Autoa konpontzen eroan behar dot.* (Bizkaian)
 car fix.tzen bring need AUX
 b. *Autoa konpontzera eraman behar dut.*
 car fix.NOM.ALL bring need AUX
 'I have to take the car to be fixed.'

As just indicated, this phenomenon is restricted to movement verbs, though in a very broad sense:

- (1604) *Gaixoa den-dena jaten behartu zuten erizainek.*
 sick all.DET eat.tzen force AUX nurses.ERG
 'The nurses forced a sick person to eat all.'

- (1605) *Lagunek lana uzten animatu/bultzatu dute Amaia.*
 friends.ERG job quit.tzen encourage/push AUX Amaia
 'Her friends have encouraged, pushed Amaia to quit her job.'

One should point out that this feature of Bizkaian Basque is only true of nominalizations; any other PP indicating a directional goal is expressed with *-ra* (cf. *kalera* in example (1602)).

4.10.1.2.2.8. *Tough* constructions

The equivalent of English *tough* or complex adjectival constructions, where the subject of the adjective is the logical object in the tenseless complement, is formed as a *-t(z)en* complement; this *-t(z)en* complement need not be adjacent to the adjective it is the complement of:

- (1606) *Miranderen poemak oso gaitzak dira*
 Mirande.GEN poems very tough.DET.PL are
irakurtzen.
 read.tzen
 'Mirande's poems are very tough to read.'

- (1607) *Umeak engainatzen errazak izaten dira.*
 children deceive.tzen easy.DET.PL be.IMPF are
 'Children are usually easy to deceive.'

The use of a *-t(z)en* complement in these structures seems to be restricted to Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan; other speakers use purposive *-t(z)eko*, instead:

- (1608) *Miranderen poemak oso zailak dira irakurtzeko.*
 Mirande.GEN poems very tough.DET.PL are read.tzeko
 'Mirande's poems are very tough to read.'

- (1609) *Haurrak errazak izaten dira engainatzeko.*
 children easy.DET.PL be.IMPF are deceive.tzeko
 ‘Children are usually easy to deceive.’

or else, resort to a simple nominalization as the subject of the adjective:

- (1610) *Mirenderen poemak irakurtzea gaitza da.*
 Mirande.GEN poems read.NOM.DET tough.DET is
 ‘Reading Mirande’s poems is tough.’

- (1611) *Erraza da haurrak engainatzea.*
 easy.DET is children deceive.NOM.DET
 ‘It’s easy to deceive children’

4.10.1.2.2.2.9. Some *-t(z)en* / *-t(z)ea* alternations

There are some cases where *-t(z)en* complements seem to freely cooccur with nominalizations case-marked absolutive; most of the examples we have found are cases with either *-t(z)en* or *-t(z)ea* as true subjects of predicates like *erraz* ‘easy’ and *zail, neke* ‘difficult’:

- (1612) a. *Ez da erraz esaten zer egin duen.*
 not is easy say.tzen what do AUX.en
 ‘It’s not easy to say what he has done.’ [Mitx. EIG I:181]
- b. *Zer ote litzateke(..), bere emaztea gabe?*
 what may would.be his wife without
Neke da esaten.
 hard is say.tzen
 ‘What would he be without his wife? It’s hard to tell.’
 [Mitx. EIG I:183]
- c. *(Lur zerranga) hura ez balitz, bi*
 earth string that not if.were two
aldetarat urez ur joaiten
 direction.to water.INSTR water go.tzen
errexago eta laburrago litake.
 easier and shorter would.be
 ‘If there were no such string of land, it’d be easier and shorter to go both ways through the waters.’ [H.U. *Gontz.*:89]

- d. *Errex da erraitea.*
 easy is say.NOM.DET
 'It's easy to say so.' [H.U. Gontz.:14]

The tendency, at least in eastern dialects, seems to be for speakers to use *-t(z)ea* more often than *-t(z)en* in this particular case (cf. Lafitte 1944:216). For some Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan speakers, the verbs *galerazi* or *galerazo* 'prevent' may also select for a *-t(z)en* complement, as seen in section 4.10.1.2.2.2.5; nonetheless, when the verb *galerazi* intends to convey the idea of prohibition, it takes a *-t(z)ea* complement:

- (1613) a. *Nok galerazoko dautso aziari*
 who.ERG prevent.FUT AUX seed.DAT
norberen soluan jausten?
 own.GEN garden.LOC fall.tzen
 'Who will prevent the seed from falling in one's garden?'
 [Kir. Abarrak:64]
- b. *Legeak galarazi egiten du autobusetan*
 law.ERG prohibit do.IMPFX AUX buses.LOC
erretzea.
 smoke.NOM.DET
 'The law prohibits smoking on buses.'

Strictly speaking, then, the two complement forms do not seem to be in free variation in the case of *galarazo*. In any case, further research is required to determine whether *-t(z)en* and *-t(z)ea* complement alternations are stylistic variants or have different syntactic properties altogether.

4.10.1.2.2.3. *-t(z)era* complements

Formally, *-t(z)era* complements are nothing but the verbal noun followed by the allative suffix *-ra*: in this sense, it is not surprising to find them as complements of verbs of movement:

- (1614) a. *Ogia eroatera noa kalera.* (=1602 b).
 bread buy.NOM.ALL go street.ALL
 'I am going out to the street to buy bread.'

- b. *Autoa konpontzera eraman behar dut.* (=1603 b).
 car fix.NOM.ALL bring have AUX
 'I have to take the car to be fixed.'
- c. *Gaixoa den-dena jatera behartu zuten*
 sick all.DET eat.NOM.ALL force AUX
erizainek. (cf. 1604)
 nurses.ERG
 'The nurses forces the sick person to eat all.'
- d. *Lagunek lana uztera animatu/bultzatu*
 friends.ERG job quit.NOM.ALL encourage/push
dute Amaia. (cf.1605)
 AUX Amaia
 'Her friends have encouraged/pushed Amaia to quit her job.'

- (1615) *Ez nuke nik, ahal izanez gero ere, inor*
 not AUX I.ERG can be.INSTR after even anybody
joatera behartuko.
 go.NOM.ALL force.FUT
 'I would not want, even if I could, to force anybody to see it.'
 [Mitx. EIG I:171]

This is the kind of verb that selects *-t(z)en* instead of *-t(z)era* in Bizkaian.

There are alternations between the two types of complements in the *saiatu* class, too, as we have seen in section 4.10.1.2.2.2.6; but the glosses are different and may even differ from verb to verb. The verb *entseatu*, the eastern equivalent to *saiatu*, and *saiatu* itself for some speakers of eastern dialects, select *-t(z)era*:

- (1616) *Hiri barneari nortasun hiritarraren*
 city interior.DAT personality urban.DET.GEN
emaitera saiatzen gara urte guziz
 give.NOM.ALL try.IMPF AUX year all.INSTR
gehiago.
 more
 'We increasingly try to give the inner city a more urban personality.' [Herria 1999/3/4]
- (1617) *Entsea gaitezen geure eginbidea egitera.*
 try(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en our.INTS duty do.NOM.ALL
 'Let us try to do our duty.' [EH:219]

The verb *ausartu* ‘dare’ may also take *-t(z)era*, but one doesn’t have to go as far east, for Mitxelena himself uses *-t(z)era* with this verb even though he uses *-t(z)en* with *saiatu* (cf. also Olano 1998: 277 ff., who reports this use in High Navarrese):

- (1618) *Nor, beraz, horri gogor egitera*
 who therefore that.DAT hard do.NOM.ALL
ausartzen dena baino ausatargorik?
 dare.IMPF AUX.en.DET than audacious.more.PRTT
 ‘Who [is] more audacious than the one who dares go against that?’
 [Mitx. EIG I:150]

- (1619) ...*agintariaren erantzunbeharra eta bakardade*
 commander.GEN responsibility and solitude
astuna erakusten saiatu dira gehienbat,
 heavy.DET show.tzen try AUX above.all
azkenaldi honetan zinema -besterik ukitzera
 late.time this.LOC cinema other.PRTT touch.NOM.ALL
ausartzen ez delako edo- maiz erakusten
 dare.IMPF not AUX.because or often show.tzen
saiatu den gaia.
 try AUX.en topic
 ‘Above all, they have tried to show the immense loneliness and the responsibility of a mandatory, a topic that cinema has tried to address often in recent times -perhaps because it doesn’t dare touch on other topics.’ [Mitx. EIG I:177-178]

- (1620) *Dassin bera ere ez da ausartu langile*
 Dassin himself even not AUX dare worker
iaio eta adoretzu hauei zor zitzaien
 skillful and brave these.DAT owe AUX.en
neke-saria ematera.
 hard.work-prize give.NOM.ALL
 ‘Even Dassin has not dared give those skillful and brave workers the prize for their hard work that they deserved.’ [Mitx. EIG I:186]

In eastern dialects, where speakers use the synonymous verb *menturatu* ‘dare’ or the predicate *haizu izan* ‘be allowed’, we find a *-t(z)era* complement, as expected:

- (1621) *Ez zen deus ihardestera menturatu.*
 not AUX anything reply.NOM.ALL venture
 'She/he didn't venture to answer anything.' [EH:558]
- (1622) *Errientak ez dire haizu katiximaren*
 teachers not are licit catechism.GEN
erakasterat eskolan.
 teach.NOM.ALL school.LOC
 'Schoolteachers are not allowed to teach catechism at school.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:50]

The triadic verb *utzi* mentioned in the section 4.10.1.2.2.2.5 also displays a *-t(z)en/ -t(z)era* alternation when it means 'allow, let', with the *-t(z)era* complement being restricted to northeastern dialects:

- (1623) a. *Presondegiko zainen buruzagiari hitzeman*
 prison.REL keepers.GEN chief.DAT promise
zioten bizia utziko ziotela, baldin
 AUX life leave.FUT AUX.ela if
populua sartzerat uzten bazuen.
 people enter.NOM.ALL let.IMPF if.AUX
 'They promised the head of prison guards that we would guarantee his life provided he let the people get in.' [H.U. Gontz.:60-61]
- b. *Horra zer den herriko nausigoa*
 there what is.en country.REL control
etxeko-jaun azkar batzuen eskutik deus
 home.REL-sir bright some.GEN hand.from anything
ez duten eta ez diren batzuen
 not have.en and not are.en some.GEN
eskuetarat erortzerat uztea.
 hands.ALL fall.NOM.ALL let.NOM.DET
 'There [it is] what it's like to let the control of the country go from the hands of some intelligent people to the hands of some who are and have nothing.' [H.U. Gontz.:68]
- c. *Gobernuak ez du utzi behar auzia*
 government.ERG not AUX let must issue
aintzina mintzerat eta samintzerat.
 forward hurt.NOM.ALL and sour.NOM.ALL
 'The government must not let the issue get worse and sour any further.' [Herria, 1999/3/4]

Similar considerations apply to the verb *eman* ‘give’:

- (1624) a. *Jesusek jatera eta edatera*
 Jesus.ERG eat.NOM.ALL and drink.NOM.ALL
eman zien apostoluei.
 give AUX apostles.DAT
 ‘Jesus gave the apostles [something] to eat and drink.’
- b. *Alain Rousset jaunak egin duen mintzaldian*
 Alain Rousset sir.ERG do AUX.en speech.LOC
erakusterat eman du hemen elgarretaritzen
 show.NOM.ALL give AUX here unite.IMPF
ginituen ekintza hau bezalakoen sustatzen
 AUX.en action this like.REL.GEN favor.tzen
laguntzaile izanen dela.
 helper be.FUT AUX.ela
 ‘In his speech, Mr. Alain Rousset announced (‘gave to show’) that he will be a facilitator of actions like the one that had brought us together here.’ [Herria 1999/3/4]

To sum up, one might propose the following chart to visualize better all the alternations between *-t(z)en* and *-t(z)era* complements:

Table 150.

	<i>-t(z)en</i> complements	<i>-t(z)era</i> complements
Movement verbs	western	standard
<i>utzi</i> -verbs	western-central	northeastern dialects
<i>saiatu</i> -class	west.-cent.-Navarrese	northern dialects

This chart is orientative and tentative rather than exhaustive, but it shows that there is gradation in the use of this pair of complements as we go from East to West and from North to South. The exact isoglosses for each verb class (and even *each* verb) would require a separate study that is beyond the scope of this book. In any case, the reader should remember that while there are verbs common to all dialects that will select *-t(z)en* complements (e.g. semiauxiliary, aspectual knowledge and perception verbs), the same is not true of *-t(z)era* complements; the latter are virtually non-existent in the westernmost varieties (Bizkaian).

4.10.1.2.3. Other non-finite structures based on the participle

The verbs *nahi* ‘want’ and *behar* ‘need’ typically take a bare participle as a non-finite complement when the subject of the complement is interpreted as coreferential with the subject of *nahi* and *behar*; when there is no such coreference, a plain *-t(z)e + a* nominalization is used:

- (1625) a. *Bilbon etxe bat erosi behar dut.*
 Bilbao.LOC house one buy need AUX
 ‘I need to buy a house in Bilbao.’
 b. *Bilbon etxe bat erosi nahi dut.*
 Bilbao.LOC house one buy want AUX
 ‘I want to buy a house in Bilbao.’
- (1626) a. [*Zuk Bilbon etxe bat erostea*]
 you.ERG Bilbao.LOC house one buy.NOM.DET
behar dut.
 need AUX
 ‘I need for you to buy a house in Bilbao.’
 b. [*Zuk Bilbon etxe bat erostea*]
 you.ERG Bilbao.LOC house one buy.NOM.DET
nahi dut.
 want AUX
 ‘I want you to buy a house in Bilbao (lit. ‘I want you buying a house in Bilbao’).’

Marginally, if the subject of the nominalization is empty, some speakers will accept for the subjects to be coreferential:

- (1627) a. *%Nik [Bilbon etxe bat erostea]*
 I.ERG Bilbao.LOC house one buy.NOM.DET
behar dut.
 need AUX
 ‘I need [my] buying a house in Bilbao.’
 b. *%Nik [Bilbon etxe bat erostea]*
 I.ERG Bilbao.LOC house one buy.NOM.DET
nahi dut.
 want AUX
 ‘I want [my] buying a house in Bilbao.’

It is generally assumed in the generative literature on Basque (cf. Eguzkitza 1986, Ortiz de Urbina 1989a; see also Ormazabal 1991 for a somewhat different view) that the participial complement of *nahi* and *behar* is subject to some kind of reanalysis (cf. 3.5.6.1.2): in many dialects, the block [participle + *nahi/behar*] seems to behave as a single constituent which cannot be separated for many speakers:

- (1628) a. *Etxe bat [erosi behar] dut Bilbon.*
 house one buy need AUX Bilbao.LOC
 b. *%Behar dut Bilbon etxe bat erosi.*
 need AUX Bilbao.LOC house one buy
 'I need to buy a house in Bilbao.'

Furthermore, the agreement pattern is that of a monoclausal structure; a dative argument of the embedded verb is obligatorily reflected in the auxiliary verb of the main clause:

- (1629) *Gurasoei Bilbon etxe bat erosi nahi*
 parents.DAT Bilbao.LOC house one buy want
 diet. (**dut*)
 AUX.3A/3D.PL/1E 3A/1E
 'I want to buy my parents a house in Bilbao'

The sentence is only grammatical with the auxiliary form that has an overt dative agreement (*-e-* in *diet*).

The eastern dialects show fairly clearly that these two tests need not coincide; these dialects freely allow for a separation of *behar/nahi* and the corresponding participle complement yet the monoclausal type of agreement is kept (at least to the extent that dative agreement is maintained in general in these dialects):

- (1630) a. *...hori ez balitz, orok ginuke behar*
 that not if.AUX all.ERG AUX need
 gillotina gaitzetsi, madarikatu.
 guillotine condemn curse
 'If it weren't for that, all of us should condemn and reject the guillotine.' [H.U. Gontz.:23]

- b. *Behar dautzuet erran zer ikhusi dudan*
 need AUX say what see AUX.en
egun hautarik batez.
 day these.from one.INSTR
 'I have to tell you what I have seen one of these past days.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:97]
- c. *Beste alderdiek ere hori behar lukete*
 other parties.ERG too that need AUX
untsa konprenitu.
 well understand
 'The other parties, too, should understand that well.' [Herria 1999/3/4]
- d. *Frantses gobernuak bere erabakia*
 French government.ERG its decision.DET
behar luke beraz laster jakinarazi.
 need AUX thus soon know.CAUSE
 'The French government should announce its decision soon.'
 [Herria 1999/3/4]

Nonetheless, the possibility of participle-*nahi/behar* adjacency also exists in eastern dialects:

- (1631) *Galdatzen du Calmette hango nausia behar*
 ask.IMPV AUX Calmette there.REL chief have
duela ikusi. ...Egonen dela beha; ikusi
 AUX.ela see be.FUT AUX.ela looking see
behar duela baitazpada.
 need AUX.ela in.case
 'He argues he has to see Calmette, the person in charge there. ...that we will be waiting; that he absolutely has to see him.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:110]

The verb *nahiago*, from *nahi* plus the comparative morpheme *-ago*, also takes the participle as its complement, but seems to enjoy a freer word order in all dialects:

- (1632) *Amaiak nahiago du etxean geratu.*
 Amaia.ERG want.more AUX home.LOC remain
 'Amaia prefers to stay home.'

- (1633) *Guk nahiago dugu haren eta gure*
 we.ERG want.more AUX that.GEN and we.GEN
hitzean egon.
 word.LOC stay
 'We prefer to stick to his and our word.' [H.U. Gontz.:55]

And furthermore, it doesn't behave as a monoclausal structure with respect to agreement:

- (1634) *Amaiak [niri liburu bat erosi] nahiago*
 Amaia.ERG I.DAT book one buy want.more
*du. (*dit)*
 AUX AUX.3A/1D/3E
 'Amaia prefers to buy me a book.'

The sentence is ungrammatical with the auxiliary that displays dative agreement (*-it-* in *dit*). *Nahiago* also allows for a *-t(z)ea* complement whose empty subject may be controlled by the main subject:

- (1635) *Amaiak nahiago du [niri liburu bat*
 Amaia.ERG want.more AUX I.DAT book one
eroste]. (cf. 1627)
 buy.NOM.DET
 'Amaia prefers to buy me a book.'

The contrast between *nahi* (or *behar*) and *nahiago* becomes clear when one looks at their different behavior with respect to negation:

- (1636) a. **Amaiak [etxean ez geratu] nahi du.*
 Amaia.ERG home.LOC not remain want AUX
 b. *%Amaiak nahi du [etxean ez geratu].*
 Amaia.ERG want AUX home.LOC not remain
 'Amaia wants not to stay home.'
- (1637) a. *Amaiak [etxean ez geratu] nahiago du.*
 Amaia.ERG home.LOC not remain want.more AUX
 b. *Amaiak nahiago du etxean ez geratu.*
 Amaia.ERG want.more AUX home.LOC not remain
 'Amaia prefers not to stay home.'

The embedded participle accepts sentential negation when it is a complement to *nahiago*, but seems to resist it as complement to *nahi*.

- (1638) *Hein huntaraino ere nahiago ginuken ezinbertzean*
 extent this.until even want.more AUX necessarily
ez aurkitu hemen huntaz mintzatzeko.
 not find here this.INSTR speak.tzeko
 'In this respect, we would rather not find ourselves forced to speak about this.' [H.U. Gontz.:145]

4.10.1.2.4. Tenseless indirect questions

Tenseless indirect questions are formed with the verb radical in eastern dialects and with the participle in the western dialects; this isogloss mirrors the radical/participle alternation with the auxiliary verbs **edin* and **ezan* (or *B egin*). (The Basque Language Academy recommends that speakers keep to the literary tradition and use the verbal radical in writing; because of this, many educated speakers of the South will find *sar liteke* acceptable and even more prestigious than what they actually say in regular speech):

- (1639) Eastern dialects Western dialects
 a. *Sar liteke. Sartu liteke.*
 enter(RAD) AUX enter AUX
 'She/he could come in.'
 b. *Ez dakigu etxerat nondik sar/sartu.*
 not know house.to where enter(RAD)/enter
 'We don't know how to get in the house.'

Here are some examples of tenseless indirect questions:

- (1640) a. *Ez dakizu nondik ez nola hunki.*
 not know where.from not how touch(RAD)
 'You don't know neither from which angle nor how to approach [this issue].' [H.U. Gontz.:18]
 b. *Ez dakite aski zer galda nausiek.*
 not know enough what ask.for(RAD) owners.ERG
 'Owners don't know how much to ask for.' [H.U. Gontz.:31]

- (1641) a. *Nora joan erabaki behar dugu.*
 where.to go decide have AUX
 'We have to decide where to go.'
- b. *Pentsatu duzu zer ipini afaltzeko?*
 think AUX what put dine.tzeko
 'Have you thought what to make for dinner?'
- c. *Piper beteak zelan prestatu azaldu genion.*
 pepper stuffed.DET.PL how prepare explain AUX
 'We explained [him/her] how to prepare stuffed peppers.'

Most of the tenseless indirect questions are headed by *wh*-words; indirect yes-no questions are possible as long as the tag *ala ez* or, marginally, *ala X* are added, but not otherwise:

- (1642) a. **Ez dakit botoa eman.*
 not know vote give
 'I am not sure whether to vote.'
- b. *Ez dakit botoa eman ala ez.*
 not know vote give or not
 'I am not sure whether to vote or not.'
- c. *?Ez dakit botoa eman ala etxean gelditu.*
 not know vote give or home.LOC stay
 'I am not sure whether to vote or stay home.'
- (1643) a. **Botoa eman erabaki behar dugu.*
 vote give decide need AUX
 'We have to decide whether to vote.'
- b. *Botoa eman ala ez erabaki behar dugu.*
 vote give or not decide need AUX
 'We have to decide whether to vote or not.'
- c. *?Botoa eman ala etxean gelditu erabaki behar dugu.*
 vote give or home.LOC stay decide
 need AUX
 'We have to decide whether to vote or stay home.'

The word *ea* (cf. section 4.10.1.1.2) is less common but perfectly grammatical in tenseless indirect questions:

- (1644) a. *Ez dakit ea botoa eman ala ez.*
 not know *ea* vote give or not
 'I am not sure whether to vote or not.'
- b. *Erabaki egin behar dut ea udan*
 decide do have AUX *ea* summer.LOC
nora joan oporretan.
 where.to go vacations.LOC
 'I have to decide where to go on vacation this summer.'

As the reader can see, tenseless indirect questions require a silent subject that is interpreted as coreferential with the main subject; this necessity of a controlled empty subject may disappear with certain verbs (usually of influence) that allow indirect questions:

- (1645) a. *Nor da, ba, bera ni bakazioetan nora*
 who is thus she I vacations.LOC where.to
joan eta norekin joan erabakitzeke?
 go and who.with go decide.tzeko
 'Who is she/he to decide where and with whom I go on vacation?'
- b. *Berak esan/erabaki/ikusi beharko du*
 she.ERG tell/decide/see have.FUT AUX
gu non jarri.
 we where locate
 'She/he will tell/decide/see where we sit.'
- c. *Ugazabak ondo pentsatu beharko du*
 boss.ERG well think need.FUT AUX
hemendik aurrera guk zer egin.
 here.from forward.to we.ERG what do
 'The boss will have to think over what we do from now on.'
- d. *Alkateak aginduko du kontzejal*
 mayor.ERG command.FUT AUX councillor
bakoitzak zer egin.
 each.ERG what do
 'The mayor will order what each town councillor does.'

- (1646) *Alkateari galdetu diogu zeinek txerria hil.*
 mayor.DAT ask AUX who.ERG pig kill
 'We asked the mayor who should kill the pig.'
 [Laka & Uriagereka 1987:399]

- (1647) *E[uropako] B[atasuna]k erronka berriei*
 Europe.REL union.ERG challenge new.PL.DAT
nola aurre egin eztabaidatuko dute hamabost
 how front do discuss.FUT AUX fifteen
estatuburuek.
 state.heads.ERG
 'The fifteen heads of state will discuss how the European Union
 may confront the new challenges.' [*Egunk.* 1995/12/15]

After having described tenseless indirect questions, let us now turn to the issue of control and obviation of the subject in non-finite structures.

4.10.1.2.5. Subject obviation in non-finite complement structures.

Contrary to what happens in many Indo-European languages, there is no clear complementary distribution between lexical and empty subjects in Basque non-finite subordinate structures (cf. Ortiz de Urbina (to appear)). The most clear-cut case of obligatorily controlled empty subjects (marked here 'E') comes from tenseless indirect questions:

- (1648) *PRO_i ez dakigu [E_{i,*j} zer egin euskaltegi honekin].*
 not know what do academy this.with
 'We don't know what to do with this Basque language academy.'
 [rock song]

Yet we have just seen (examples (1645)-(1647) above) that a subset of verbs selecting indirect questions may allow for a lexical, non-controlled subject.

Nominalized claused headed by *-t(z)e* + *article* and case-marked as absolutive also display an alternation of lexical/empty subjects in many cases:

- (1649) a. *PRO_i [Jon_{ek} bazkaria prestatzea]*
 Jon.ERG lunch prepare.NOM.DET decide
erabaki dugu.
 AUX
 'We decided that Jon would prepare lunch.'
 b. *PRO_i [E_{i,j} bazkaria prestatzea] erabaki dugu.*
 'We decided that we/somenone else would prepare lunch.'

- (1650) a. *PRO_i [Jonek_j bazkaria prestatzea]*
 Jon.ERG lunch prepare.NOM.DET
espero dugu.
 hope AUX
 ‘We hope for Jon’s preparing lunch.’
 b. *PRO_i [E_{ij} bazkaria prestatzea] espero dugu.*
 ‘We hope to prepare lunch/for somebody else to prepare lunch.’
- (1651) a. *PRO_i [Jonek_j bazkaria prestatzea] nahi dugu.*
 Jon.ERG lunch prepare.NOM.DET want AUX
 ‘We want Jon to prepare lunch.’
 b. *PRO_i [E%_{i,j} bazkaria prestatzea] nahi dugu.*
 ‘We want to prepare lunch/somebody else to prepare lunch.’
- (1652) a. *Epaimahaiak_i [zuk_j euskaraz jakitea]*
 committee.ERG you Basque.INSTR know.NOM.DET
aintzat hartuko du.
 account take.FUT AUX
 ‘The committee will value your knowing the Basque language.’
 b. *Epaimahaiak_i [E*_{ij} euskaraz jakitea] aintzat hartuko du.*
 ‘The committee will value [somebody else’s] knowing the Basque language.’
- (1653) a. *PRO_i [Jonek_j bazkaria prestatzea] pentsatu*
 Jon.ERG lunch prepare.NOM.DET think
dugu.
 AUX
 ‘We thought of Jon’s preparing lunch.’
 b. *PRO_i [E_{ij} bazkaria prestatzea] pentsatu dugu.*
 ‘We thought of our/someone else’s preparing lunch.’

Those verbs that also admit subjunctive complements will allow for an empty subject that may or may not be coreferential with the main subject, although the preferred interpretation is that of coreference between the two subjects; the cases of *nahi* and *behar* are slightly different since the control structure is usually given by the participle + *nahi/behar* structure, as explained in section 4.10.1.2.3. As for verbs that do not select for subjunctives (cf. *aintzat hartu*, *pentsatu* above), the reader can see that the situation may vary from optional (but preferred) control of an empty subject (the case of *pentsatu* ‘think’), to obligatory disjoint reference (the case of *aintzat hartu* ‘take into account’).

Verbs of influence such as *debekatu* 'prohibit', *galarazi* 'forbid', or *proposatu* 'propose', which also select a *-t(z)e* + *a* complement, seem at first hand to require an empty subject obligatorily controlled by the dative argument:

- (1654) a. *Gurasoek* [*E_i* *film hori ikustea*]
 parents.ERG film that see.NOM.DET
galarazi diote Amaiari_i.
 forbid AUX Amaia.DAT
 'Her parents forbade Amaia to go to see that movie.'
- b. *Gurasoek* [*E_i* *film hori ikustea*]
 parents.ERG film that see.NOM.DET
proposatu diote Amaiari_i.
 propose AUX Amaia.DAT
 'Her parents proposed going to see that movie to Amaia.'

Yet Salaburu (1986b:399) gives the following example as grammatical (though pragmatically odd):

- (1655) *Joni eta Mireni debekatu diet [semeek*
 Jon.DAT and Miren.DAT forbid AUX sons.ERG
elkar ikustea].
 each.other see.NOM.DET
 'I forbade Jon and Miren for their sons to see each other.'

and Goenaga (1984:289) cites the following example with an overt (emphatic) pronoun as the subject of the nominalization:

- (1656) *Debekatu egin diot Alberdiri [karta berak*
 forbid do AUX Alberdi.DAT letter he.ERG
idaztea].
 write.NOM.DET
 'I forbade Alberdi to write the letter himself.'

It is not particularly difficult to have an overt subject with *proposatu* either:

- (1657) a. *Argitaletxeak [gramatika berri bat*
 publisher.DET.ERG grammar new one
idaztea] proposatu dit.
 write.NOM.DET propose AUX
 'The publisher proposed writing a new grammar to me.'

- Leaving aside the issue of the semantics of *debekatu* (Goenaga suggests that it might mean not only 'forbid' but 'transmit a prohibition to somebody'; similar considerations apply to *proposatu*), it looks like, despite the phenomenon of control, nominalized clauses headed by *-t(z)e + a* do accept lexical subjects, especially emphatic pronouns.

(1658) a. *Aitak Amaiari_i [E_{ij} hona*
 father.ERG Amaia.DAT here.to
etortzeko] esan dio.
 come.tzeko tell AUX
 ‘Father told Amaia (Amaia)/someone else to come here.’
 b. *Aitak Amaiari_i [guj hona etortzeko] esan dio.*
 we
 ‘Father told Amaia that we should come here.’

(1659) a. ?*Alderdiek* [*suetenak* *jarraitzeko*]
 parties.ERG ceasefire.ERG continue.tzeco
erregutu diote ETAr.
 urge AUX ETA.DAT
 'The parties have urged ETA for the ceasefire to continue.'

- b. ?*Sindikatu*ek *errektore*ari [*unibertsitate*ak
 labor.unions.ERG rector.DAT university.DET.ERG
soldata igotzeko] *eskatuko diote*.
 salary raise.tzeko ask.FUT AUX
 'The labor unions will ask the rector that the university raise salaries.'
- c. ?*Joni* [*zuek hona etortzeko*] *agindu diot*.
 Jon.DAT you here.to come.tzeko command AUX
 'I ordered Jon for you to come here.'

- (1660) [*Nuñezek dimisioa aurkezteko*]
 Nuñez.ERG resignation.DET hand.in.tzeko
eskatuko dute.
 demand.FUT AUX
 'They will demand that Nuñez hand in his resignation.'
 [Egunk. 99/3/17]

Once again, the issue seems to be the semantics of the governing verbs, i.e. whether they accept a meaning whereby the receiver of the command or order or suggestion is not the one who carries it out; but beyond this (apparently lexico-semantic) restriction, the structures headed by *-t(z)eko* give the impression of accepting overtly realized subjects.

Nominalized clauses headed by *t(z)e + a* in subject position (case-marked absolutive and ergative) allow alternations between lexical and empty subjects; the latter can sometimes be controlled by other arguments or else be interpreted as an arbitrary third person subject:

- (1661) a. [*Gazteek kirola egitea*] *ona da*.
 youngsters.ERG sport do.NOM.DET good.DET is
 'It is good for young people to exercise.'
- b. [*Kirola egitea*] *ona da*.
 sport do.NOM.DET good is
 'Exercising is good.'
- (1662) a. [*13 urteko neska-mutilek erretzeak*]
 year.REL girl-boys.ERG smoke.NOM.DET.ERG
kezka sortzen du.
 worry create.IMP AUX
 'Thirteen year olds' smoking makes one worry.'

- b. [Erretzeak] kalte egiten du.
 smoke.NOM.DET.ERG harm do.IMPF AUX
 'Smoking causes harm (to your health).'

- (1663) a. [Lankideek erretzeak] buruhauste
 workmates.ERG smoke.NOM.DET.ERG headache
 franko ematen dit.
 many give.IMPF AUX
 'My workmates' smoking gives me a lot of headaches.'
- b. [Erretzeak] buruhauste franko ematen dit.
 smoke.NOM.DET.ERG headache many give.IMPF AUX
 'Smoking gives me a lot of headaches.'

Nominalized clauses headed by $[t(z)e + a]$ which bear dative case, may also show phenomena of obligatory control by the main subject. As expected, it heavily depends on the lexical specification of the governing verb: verbs like *utzi* with the meaning 'quit' and *ekin* 'engage in' require control of the subject of the nominalization and resist a lexical subject:

- (1664) a. *Jonek_i* [*E_i/j* *tabakoa erretzeari*] *utzi dio*.
 Jon.ERG tobacco smoke.NOM.DET.DAT quit AUX
 'Jon quit smoking cigarettes.'
- b. **Jonek* [*Mirenek tabakoa erretzeari*]
 Jon.ERG Miren.ERG tobacco smoke.NOM.DET.DAT
utzi dio.
 quit AUX
 'Jon quit Miren's smoking cigarettes.'
- (1665) a. *Jonek_i* [*E_i/*j* *tabakoa erretzeari*]
 Jon.ERG tobacco smoke.NOM.DET.DAT
ekin dio berriro.
 engage.in AUX again
 'Jon has engaged in smoking cigarettes again.'
- b. **Jonek* [*Mirenek tabakoa erretzeari*]
 Jon.ERG Miren.ERG tobacco smoke.NOM.DET.DAT
ekin dio.
 engage.in AUX
 'Jon has engaged in Miren's smoking cigarettes.'

but others, like *kendu* 'lessen', *iritzi* 'consider, regard' do not:

- (1666) a. *Jonek_i garrantzia kentzen dio* [*E_{ij} tabakoa*
 Jon.ERG importance lessen AUX tobacco
erretzeari].
 smoke.NOM.DAT
 'Jon minimizes the importance of smoking cigarettes.'
- b. *Jonek garrantzia kentzen dio* [*Mirenek*
 Miren.ERG
tabakoa erretzeari].
 'Jon minimizes the importance of Miren's smoking cigarettes.'
- (1667) a. *Jonek_i ondo deritzo* [*E_{ij} tabakoa*
 Jon.ERG well regards tobacco
erretzeari].
 smoke.NOM.DET.DAT
 'Jon approves of smoking cigarettes.'
- b. *Jonek ondo deritzo* [*Mirenek tabakoa*
 Miren.ERG
erretzeari].
 'Jon approves of Miren's smoking cigarettes.'

The situation with *-t(z)en* complements differs from the rest of non-finite structures; most of the verbs which require this kind of complement always impose obligatory control, and the possibility of a lexical subject seems remote:

- (1668) a. **Jon Mirenek ingelesa ikasten ari da.*
 Jon Miren.ERG English learn.tzen ari AUX
 '(lit. Jon is Miren's learning English.)' (semiauxiliary)
- b. **Jon Mirenek ingelesa ikasten hasi da.*
 begin AUX
 '(lit. Jon started Miren's learning English.)' (aspectual)
- c. **Jonek Mirenek ingelesez hitz egiten*
 English.INSTR word do.tzen
ikasi du.
 learn AUX
 '(lit. Jon has learned how Miren to speak English.)' (knowledge)
- d. **Jon Mirenek ingelesa irakasten ikusi dut.*
 English teach.tzen see AUX
 'I saw Jon Miren's teaching [him] English.' (perception)

- e. ??*Joni Mirenek ingelesa irakasten utzi diot.*
Jon.DAT Miren.ERG English teach.tzen let AUX
'(lit). I let Jon Miren's teaching [him] English.' (*utzi*-class)
cf. *Joni Mirenek ingelesa irakats diezaion*
teach(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en
utzi diot.
let AUX
'I let Jon Miren's teaching [him] English.' '(lit). I allowed Jon
that Miren teach him English.'
- f. ??*Jon Mirenek ingelesa ikasten saiatu da.*
learn.tzen try AUX
'Jon tried for Miren to learn English.' (*saiatu*-class)
cf. *Jon Mirenek ingelesa ikas dezan*
learn AUX(SUBJ).en
saiatu da.
'(lit). Jon tried that Miren learn English.'
- g. **Azterketa hauek zailak dira zuk*
test these tough.DET.PL are you.ERG
ondo egiten. (compl. ADJ).
well do.tzen
'These tests are hard for you to do well.'

As just seen, the *saiatu* and triadic classes (*lagundu* 'help', *utzi* 'let') seem to be the only ones that very marginally might accept a lexical, non-controlled, subject; this may be related to the possibility of selecting a full clause (cf. examples [1668 e',f']) and/or the alternation they show with *-t(z)era* in other dialects.

Finally, *-t(z)era* complements also seem to require an obligatorily controlled empty subject in most cases:

- (1669) a. *Ni* [*Ei**_j *ogia eroatera*] *noa*.
I bread buy.NOM.ALL go
'I am going to buy bread.'
b. **Ni* [*zuk ogia eroatera*] *noa*.
I you.ERG bread buy.NOM.ALL go
'(lit). I am going to your buying bread.'
- (1670) a. *Amak umeai* [*Ei**_j *ohea egitera*] *behartu zuen*.
mother.ERG child bed do. NOM.ALL force AUX
'The mother forced the child to make the bed.'

- b. **Amak umea [panpinak ohea egitera]*
 mother.ERG child puppet.ERG bed do.NOM.ALL
behartu zuen.
 force AUX
 '(lit). The mother forced the child to the puppet's making the bed.'

- (1671) a. *Pamiela_i ez da ausartu [E_i*_j gaztelaniazko*
 not AUX dare Spanish.REL
liburu bat argitaratzera].
 book one publish.NOM.ALL
 'Pamiela has not ventured to publish a (certain) book in Spanish.'
- b. **Pamiela ez da ausartu [Atxagak*
 Atxaga.ERG
gaztelaniazko liburu bat argitaratzera].
 '(lit). Pamiela has not ventured to Atxaga's publishing a book in Spanish.'

Nonetheless, many speakers accept the possibility of having emphatic pronouns as subjects of these *-i(z)era* complements:

- (1672) *Okindegira jaitsi nintzen [ogia neuk*
 bakery.to go.down AUX bread I.INTS.ERG
erostera].
 buy.NOM.ALL
 'I went down to the bakery to buy the bread myself.'
- (1673) *Amak behartu egin zuen umea [ohea*
 mother.ERG force do AUX child bed
berak egitera].
 he.INTS.ERG do.NOM.ALL
 'The mother forced the child to make the bed himself.'
- (1674) *El Mundo ez zen ausartu [artikulu_a berak*
 El Mundo not AUX dare article it.INTS.ERG
argitaratzera].
 publish.NOM.ALL
 'El Mundo didn't venture to publish the article itself (=El Mundo).'

This possibility of having emphatic pronouns also extends to *-t(z)en* complements of the *saiatu* and triadic classes, precisely those whose complements alternate with *-tzera* depending on the dialect:

- (1675) *Joni gurasoek [autoa berak gidatzen]*
 Jon.DAT parents.ERG car he.INTS.ERG drive.*tzen*
uzten diote.
 let.IMPF AUX
 'His parents let Jon drive the car by himself.'

- (1676) *Jon arratsaldean saiatuko da [ardoa berak erosten].*
 Jon afternoon.LOC try AUX wine he.INTS.ERG
 buy.*tzen*
 'Jon will try in the afternoon to buy the wine himself.'

Therefore, as in the case of verbs of influence and command, and despite the tendency to have an obligatorily controlled empty subject, *-t(z)era* structures do seem to allow for lexical subjects; admittedly, the latter are generally emphatic pronouns.

4.10.2. *Adjunct subordination*

X. Artiagoitia

Having described the most common types of complement structures, both finite and non-finite, we now turn to a description of subordinate clauses that are not subcategorized by the verb. We will follow a similar approach to that in 4.10.1: first, we discuss finite subordinates on a form-by-form basis, and, second, we deal with non-finite structures. Due to the great dialectal fragmentation in this respect, the discussion here will be less detailed than in the case of complement structures.

4.10.2.1. *Finite clauses*

Some of the complementizers used in complement clauses are also used in adjunct clauses, either in their basic form or as the morphological basis for a more complex complementizer. We will discuss structures with the following subordinating elements: first, *-ela* and the different complementizers formally based on it (4.10.2.1.1); secondly, *-en* and the different comple-

mentizers formally based on it (4.10.2.1.2); then, *bait* (4.10.2.1.3); and, finally, other subordinators (4.10.2.1.4).

We include here a chart containing the major tensed adjunct types formed by subordinating affixes. A similar summary of tenseless adjuncts is given at the end of section 4.10.2.2.3.

Table 151. Tensed adjunct clauses

comp		Clause type	Example
<i>-(e)la</i>		Manner. Temporal	<i>dakarrela</i> 'while, as s/he brings'
	+ PRTT	Manner. Temporal	<i>dakarrelarik</i> 'while, as s/he brings'
	+ REL	Causal	<i>dakarrelako</i> 'because s/he brings'
<i>-(e)n</i>		Purposive (Subj).	<i>ekar deza-n</i> 'so that s/he brings'
	+ INSTR	Causal	<i>dakarr-en-ez</i> 'since s/he brings'
	+ Temporal Case	Temporal	<i>dakarr-en-ean</i> 'when s/he brings' <i>dakarr-en-etik</i> 'since s/he brings'
	+ post-position	Temporal	<i>dakarr-en arte</i> 'until s/he brings'
		Manner	<i>dakarr-en bezala</i> 'as s/he brings'
		Concessive	<i>dakarr-en arren</i> 'though s/he brings'
<i>bait-</i>		Causal	<i>baitakar</i> 'since s/he brings'
		Relative	<i>baitakar</i> 'that brings'
<i>ba-</i>		Conditional	<i>badakar</i> 'if s/he brings'

4.10.2.1.1. Adjunct clauses based on the complementizer *-ela*

4.10.2.1.1.1. Temporal and modal clauses headed by *-ela*

The complementizer *-ela* gives rise to subordinate clauses that have either a temporal (simultaneity, not specifying a particular moment in time) or modal value:

- (1677) *Aspaldi, artean gazte eta berde ginela,*
 long.ago still young and green were.ela
erretrato bat egitera hotsegin ziguten
 portrait one do.NOM.ALL call AUX
eskola ttikian genbiltzan guztioi.
 school small.LOC walked.en all.DAT
 'Long time ago, when we were still young and green, they called all of us who were at the small school to do a portrait.' [Atx. *Ob.*:199]
- (1678) *Eta munduaren inguru nekerik gabe*
 and world.GEN around tire.PRTT without
gabiltzala, lagun artean gara.
 walk.ela friend among are
 'And as we go placidly around the world, we are among friends.' [Mitx. EIG I:181]
- (1679) *Zer egin ez nekiela geratu nintzen.*
 what do not knew.ela stay AUX
 'I stood there not knowing what to do.'
- (1680) *Zinera etorri gara gaur ere, ustez*
 cinema.ALL come AUX today too thinking
behintzat, baina, nola ez dakigula, teatroan
 at.least but how not know.ela theatre.LOC
arkitzen gara.
 find.IMPF AUX
 'We came to the movies also today, or so we thought, but, we without knowing how, we find ourselves at the theatre.' [Mitx. EIG I: 124]

Mitxelena (in a footnote mentioned in Villasante 1979:201) points out that this modal/temporal *-ela* is not exactly homophonous with the completive *-ela* since they have a different accentual pattern (in some Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian dialects).

4.10.2.1.1.2. Temporal and modal clauses headed by *-elarik*

This a dialectal variant of modal/temporal *-ela*, formed from *-ela* + *rik* (partitive, adverbial). The *-ela/-elarik* isogloss seems to separate the Bizkaian

and Gipuzkoan area from eastern dialects (cf. Zuazo 1998a:221), with some varieties using both forms. Here are some examples of *-elarik*:

- (1681) *Jaikitzen da, jauzi egiten duelarik.*
 rise.IMPF AUX jump do.IMPF AUX.*elarik*
 'S/he gets up, jumping.' [H.U. Gontz.:124]
- (1682) *Ikhusteko omen zen, presondegitik*
 see.NOM.REL apparently was prison.from
hiriaren erdira zeramatelarik orga handi
 city.GEN middle.ALL carried.*elarik* cart big
batzuen gainean xutik, burua gora,
 some.GEN top.LOC standing.up head up.ALL
begia zorrotz, alde orotarot oihuz.
 eye firm place all.ALL shout.INSTR
 'It was worth seeing [him], as they were carrying him to the center of the city, standing up on top of some carts, with his head up, defiant eyes, shouting in all directions.' [H.U. Gontz.:124]
- (1683) *...soldado zelarik, ezagutu [zuen] euskaldun*
 soldier was.*elarik* know AUX Basque
batzuekin.
 some.with
 '...while he was a soldier, he made friends with some Basques.'
 [Herria 99/2/25]

Nonetheless, the range of temporal values that the eastern suffix *-elarik* may have seem wider than simple simultaneity with no specific point in time:

- (1684) *Lana bukatzen duzularik, afaltzerat joango*
 job finish.IMPF AUX.*elarik* dine.NOM.ALL go.FUT
gara.
 AUX
 'When you have finished your job, we will go to have dinner.'
- (1685) *...kartzelatik atera zelarik, bere lehen*
 prison.from come.out AUX.*elarik* his first
oharra izan zen...
 comment be AUX
 'After he had come out of prison, his first comment was...' [Egunk-
 aria 1999/4/21]

- (1686) *Milosevic zentzugabe horrek bere autonomia*
 Milosevic senseless that.ERG its autonomy
kendu ziolarik eskualde horri, horko
 take.away AUX.elarik region that.DAT there.REL
jendeen %80 albaniarrek direlarik,
 population.GEN Albanian are.elarik
pentsatzeko zen goixago edo berantxago
 think.NOM.REL was sooner or later
izanen zela oraino zalaparta ederrik!
 be.FUT AUX.ela still disorder beautiful.PRTT
 ‘After that senseless Milosevic took away that territory’s autonomy,
 80% of the population being Albanian, it was predictable that sooner
 or later there would be big trouble again.’ [Herria 1999/4/15]

4.10.2.1.1.3. Causal clauses headed by *-elako*

Formally, this complementizer is nothing but the combination of *-ela* and the relational suffix *-ko*, and, as such, it is the usual form that declarative complement clauses take when they modify a noun:

- (1687) a. *Trebiño Araba dela aldarrikatu dute*
 Trebiño Araba is.ela claim AUX
bertako herritar askok.
 there.REL citizen many.ERG
 ‘Many citizens from there claimed that Trebiño is [=belongs to]
 Araba.’
- b. *Trebiño Araba delako aldarrikapena*
 Trebiño Araba is.elako claim
 ‘the claim that Trebiño belongs to Araba’

Nonetheless, *-elako* functions, in addition, as a non-derived complementizer in causal adjunct clauses:

- (1688) *Egia da nik ikusi dudalako.*
 true is I.ERG see AUX.elako
 ‘(I know) it’s true because I’ve seen it.’

- (1689) *Ez dizut deitu mendira joateko*
 not AUX call mountain.ALL go.NOM.REL
gogorik ez neukalako.
 wish.PRTT not had.elako
 'I didn't call you because I had no desire to go hiking.'

- (1690) *Inork agintzen ez didalako dut*
 anybody.ERG command.IMPF not AUX.elako AUX
maite maite dudana.
 love love AUX.en.DET
 'It's because nobody tells me so that I love what I love.' [Sarri.
Izuen 1981:44]

One feature that distinguishes *-elako* from other finite causal subordinators is the ability of subordinated verbs with this suffix to occupy the preverbal focus position of the main clause, as can be inferred from the example in (1690). See 4.4.5.3.1.

The singular locative suffix *-an* can be added to *-elako*. The resulting ending roughly translates as 'in the belief that':

- (1691) a. *Ez zaitut deitu kanpoan zinelako.*
 not AUX call away.LOC were.elako
 'I didn't call you because you were out of town.'
- b. *Ez zaitut deitu kanpoan zinelakoan.*
 not AUX call away.LOC were.elakoan
 'I didn't call you in the belief that you were out of town.'

Most Basque grammarians treat *-elakoan* as a separate complementizer.

4.10.2.1.2. Adjunct clauses based on the complementizer *-en*

4.10.2.1.2.1. Purposive clauses headed by *-en*

Subordinated clauses with a verb in the subjunctive mood can function as purposive clauses (as well as complement clauses to certain governing verbs; cf. section 4.10.1.1.3):

- (1692) *Hemendik hara doazin gazteak, bereziki*
 here.from there.ALL go.en young specially
neskatxak, nahi lituzkete beiratu, bidatu, eror
 girls want AUX watch guide fall(RAD)
ez ditzen otsoen atzaparretarat.
 not AUX(SUBJ).en wolves.GEN claws.ALL
 'They would like to watch and guide the youngsters that go from here to there, especially girls, so that they don't fall in the hands of the wolves.' [H.U. Gontz.:156]

- (1693) *Esango dizuet zer den film hori, ikusi*
 tell.FUT AUX what is.en film that see
gabe lasai geldi zaitezten.
 without calm remain(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en
 'I will tell you what that film is like, so that you can feel confident without seeing it.' [Mitx. EIG I:131]

- (1694) *Amets bideetan barrena ez gaituzte*
 dream ways.LOC through not AUX
eramango, txorabia ez gaitezen.
 carry.FUT faint(RAD) not AUX(SUBJ).en
 'They won't take us through the world of dreams, so that we don't faint.' [Mitx. EIG I:181]

- (1695) *Dei bat egiten digu film honek —dei bat*
 call one do.IMPF AUX film this.ERG call one
da, hobeto esan, film osoa— zorigaitz beltz
 is well say film entire.DET disgrace black
hori guztion artean alden dezagun.
 that all.GEN among take.away(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en
 'This film makes a plea—or rather the entire film is a plea—for all of us together to remove this unfortunate disgrace.' [Mitx. EIG I:195]

Ocasionalmente, the suffix *-en* may be reinforced with some other suffix like *-tzat* or *-gatik* (These suffixes are primarily used in nominal inflection, cf. *mutil-aren-tzat* 'for the boy', *mutil-aren-gatik* 'because of the boy'):

- (1696) *Bi eskuak [zituen] bizkarrean estekatuak eta*
 two hands had back.LOC tied.DET.PL and
zangoak ere labur- laburra elgarri,
 legs too short short each.other.DAT
lasterka joan etzadingatik.
 running go not.AUX(SUBJ).en.gatik
 'He had both hands tied in the back and the legs close to each other,
 so that he wouldn't run away.' [H.U. Gontz.:129]

- (1697) *...eta ardiak bertzetara khentzearekin,*
 and sheep other.ALL remove.NOM.DET.with
ematen da bigarren arhaldi bat, onkhailua
 give.IMPF AUX second plowing one fertilizer
lurrak hobeki begira dezantzat.
 land.ERG better keep(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en.tzat
 '...and upon taking the sheep somewhere else, one does a second
 plowing so that the land gets the fertilizer better.' [Duv. L.L.: 275]

4.10.2.1.2.2. Adverbial clauses headed by *-enez* (*gero*)

Many other types of adjunct subordinate clauses are formed with the complementizer *-en* followed by some other suffix. One such example is *-enez*, from *-en* + instrumental *-z*, which has an explicative or causal value and generally precedes the matrix clause:

- (1698) a. *Ikaslerik etorri ez denez, ez dut*
 student.PRTT come not AUX.enez not AUX
eskolarik emango.
 class.PRTT give.FUT
 'Since no student has shown up, I won't give a lecture.'
- b. **Ez dut eskolarik emango ikaslerik*
 not AUX class.PRTT give student.PRTT
etorri ez denez.
 come not AUX.enez

- (1699) *Baina, hain gaztea ez naizenez, nahiago*
 but so young not am.enez want.more
dut begiratu ea beti aurreraka ibili ote
 AUX look ea always forward.ADV walk PTCL
garen.
 AUX.en
 'But, since I am not so young, I prefer to check whether we have
 truly always moved forward.' [Mitx. EIG I: 160]

The instrumental suffix may be combined with the word *gero* 'later, afterwards' as a postposition, both with NPs and with clauses. Both spellings in (1700) are acceptable for NP complements with temporal value. (The entire postposition is pronounced *ezkero*, no matter which writing is used. The same phonetic remark applies to clausal *-enez gero*. For most speakers, *ezkero* seems to be just a different lexical item and, although the Basque Academy recommends the spelling *-enez gero*, the variant spelling *-en ezkero* is fairly frequent in the west):

- (1700) *gabonez gero/gabonak ezkero*
 christmas.INSTR after/christmas.DET.PL *ezkero*
 'after/since Christmas'
- (1701) *Ikaslerik etorri ez denez gero, ez dut*
 student.PRTT come not AUX.enez after not AUX
eskolarik emango.
 class.PRTT give
 'Since no student has shown up, I won't give a lecture.'
- (1702) *Eta gure arimaren eguneroko —edo*
 and our soul.GEN every.day.REL or
asteroko— ogia hori dugunez gero, hemen
 every.week bread this AUX.enez gero here
ere aterpe txiki bat, narrasa bada ere, utzi
 too shelter small one careless if.is even leave
nahi genioke.
 want AUX.POT
 'And since that [= cinema] is our daily—or weekly—bread, we
 would like to devote this small shelter, even if it is a poorly kept
 one, to it.' [Mitx. EIG I:123]

In eastern dialects, the definite (i.e. with article) form with the instrumental case ending is used; the resulting form is then *-enaz gero(z)*:

- (1703) *Eta solasean garenaz geroz, baditugu*
 and conversation.LOC are.enaz geroz ba.have
hemen bi hitz errateko.
 here two word say.tzeko
 'And since we are speaking, we have two words to say.' [H.U. Gontz.:134]

Unlike *-enez*, *-enez gero* can also have temporal value ('since, from the moment that'):

- (1704) *Ameriketara joan zenez gero ez dugu*
 Americas.ALL go AUX.enez gero not AUX
haren berririk izan.
 that.GEN new.PRTT have
 'We haven't heard about him ever since (after) he left for America.'

- (1705) *Hori da arren Bresci dohakabe, Italiako*
 that is arren Bresci unfortunate Italy.REL
errege hil duenaren bizia, hortarat
 king kill AUX.en.GEN life that.ALL
kondenatu dutenaz geroz.
 sentence AUX.enaz geroz
 'That is poor Bresci's, the man who killed the King of Italy's, life, ever since they sentenced him to that.' [H.U. Gontz.:15]

4.10.2.1.2.3. *-en* and the local case endings: *-enean*, *-enetik*, *-ene(ra)ko*, *-eno /-ino*

The complementizer *-en* also combines with the local or spatio-temporal suffixes (*-an* 'in, on, at', *-tik* 'from', *-rako* 'for'), to form complex complementizers:

- (1706) *Eguzkia atera denetik lanean ibili gara.*
 sun rise AUX.en.ABL work.LOC walk AUX
 'We have been working since the sun rose.'

- (1707) *Ni hiltzen naizenean, ez ehortz elizan.*
 I die.IMPF AUX.en.LOC not bury(RAD) church.LOC
 'When I die, don't bury me in the church.' [Folk song]
- (1708) *Konturatu nintzene(ra)ko, lapurra urrunegi zegoen.*
 realize AUX.ene.ALL.REL thief far.too was
 'By the time I realized, the thief was too far.'

In all three examples above, the verb forms are homophonous with a relative clause with a deleted lexical head, and it is tempting to derive (diachronically at least) these complex complementizers from some headless relative clause. The fact that the locative suffix *-n* can appear in its plural form reinforces the same conclusion (cf. Villasante 1979:104):

- (1709) a. *kale-a-n* *kale-eta-n*
 street-DET-LOC street-PL-LOC
 'in the street' 'in the streets'
- b. *Ikusten zaitudan-etan, aurpegia alaitu*
 see.IMPF AUX.en-PL.LOC, face.DET happy
bezala egiten zait.
 like do.IMPF AUX
 'Whenever I see you (lit. 'on those [occasions] I see you'), my face takes a kind of a happy appearance.'

Nonetheless, as pointed out in 4.10.3, examples (1706) through (1708) cannot be understood strictly speaking as relative clauses with some deleted noun head in so far as the noun object of deletion could be just anyone.

In some dialects, there exists a separate complementizer *-ino* (or *-eno*), which historically is probably a combination of *-en* and some form related to the terminative allative *-raino* 'until, up to' (< *-ra gino*) (cf. de Rijk 1995a:300):

- (1710) a. *Hizkuntza umezurtz —ahaide ezagunik*
 language orphan relative know.PRTT
gabe— duguino, ez dago guretzat
 without have.ino not is we.for
konparazio biderik.
 comparison way.PRTT
 'As long as we have an orphan language—without any known relatives—, there is no comparative method for us.' [Mitx. EIG IV:98]

- b. *Bainan gobernamenduak duen bezin diru*
 but government.ERG has.en as money
emaile guti dueno eta galdatzale anhitz,
 giver few has.eno and demander many
nondik nahi zinukete ihardok dezan?
 where.ABL want AUX.POT reply(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en
 ‘But as long as the government has as few contributors as it has,
 yet a lot of demanders, how do yo want it to reply?’ [H.U.
Gontz.:36]

This complementizer roughly translates as ‘up to the point that’ or ‘as long as’.

4.10.2.1.2.4. -en + other elements: *arren*, *arte*, *bitartean*, *moduan*, ...

In several types of adjunct clauses the subordinated verb bearing -en is accompanied by one of a small set of postpositions. This set includes true postpositions such as *arren* ‘even though, in spite of’, *arte* ‘until’, etc., and lexicalized inflected nouns, such as *moduan* ‘in the manner’, *bitartean* ‘in the interval’. Historically these constructions may derive from relative clauses:

- (1711) a. *Zeuk esan didazun moduan egin dut lana.*
 you.INTS.ERG say AUX.en way.LOC do AUX job
 ‘I did my job the way you told me.’
 b. *Horren moduan egin dut lana.*
 that.GEN way.LOC do AUX job
 ‘I did my job like her/him.’
- (1712) a. *Hemen nagoen bitartean ezingo dut*
 here am.en interval.LOC cannot AUX
gauza handirik egin.
 thing big.PRTT do
 ‘I won’t be able to do much while I am here.’
 b. *Bitarte honetan ezin izan dut gauza*
 interval this.LOC cannot be AUX thing
handirik egin.
 big.PRTT do
 ‘I haven’t been able to do much in the meantime.’

- (1713) a. *Filmaren kredituak amaitu ziren arte*
 film.GEN credits finish AUX until
jezarrita egon ginen.
 sit.PTCP stay AUX
 'We sat there until the credits of the film were over.'
- b. *Amaiera(ra) arte jezarrita egon ginen.*
 end.ALL until sit.PTCP stay AUX
 'We sat there until the end.'

The example (1711a), although construed as a relative clause, is in fact synonymous with the comparative structure with *bezala*, studied in 4.10.4.2, where there is no noun to be relativized:

- (1714) *Zeuk esan didazun bezala egin dut lana.*
 you.INTS.ERG say AUX.en like do AUX job
 'I did my job as you told me.'

The only exception to this (possible) relative clause analysis is western *arren*, which seems to be a now unproductive postposition:

- (1715) a. *Pozarren joango naiz zure ezkontzara.*
 happiness.arren go.FUT AUX you.GEN wedding.ALL
 'I will be glad to go to your wedding (lit. 'I'll go out of happiness').'
- b. *Gustatuko litzaidakeen arren, ezin izango dut zeure ezkontzara joan.*
 like.FUT AUX.POT.en arren cannot AUX.FUT
 AUX you.INTS.ALL wedding.ALL go
 'I won't be able to go to your wedding, even though I'd like to.'

This *arren* is probably related to the now obsolete interrogative word *zerren* 'why', and *a-* is probably the remnant of the article. According to Azkue (1905), the use of *arren* as a postposition with either modal or causal value is restricted to a few nouns (*damuarren* 'out of regret', *jainkoarren* 'for god's sake'). As a subordinating postposition it is productive and has a concessive value when heading a finite clause (see also 4.10.2.2 below for the use of *arren* in non-finite structures).

4.10.2.1.3. Adjunct clauses headed by the complementizer *bait-*

Leaving aside its use in relative clauses, the main use, though not the only one, of the complementizer *bait-*, a verbal prefix, comes as a causal subordinator. This complementizer is used in all dialects except for Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan:

- (1716) *Barka bekio, ez baitzekien zer ari zen.*
 forgive(RAD) AUX not *bait.knew* what *ari* AUX
 ‘Let her/him be forgiven, for she/he didn’t know what she/he was doing.’ [Mitx. EIG I:143]

- (1717) *Liburu horrek berehala ukan zuen arrakasta*
 book that.ERG instantly have AUX success
handia. Iparraldean bainan ere hein batean
 big.DET north.LOC but too degree bat.LOC
Hegoaldean, aita Villasantek ezarri
 south.LOC father Villasante.ERG render
baitzuen Gipuzkoako euskaran.
 bait.AUX Gipuzkoa.REL Basque.LOC
 ‘That book had an immediate success. In the north (of the Basque Country), but to a certain extent also in the south, for father Villasante translated it into Gipuzkoan Basque.’ [Herria 1999/4/14]

- (1718) ...*adinean joanak direnaz geroz, ez*
 age.LOC go.DET.PL AUX.enaz geroz not
dukete mila galtzen biziki gutiren
 AUX thousand lose.IMPF lively little.GEN
emaitea baitute.
 give.NOM.DET *bait.have*
 ‘...given that they are older people (lit. gone in years), they won’t lose a lot of money (lit. a thousand) for they have to give very little.’ [H.U. Gontz.:36]

Nonetheless, values other than causal are possible for *bait-*, as the following examples intend to show:

- (1719) *Bismark zenaren denboran gutik egin*
 Bismark was.DET.GEN time.LOC few.ERG do
du ez baita piztu Espainiaren eta
 AUX not bait.AUX turn.on Spain.GEN and
Alemanian artean gerla bat gaitza.
 Germany.GEN between war one terrible.DET
 'In the time of old Bismark, Spain and Germany very nearly started
 a terrible war between them.' [H.U.Gontz.:165]

- (1720) *Orai, liburu hori ezin atxemana izanki -eta, iduritu*
 now book this cannot get.DET being and seem
baitzauku gaurko egunean ere liburu horrek
 bait.AUX today.REL day.LOC even book that.ERG
dakarren mezua baliosa izan ditakeela, gogoeta
 bring.en message valid be AUX.ela reflection
horien irakurtzea nonahirentzat aberasgarri
 those.GEN read.NOM.DET anybody.for enriching
izan daitekeela, lotu gira beraz bigarren
 be AUX.ela engage AUX thus second
argitalpen bat egiteari.
 edition one do.NOM.DAT
 'Being this book hard to get, and since it seemed to us that the
 book's message is still valid nowadays and that reading its contents
 could be helpful to anybody, we decided to do the second edition.'
 [Herria 1999/4/15]

The value of *bait-*, then, is not limited to express cause; the reader is referred to Oyharçabal (1987) for an extensive discussion of the different uses of this complementizer.

4.10.2.1.4. Adjunct clauses based on complementizer *ba-*

The complementizer *ba-* is a verbal prefix on finite forms which gives rise to conditional sentences (see also 3.5.7.2):

- (1721) ...*egia da egiten diren film asko behin ere*
 true is do.IMPF AUX.en film many once even
sortu ez balira ez genukeela galera handirik..
 spring not if.AUX not AUX.POT.ela loss big.PRTT
 ‘..it is true that we wouldn’t have a big loss if many of the films that
 are made had never existed.’ [Mitx. EIG I:123]
- (1722) *Galdetuko balit norbaitek ea merezi duen*
 ask.FUT if.AUX someone.ERG ea deserve AUX.en
Ginak daraman izengoitia, erdal
 Gina.ERG carry.en nickname.DET foreign
idazkiez beste norbaitek esaten duena
 letters.INSTR other someone.ERG say.IMPF AUX.en.DET
esan beharko nioke.
 say have.FUT AUX.POT
 ‘If someone asked me whether Gina deserves the nickname she carries,
 I should answer what someone else writes in Spanish (lit. ‘says
 in foreign writing’).’ [Mitx. EIG I: 158]
- (1723) *Espainiako presidentearen ustez, ezin*
 Spain.of president.GEN opinion.INSTR cannot
da alderdi guztiak bilduko dituen
 AUX party all.DET.PL gather.FUT AUX.en
elkarrizketa fororik osatu ETAk behin
 conversation forum form ETA.ERG once
betiko su-etena iragartzen ez badu
 always.REL ceasefire announce.IMPF not if.AUX
eta EHk kale indarkeria gaitzesten ez badu.
 and EH.ERG street violence condemn.IMPF not if.AUX
 ‘In the opinion of the president of Spain, one cannot create a new
 conversation forum that would gather all parties unless ETA declares
 a definite ceasefire and unless EH condemns street violence.’
 [Egunk. 1999/4/20]

The prefix *ba-* is accentually distinguished from emphatic *ba-* in some Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan varieties (cf. Azkue 1905, Mitxelena 1981b, Hualde et al. 1995:151 and 4.4.3.2.2).

A conditional clause headed by *ba-* may be optionally introduced by the word *baldin*; the latter may appear at the beginning of the conditional clause or, else, right before the finite verb (*baldin* is used both in Gipuzkoan and in eastern dialects, but not in Bizkaian):

- (1724) a. *Ahaleginak premiazko ditugu hizkuntzak*
 efforts urgent have language.ERG
iraungo baldin badu
 last.FUT baldin if.AUX
 b. *Ahaleginak premiazko ditugu baldin hizkuntzak iraungo badu.*
 'Our efforts are urgently needed if the language is to subsist.'
- (1725) *Presondegiko zainen buruzagiari hitzeman*
 prison.REL keepers.GEN chief.DAT promise
zioten bizia utziko ziotela, baldin populua
 AUX life leave.FUT AUX.ela if people
sartzerat uzten bazuen.
 enter.NOM.ALL let.IMPF if.AUX
 'They promised the head of prison guards that we would guarantee his life provided he let the people get in.' [H.U. Gontz.:60-61]
- (1726) *Atzar gaiten eta erna, nahi*
 rise.(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).en and wake(RAD) want
badugu eskuara, gure mintzaia begiratu: ez
 if.AUX Basque we.GEN language protect not
bal[d]in badugu nahi osoki galtzerat.
baldin if.AUX want completely lose.NOM.ALL
 'Let us get up and wake up, if we want to protect Basque, our language: unless we want it to get lost completely.' [H.U. Gontz.:153]

A conditional clause is the basis for other type of adverbial subordinates, either modal clauses, where the verb is followed by *bezala* 'like, as' ('as if'), or concessive clauses, where the verb is followed by *ere* 'too, even' ('even if'):

- (1727) *Ezer gertatu ez balitz bezala hitz egin zidan.*
 anything happen not if.AUX like word do AUX
 'She talked to me as if nothing had happened.'
- (1728) *Tolosarra bada ere, ez daki euskaraz.*
 Tolosan.DET if.is even not knows Basque.INSTR
 'She doesn't speak Basque, even though she is from Tolosa.'
 [EH:229]

Let us now turn to the study of other adverbial subordinators that are not, strictly speaking, affixes on the verb.

4.10.2.1.5. Non-affixal subordinators

Most non-affixal subordinators precede the subordinate clause and, in addition, require the presence of either *-en* or *bait-*, just like some of the relative clauses studied in 4.10.3. The conjunctions *eta* and *baina* are exceptions to this.

4.10.2.1.5.1. Subordinates headed by *eta* (and *baina*)

Even though *eta* is present in all dialects as a coordinating conjunction equivalent to English ‘and’, only Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan use it as a subordinating clitic to form causal sentences:

- (1729) *Ez naiz zinemara joango, ez daukat*
 not AUX cinema.ALL go.FUT not have
gogorik- eta.
 desire *eta*
 ‘I won’t go to the movies, because I don’t feel like it.’

- (1730) *Ez zaitez jezarri, berehala joan behar*
 not AUX sit immediately go have
dugu etxera-eta.
 AUX home.ALL-*eta*
 ‘Don’t sit down, for we have to go home immediately.’

Eta tends to cliticize to and be phonologically dependent on the rightmost element of the sentence, a fact that results into its being often (but optionally) written with a dash. Nonetheless, some speakers tend to cliticize it to the finite verb form instead:

- (1731) *Ez naiz zinemara joango, ez daukat-eta*
 not AUX cinema.ALL go.FUT not have-*eta*
gogorik. (cf. [1729])
 desire.PRTT
 ‘I won’t go to the movies, because I don’t feel like it.’

Verbs bearing causal *eta*, unlike *-elako*, cannot occupy the preverbal focus position (see also 4.4.5.3.1):

- (1732) **Inork agintzen ez dit-eta maite dut*
 anybody command.IMPF not AUX-eta love AUX
maite dudana.
 love AUX.en.DET
 'It's because nobody tells me to do so that I love what I love.'

And, unlike *-elako* too, *eta* may have scope over the entire utterance:

- (1733) *Goazen ohera, berandu da-eta (*d-elako).*
 go.en bed.ALL late is-eta is-elako
 'Let's go to bed, for it's late.'

This causal or explicative *eta* can also adjoin to subordinate sentences with the complementizer *-ela*:

- (1734) a. *Euria zela eta, bertan behera utzi*
 rain was.ela eta there.LOC down.ALL leave
zuten kantaldia.
 AUX concert
 'They cancelled the concert due to the rain.'
- b. *Datorren urteko lana planifikatu behar*
 next year.REL work plan must
dela eta, bilera batera deitu digute.
 AUX.ela eta meeting one.ALL call AUX
 'They have called us to a meeting, on account that we have to plan next year's work.'

In western Basque, there is another coordinating conjunction that might be thought of as a subordinator: *baina* literally 'but'. As a coordinating conjunction, it usually comes at the beginning of the second conjunct, though other distributions are not excluded:

- (1735) *Esango diot, baina ez daukat gogorik.*
 say.FUT AUX but not have wish.PRTT
 'I will tell him/her, but I have no desire to do so.'
- (1736) *Jonek baietz esan du; Mirenek, baina, ez*
 Jon.ERG yes say AUX Miren.ERG but not
du ezer esan.
 AUX anything say
 'Jon said yes; Miren, however, has not said anything.'

The alleged subordinating use is most apparent when *baina* comes at the end of a sentence; in this case, it behaves as a clitic on the rightmost element of a sentence, be it the finite verb or not:

- (1737) a. *Esango diot, gogorik ez daukat baina.*
 say.FUT AUX desire.PRTT not have but
 'I will tell him/her, although I have no desire to do so.'
 b. *Esango diot, ez daukat gogorik baina.*
 say.FUT AUX not have desire.PRTT but
 'I will tell him/her, although I have no desire to do so.'

It is an open question, however, whether this is a case of true subordination (cf. Villasante 1979:194) and not simple coordination.

4.10.2.1.5.2. Causal and illative *zeren*, *zergatik*, *ezen*, *ze*

These words, which, except for *ezen*, are wh-interrogatives, may introduce causal clauses either by themselves or with the help of the complementizers *-en* or *bait-*; there is a great deal of dialectal variation in the use of these words, but *zeren* 'why' (genitive of *zer* 'what'), and the obsolete *zerren* 'why', seem to have been the most widespread in the Basque literary tradition. Below we provide some examples with *zeren* followed by the corresponding *bait-* (eastern dialects) or *-en* (western dialects) complementizer:

- (1738) ...*noizetik noizera heldu zen Eskual*
 when.from when.ALL arrive AUX Basque
Herrirat bere ahaide batzuen ikustera;
 Country.ALL his relative some.GEN see.NOM.ALL
hori ere bakan, zeren hemengo ahaide
 that too seldom because here.REL relative
hurbilenak beraz bertzelakoak baitzituen.
 closest.DET.PL he.INSTR different.DET.PL bait.had
 'From time to time he came to the Basque Country to visit some of his relatives; but that, he did very seldom too, for his relatives were very much unlike him.' [H.U. Gontz.:144]

- (1739) *Erruki gehiago emoten deust niri,*
 compassion more give AUX me.DAT
gorroto baino, zerren dabilen bere osasun,
 hatred more because walks.en his health
etxe ta izen onaren kaltean.
 home and name good.GEN damage.LOC
 'That produces in me more compassion than hatred, for he goes
 around damaging his health, home and good reputation.' [Mog.
 P.A.:70]

- (1740) *Zenbat gehiago eztire bihotzez estekatuak,*
 how.many more not.are heart.INSTR tied.DET.PL
josiak beren tokiko mintzaiari, zerren
 sewn.DET.PL their place.REL tongue.DAT because
erlisionea kasik orok haurdanik mintzai
 religion almost all.ERG child.from language
hartaz ikhasia duten, guk hemen
 that.INSTR learn.DET AUX.en we.ERG here
eskuaraz bezala?
 Basque.INSTR like
 'How many more [Bretons] are not tied and attached at heart to their
 native language, for almost all of them were taught religion in child-
 hood in that language, just like we were taught here in Basque?'
 [H.U. Gontz.:193]

Nonetheless, *zeren*, together with *zergatik*, *ezen* or the western shortened form *ze* may also introduce a causal clause with no overt complementizer:

- (1741) *Ez naiz afaltzera geratuko ze(ren) bihar*
 not AUX dine.NOM.ALL stay.FUT (be)cause tomorrow
goiz jaiki behar dut lanera joateko.
 early get.up need AUX work.ALL go.tozeco
 'I won't stay for dinner because I have to get up early tomorrow to
 go to work.'
- (1742) *Hortaz egin nezake nik hitzaldia, zergaitik*
 that.INSTR do AUX I.ERG speech because
gai asko daukat bildurik.
 topic many have gather.PTCP
 'I could give the conference on that issue, because I have gathered a
 lot of material.' [Villasante 1979:149]

- (1743) *Zu behar zaitut laudatu, ezen gauza guziak*
 you need AUX glorify for thing all.DET.PL
zureganik heldu dira.
 you.from arrive AUX
 'I must praise you, for all the things come from you.' [EH:270]

In writing or actual speech, the words *zeren*, *ezen* and *ze* are a simple way to keep the flow of the discourse going, and they may appear even after a pause:

- (1744) ...*kábana(k) beté disenian, áre pe esîn*
 canneries fill AUX.*enean* they too cannot
artun geidxago, se bestelan e, eurári be
 take more ze otherwise uh they.DAT too
espaótze erosten, ba sêlan artuko dábe ba.
 not.if.AUX buy.IMP then how take.FUT AUX then
 'When the canneries fill up, they cannot take any more, because otherwise, uh, if they don't buy from them, then how are they going to take it, then!' [HEE:216]

- (1745) *Sartu ez direnak aldiz, gure arabera,*
 enter not AUX.*en*.DET.PL nonetheless we.GEN according
urriki ttipi bat badukete, baina ez buruko
 regret small one ba.have but not head.REL
ileri lotzekorik. Ezen ez da hoin segur,
 hair.DAT tie.*tzeko*.PRTT for not is so sure
erretretaren hitzemailek hitza luzaz
 retirement.GEN promoters.ERG word long
atxik ahalko dutela.
 keep can.FUT AUX.*ela*
 'Those who have not joined in, nonetheless, may have a slight regret in our opinion, but not big enough to pull their hair. For it is not so sure that the promoters of the retirement will manage to keep their word for a long time.' [H.U. Gontz.:36]

- (1746) *Holakoak izan dire haren azken hitzak, ba*
 such.DET.PL be AUX his last words yes
eta naski azken gogoetak ere. Ezen ez
 and of.course last thoughts too for not
du erakutsi den gutieneko urrikirik, ez
 AUX show is.en least.REL regret.PRTT not
gizoneri, ez Jainkoari buruz.
 men.DAT not God.DAT towards
 'Those have been his last words and, needless to say, his last
 thoughts. For he hasn't shown the slightest remorse neither towards
 men, nor towards God.' [H.U. *Gontz.*:130]

This illative behavior also applies to *bait*:

- (1747) *Itzuli zen, bihotza deskantsu, bere Orzaizeko*
 return AUX heart.DET relaxed his Orzaiz.REL
xokho maiterat. Zenbeit aldi geroztik erran
 corner dear.ALL some time after.from say
baitu: ez ziola Jinkoari galdatzen, baizik
 bait.AUX not AUX.ela God.DAT ask.IMPF but
ere Orzaizen bizitzea eta hiltzea.
 too Orzaiz.LOC live.NOM.DET and die.NOM.DET
 'He came back, with his heart in peace, to his dear Orzaiz. For he
 has said several times ever since: that he didn't ask God for any-
 thing but to live and die in Orzaiz.' [H.U. *Gontz.*:136]
- (1748) *Verne pixkaren bat amerikanotu dutela esango du*
 Verne bit.GEN one americanize AUX.ela say.FUT AUX
norbaitek. Hala balitz ere, ez litzateke
 somebody.ERG so if.AUX even not would.be
gehiegizko kalterik. Oso gogoko baitzituen
 excessive damage.PRTT very mind.of bait.had
Vernek, dakigunez, liburuetan behintzat, zirt edo
 Verne.ERG know.enez books.LOC at.least
zarteko amerikano harro ausartak,
 quick.reaction.REL American proud audacious.DET.PL
haien jendetasunak artean gehiegi hondatu ez
 those.GEN upbringing.ERG yet too.much damage not
zituen ohitura lasaiak eta tren-bide bihurriak.
 AUX.en custom quiet.DET.PL and railroad twisted.DET.PL
 (See translation next page).

‘Somebody will say that Verne has become a little bit American. Even if it were so, it would not do too much harm. For, as we know, Verne was very fond, at least in his books, of the audacious proud Americans, of those relaxed habits and sinuous railroads that their education had not yet spoiled.’ [Mitx. EIG I:181]

The complementizer *bait-*, thus, can head a sentence even after a heavy pause.

4.10.2.1.5.3. Adverbial clauses introduced by *ezen*, *non*, *noiz*, *nola*

The word *ezen* and the wh-interrogatives *non* ‘where’ and *noiz* ‘when’ are used in various kinds of adverbial subordinate types. Consecutive clauses are the most salient:

- (1749) *Hitzaldia hain izan da aspergarria, non*
 speech so be AUX boring.DET where
entzuleen erdiak alde egin duen/baitu
 listeners.GEN half.ERG away do AUX.en/bait.AUX
bukatu aurretik.
 finish front.from
 ‘The speech was so boring that half of the audience ran away before it was over.’

- (1750) ...*eta gorri gorrienak hain ziren orduan*
 and red reddest.DET.PL so were then
asaldatuak, non erranen baitzinuen puskatu
 nervous.DET.PL where say.FUT bait.AUX break
behar zutela.
 must AUX.ela
 ‘...and the most liberal [lit. ‘the reddest’] ones were then so nervous that you would have said they were about to break down.’ [H.U. Gontz.:128]

Note that, once again, these two preclausal subordinators require the presence of either *bait-* or *-en* on the finite verb. It is worth mentioning that the same idea of consecution is often conveyed with the simple juxtaposition of two sentences:

- (1751) *Hitzaldia hain izan da aspergarria, entzuleen*
 speech so be AUX boring.DET listeners.GEN
erdiak alde egin du bukatu aurretik.
 half.ERG away do AUX finish front.from
 'The conference was so boring, [that] half of the audience ran away
 before it was over.'

The complementizer *-ela* can also be used in Gipuzkoan, in what appears to be a copy of Spanish *que* (*duela* in the previous example).

Non is also used to form negative conditionals in eastern dialects, always with the complementizer *-en*:

- (1752) ...*egia da eztuzuela ikusiko etxeko-anderea*
 true is not.AUX.*ela* see.FUT housewife
bertzeekin jarririk mahainean jaten; bereziki
 others.with sit.PTCP table.LOC eat.*tzen* specially
arrotz edo atze, bazkaltiar norbeit
 foreign or visitor companion somebody
duelarik; are gutiago pesta egunetan, non
 has.*elarik* even less feast days.LOC where
ez dituen alaba edo seme baten ezteiak.
 not has.*en* daughter or son one.GEN weddings
 'It's true that you won't see a housewife sitting at the table eating
 with others; if she has a dinner guest, especially a visitor, unless she
 celebrates the wedding of a son or a daughter.' [H.U. *Gontz.*:47]

- (1753) ...*horrek erran nahi du oraino haurren*
 that.ERG say want AUX still children.GEN
eta are gehiago burhasoen eginbidea dela
 and even more parents.GEN duty is.*ela*
erlisionea zaintzea, non ez duten
 religion keep.NOM.DET where not have.*en*
erlisionea zangopean ezarri nahi.
 religion foot.under.LOC put want
 'That means that it is still children's and, what's more, parents' duty
 to defend religion, unless they want it oppressed.' [H.U. *Gontz.*:52]

Finally, the *wh*-interrogative *nola* 'how' can also introduce adverbial clauses expressing cause and, less frequently nowadays, manner:

- (1754) *Mendi handiak nola diren, neguan ez*
 mountain big.DET.PL how are.en winter.LOC not
da han giro.
 is there atmosphere
 ‘Since they are high mountains, there isn’t much going on there in the winter.’ [EH:595]
- (1755) *Kontzientzia bere bidean dagoenean, nola*
 conscience its way.LOC is.enean how
baitago bekaturik ez duenean, orduan da
 bait.is sin.PRTT not has.enean time.LOC is
aise eta bere gogara.
 easy and its leisure.ALL
 ‘When conscience is on its path, as it is when it has no sin, then it is free and at leisure.’ [EH:595]

As the reader can verify, *nola* also requires the presence of *bait-* or *-en* on the finite form of the verb.

4.10.2.1.5.4. Adverbial clauses introduced by *nahiz (eta)*...

This word (or pair of words) introduces a concessive subordinate clause, usually with the complementizer *-en*:

- (1756) *Guk hemen Eskual Herrian, ez dugu*
 we.ERG here Basque Country.LOC not have
oraino, Jinkoari esker, gaitz hortarik hanbat,
 yet God.DAT thank sick that.from so.many
nahiz hemen ere tokitan, asko erraiteko
 despite here too place.LOC much say.tzeko
baduketen elgarrez nausi eta langileek.
 ba.AUX.en each.other.INSTR boss and workers.ERG
 ‘Here in the Basque Country, thanks God, we don’t have yet much of this problem, although here too, employers and workers may have something to say about each other in many places.’ [H.U. Gontz.:18]

- (1757) *Ezen bihozdu eta on, biga dire; nahiz*
 for hearted and good two are despite
ongi doazin, elgarrekin direlarik.
 well go.en together.with are.elarik
 'For to have a heart and to be good are two separate things, although they get along well when they go together.' [H.U. Gontz.:145]
- (1758) *Nahiz eta oso segurua ez den, badirudi*
 despite very sure.DET not is.en ba.seems
dirulaguntza emango digutela
 grant give.FUT AUX.ela
 'Though it isn't absolutely sure yet, it seems that they will give us a grant.'

Nahiz (eta) can also be used with the perfect participle:

- (1759) *Osasunak jaso zuen lehenbiziko gola,*
 Osasuna.ERG receive AUX first.REL goal
nahiz eta gero partidua berak irabazi.
 despite later game it.INTS.ERG win
 'Osasuna received the first goal, even though they eventually won the game.'

This is one of the few cases where non-finite verbs admit a clause-initial subordinator, as we shall see in the following section (4.10.2.2).

To summarize: most of the adjunct subordinate clauses involve (a) either clause-initial *wh*-type interrogative pronouns and some verbal prefix or suffix (be it *-ela*, *-en*, or *bait-*), or (b) some complementizer (usually a verbal prefix or suffix) alone; in the latter case, we find simple complementizers or complementizers made up of some basic form (*-en* or *-ela*) and a case-ending. Less numerous (though highly productive in long clauses) are the cases of clause-initial subordinators (*zeren*, *ze*, *ezen*) with no affix on the verb. Finally, in western dialects we find one or two cases of coordinating conjunctions (*eta*, *baina*) that may be claimed to act like subordinating elements. Note, however, that these are not true affixes on the verb, but clitics.

We now turn to the study of non-finite adjunct clauses.

4.10.2.2. Non-finite structures

The range of non-finite adjunct clauses is usually based on the verbal noun or the perfect participle, with a few limited exceptions that we shall ignore here (see Lafitte 1944:207-208).

4.10.2.2.1. Adjunct structures based on the verbal noun

The verbal noun, formed with the suffix *-t(z)e*, may practically take any of the inflectional suffixes that regular noun phrases take. We already discussed the use of absolutive dative or ergative nominalized clauses, in the section of complement structures. We also included there nominalized clauses with the allative case-ending (*-ra*) and regarded them as complement clauses:

- (1760) *Ogia eroatera noa.*
 bread buy.NOM.ALL go
 'I'm going to buy bread.'

In this section we will mention the most possibilities for adjunct nominalized clauses, without attempting to provide a complete list.

4.10.2.2.1.1. Nominalized clauses and the spatio-temporal case-endings

Very frequently, the verbal noun can take the allative case-ending *-ra* to form a non-finite conditional sentence:

- (1761) *Gaixorik egon zarela jakitera, lehenago*
 sick.PRTT be AUX.ela know.NOM.ALL before
etorriko nintzen.
 come.FUT AUX
 'If I had known you were sick, I would've come before.'

The locative suffix *-n* is also a frequent possibility to form temporal adjuncts:

- (1762) a. *Ettxera heltzean, Mireni deituko diot.*
 home.ALL arrive.NOM.LOC Miren.DAT call.FUT AUX
 'I will call Miren upon arriving home.'

- b. *Liburu hau irakurtzean, zutaz gogoratu*
 book this read.NOM.LOC you.INSTR remember
nintzen.

AUX

'I remembered you upon reading this book.'

- (1763) a. *Gazeta bi urthe zituen hasia zela,*
 journal two year had start.PRF.DET AUX.*ela*
gu sartzean.
 we enter.NOM.LOC

'When we joined in, the journal had started two years earlier.'

[H.U. Gontz.:138]

- b. *Bi urthe eta erdi zituen ni gerlarat joaitean.*
 two year and half had I war.ALL go.NOM.LOC
 'He was two and half years old upon my going to war.'

[H.U. Gontz.:118]

Note that, in this case, we find the morph *-a-* (remnant of **ga*, according to de Rijk 1981), also present in regular singular NPs bearing the locative postposition, which is lacking in plain VP-like *-t(z)en* complements.

As shown by Arejita (1984), the temporal adjunct interpretation is not the only possible one for locative nominalized clauses:

- (1764) *Berba egitean, aitaren antza dauka.*
 speak do.NOM.LOC father.GEN resemblance has
 'She takes after her father in (the way/act of) speaking.'

Based on the allative, many dialects resort to a combination of three postpositions (*ra + ko + an*) to generate another adjunct structure, similar to *-t(z)ean* in the temporal value associated with it:

- (1765) a. *Ettxera heltzerakoan, Mireni deituko diot.*
 home.ALL arrive.NOM.*rakoan* Miren.DAT call.FUT AUX
 'I will call Miren upon arriving home.'

- b. *Hori baino itsuskiago mintzatu zen hura*
 that than uglily.more speak AUX that
hiltzerakoan.

die.NOM.*rakoan*

'That one spoke more uglily than this one upon dying.' [H.U. Gontz.:131]

Finally, the ablative suffix is also possible with a nominalized clause, but the meaning is always literal:

- (1766) *Patatak batzetik nator.*
 potatoes gather.NOM.from come
 'I'm coming from gathering potatoes.'

Given that ablative nominalized clauses occur mainly with movement verbs, one might want to consider them true complements (see 4.10.2.1.2 above).

4.10.2.2.1.2. *-t(z)eko* adjuncts and related forms

The verbal noun can take the suffix *-ko* to form purposive non-finite structures:

- (1767) *Zuek hemen sartzeko, lehenago guk irten*
 you here enter.tzeko before we.ERG leave
egin beharko dugu.
 do must.FUT AUX
 'In order for you to get in, first we will have to get out.'

- (1768) *Baina oraingoan ez zaigu Bardem kontatzen*
 but now.of.LOC not AUX Bardem tell.tzen
hasi, noiz eta nola konta badakiela
 start when and how tell(RAD) ba.knows.ela
erakusteko.
 show.tzeko

'But on this occasion, Bardem has not started telling stories just to show us that he knows to tell when and how.' [Mitx. EIG I:145]

In this respect, the behavior of *-t(z)eko* non-finite structures mirrors that of subjunctive clauses headed by *-en*: both can be complements to the same set of verbs (namely: verbs of command/order), and both can be purposive clauses.

The locative postposition *-n* can be attached to a *-t(z)eko* form, usually in the indefinite form (i.e. as though a *-t(z)eko* headed word were a noun lacking a determiner); the resulting form, namely *-t(z)ekotan*, generally has a conditional meaning, paraphraseable as 'in case of' or 'as long as':

- (1769) *Hondartzara joatekotan, nahiago dut hurbil*
 beach.ALL go.tzekotan prefer AUX near
dagoen batera joatea.
 is.en one.ALL go.NOM.DET
 'In case of going to the beach, I'd rather go to one nearby.'

- (1770) *Beste burutik hastekotan, Elia Kazan-en*
 other end.ABL start.tzekotan Elia Kazan-GEN
East of Eden aipa dezagun aurrenik.
 East of Eden cite(RAD) AUX.en first
 'If we are to start from the other end, first of all we should mention
 Elia Kazan's *East of Eden*.' [Mitx. EIG I:189]

- (1771) *Itxiko deutsut liburuori, gero atzera*
 leave.FUT AUX book.that later back.ALL
bihurtzekotan.
 return.tzekotan
 'I'll lend you the book, on condition that you give it back.' [Arejita
 1984:159]

This form admits other interpretations, too:

- (1772) *Jon bere txakurra hiltzekotan egon zen.*
 Jon his dog kill.tzekotan be AUX
 'Jon was on the verge of killing his dog.'

4.10.2.2.1.3. Nominalized clauses and the comitative case-ending *-ekin*

Nominalized clauses may take the comitative case-ending *-ekin*, in a literal sense:

- (1773) *Zuk autoa ekartzearekin ez dugu ezer*
 you.ERG car bring.NOM.with not AUX anything
konpontzen.
 fix.IMPF
 'We don't solve any problem with/by your bringing the car.'

But, mirroring the temporal value that a regular comitative noun phrase may have in eastern dialects, nominalized clauses may take the comitative case-ending to form a temporal adjunct:

- (1774) *Jon ostegunarekin etorri zen.*
 Jon thursday.with come AUX
 'Jon came on Thursday (lit. 'with Thursday').'

- (1775) *Oro harritu dire, berri hori entzutearekin.*
 all surprise AUX news that hear.NOM.with
 'All were surprised upon hearing the news.' [H.U. Gontz.:126]

- (1776) *Eta heieri behako bat emaitarekin, hauxe*
 and they.DAT look one give.NOM.with this.INTS
jin zauku berehala gogorat...
 come AUX instantly mind.ALL
 'And upon having a look at them, this has immediately come to our mind...' [Herria 1999/4/15]

4.10.2.2.1.4. Nominalized clauses and the postpositions *arren/gatik*

Although *arren* is not productive any more with regular noun phrases (cf. section 4.10.2.1.2.4), it is productive with either the verbal noun or the participle; the result, as far as the verbal noun is concerned, is a causal adjunct, although sometimes it is difficult to decide if it is purely a purposive adjunct:

- (1777) *Txikitan zigortu egiten gintuzten*
 small.LOC punish do.IMPF AUX
euskaraz berba egitearren.
 Basque.INSTR word do.NOM.*arren*
 'When we were kids, they used to punish us for speaking in Basque.'

- (1778) *Azkunak alkatetzara aukeztearren utzi du*
 Azkuna mayor.ALL present.NOM.*arren* leave AUX
bere oraingo kargua.
 his now.REL position
 'Azkuna resigned from his position to become candidate for mayor.'

The now productive motivative postposition *-gatik* gives rise to the same kind of adjuncts:

- (1779) *Txikitan zigortu egiten gintuzten euskaraz berba egiteagatik.*
 do.NOM.DET.*gatik*
 'When we were kids, they used to punish us for speaking in Basque.'
- (1780) *Azkunak alkatetzara aurkezteagatik utzi du bere oraingo kargua.*
 present.NOM.DET.*gatik*
 'Azkuna resigned from his position to become candidate for mayor.'
- (1781) *Zer ez dute egiten Espainiako euskaldunek*
 what not AUX do.IMPf Spain.REL Basques.ERG
 [...] *eskuara beren sor- mintzaia galtzerat*
 Basque their birth- language lose.NOM.ALL
ez uzteagatik?
 not let.NOM.DET.*gatik*
 'What will the Basques from Spain not do not to let the Basque language, their native tongue, die?' [H.U. Gontz.:154]

The following tables present the main meanings of nominalized verbal forms with adverbial case endings and postpositions in non-complement clauses. We also include the causal postpositions *gatik* and *arren*.

Table 152. Verbal noun + case ending:

ALL	<i>ikustera</i>	'had x seen...'
LOC	<i>ikustean</i>	'upon seeing, in the way, act of seeing'
ALL+REL+LOC	<i>ikusterakoan</i>	'upon seeing, in the moment of seeing'
ABL	<i>ikustetik</i>	'from seeing'
REL	<i>ikusteko</i>	'in order to see'
REL+LOC	<i>ikustekotan</i>	'in case of seeing, on the verge of'
COM	<i>ikustearekin</i>	'by seeing it, upon seeing it'

Table 153. Verbal noun + postposition:

causal	<i>ikusteagatik</i>	'because of seeing'
causal	<i>ikustearren</i>	'because of seeing'

Having studied the main adjunct structures based on nominalized clauses, we now turn to those formed on the participle.

4.10.2.2.2. Adjunct structures based on the perfect participle

Unlike those based on the verbal noun, the adjunct structures based on the perfective participle rely less on the case-endings that one finds on simple noun phrases and more on (a) the spatio-temporal nouns that Basque grammarians call postpositions, or (b) nouns bearing some case-ending that are also compatible with finite clauses. This way of presenting the facts is rather sketchy and, once again, each dialect, and even variety, would require a separate careful study. We shall nevertheless try to provide an overview of the most common adjunct structures based on the perfect participle.

4.10.2.2.2.1. Participle + some major case-endings or postpositions *-(e)z* *-gatik*, *arren*)

The regular endings that are most common on perfect nominalized clauses are the instrumental *-z*, and the motivative postposition *-gatik* (and the western *-arren*). The instrumental gives rise to modal/instrumental adjuncts:

- (1782) *Gezurrak esanez/jesanaz ez zara oso*
 lies say.INSTR/say.DET.INSTR not AUX very
urrunera iritsiko.
 far.ALL reach.FUT
 'You won't get very far by telling lies.'

The participle appears to be treated either as a singular or indefinite noun, hence the dialectal variation between *-az* (with the article *a*) or *-(e)z* (without article and with epenthetic *-e-*). The word *gero* 'later, after' can be freely attached to the instrumental case-ending to form adjuncts, just as with regular noun phrases and finite clauses (cf. section 4.10.2.1.2.2):

- (1783) a. *gabonez gero/gabonak ezkeru (=1700)*
 christmas.INSTR after/christmas.DET.PL *ezkeru*
 'after/since Christmas'
 b. *etorri zarenez gero... (cf. 1701)*
 come AUX.enez after
 'since/after you have arrived...'

- (1784) *Behin lana amaituz gero, gustatzen zaio*
 once job finish.INSTR after like.IMPF AUX
lagunekin ardo pare bat hartzea.
 friends.with wine pair one take.NOM.DET
 'After having finished work, she/he likes having a couple of glasses
 of wine with her/his friends.'
- (1785) *Jakinez geroz harenak egin zuela, nehor*
 know.INSTR after his.ERG do AUX.ela anyone
ezin hurbildua omen zen.
 cannot approach.DET apparently AUX
 'After having found out that his life was coming to an end, appar-
 ently nobody dared approach him.' [H.U. Gontz.:123]

But, unlike the case of finite clauses, the participle followed by *-z gero* frequently has a conditional value:

- (1786) *Dirua edukiz gero, baserria erosiko nuke.*
 money have.INSTR after country.house buy.FUT AUX
 'If I had money, I'd buy a country house.'

The motivative postpositions *-arren* (written as an independent word when attached to the participle) and *-gatik* are also common on the participle, but the interpretation is generally concessive:

- (1787) *Senarrak, gizon saiatuta izan arren, saiaturik bada,*
 husband.ERG man try.PTCP be arren try.PTCP if.is
ezin [ditu] xehetasun guztiak gogoan eduki
 cannot AUX detail all.DET.PL mind.LOC have
 'The husband, despite being a very well-trained man if there is one,
 cannot have in mind all the details.' [Mitx. EIG I:128]
- (1788) *Ipar-Amerikan, dantza-leku eta jolas-tokiak*
 North America.LOC dance-place and play-places
ugariak izanagatik, ez da jendea, Marty-k
 abundant be.DET.gatik not is people Marty-ERG
erakusten digunez, bestetan baino alaiago.
 show.IMPF AUX.enez others.LOC than happier
 'According to what Marty shows us, in North America, despite hav-
 ing abundant discos and funfairs, people are not happier than else-
 where.' [Mitx. EIG I:152]

- (1789) *Euskaldun Ona bere eskuko ez izanagatik,*
Euskaldun Ona his hand.REL not be.DET.gatik
begi onez ikusten zuen bethi, hedatuz
 eye good.INSTR see.IMPF AUX always expand.INSTR
eta azkarki joaki, gure buruzagi ohiak.
 and quickly going our chief former.DET.PL
 ‘Despite not being under his control, our former director contemplated *Euskaldun Ona* [= a journal] with satisfaction, expanding and improving quickly.’ [H.U. Gontz.:139]

The literal causal meaning is not necessarily excluded in the case of *-gatik*:

- (1790) *Autoa txarto aparkatu izanagatik ipini*
 car badly park be.DET.because put
zidaten isuna.
 AUX ticket
 ‘They gave a parking ticket for having missparked the car.’

4.10.2.2.2. Participle + suffixes *-ta/(r)ik*

The suffix *-(r)ik* may be regarded as a case-ending (see 3.1.2.4) unproblematically, at least in the following cases:

- (1791) *herririk herri*
 town.PRTT town
 ‘from town to town’
- (1792) *lagunik minena*
 friend.PRTT dearest.DET
 ‘the dearest of friends’
- (1793) *hutsik, zabalik, ixilik, pozik,*
 zero.PRTT wide.PRTT silent.PRTT happiness.PRTT
alferrik, ...
 lazy.PRTT
 ‘empty, open, quiet(ly), happy/happily, in vain’

The morpheme *-ta*, however, seems to resist this classification, since it is probably related to the conjunction *eta*. Nonetheless, and for the purposes of forming adjunct clauses, the two morphemes are equivalent, and their distribution depends exclusively on the dialect (western and central versus

eastern dialects; cf. Zuazo 1998a:220); both are equally acceptable in the modern standard language. We have glossed both as 'participial' in this grammar. Most often, they seem to form absolute constructions with either a perfective or a gerundive sense:

- (1794) *Egoera ikusita/ikusirik, kalera irtetea*
 situation see.ta/see.rik street.ALL go.out.NOM.DET
erabaki genuen.
 decide AUX
 '(After) having seen the situation, we decided to go out to the streets.'

- (1795) *Langile guztiok bat eginda/eginik, errazagoa*
 worker all.PROX.PL one do.ta/do.rik easier
izango da negoziazioa aurrera ateratzea.
 be.FUT AUX negotiation forward.ALL take.out.NOM.DET
 'With all the workers having united, it will be easier to move forward in the negotiation'

- (1796) *Jon uneotan Ameriketan egondalegonik,*
 Jon moments.PROX.LOC Americas.LOC be.ta/be.rik
ezer gutxi egin dezakegu lana aurreratzeko.
 anything little do AUX.POT job advance.tzeko
 'With Jon being in America right now, there's very little we can do to make progress with work'

- (1797) *Gazeten errana sinhetsirik, biziki irabazbide*
 newspapers.GEN saying.DET believe.rik lively investment
ona zela, anhitzek erosi zituzten actions eta
 good.DET was.ela many.ERG buy AUX bonds and
obligations deitzen diren titulu batzu.
 stock call.IMPF AUX.en tittle some
 'Having believed what the newspapers said, namely that it was a good investment, many bought some tittles called bonds and stocks.'
 [H.U. Gontz.:90]

These adjuncts may have a modal/instrumental interpretation as well:

- (1798) *Ardoa edanda mozkortzen naiz.*
 wine drink.ta get.drunk.IMPF AUX
 'I get tipsy (by) having drunk/drinking wine.' [Folk song]

These *-ta / -rik* suffixes are also the basis to form (a) predicates similar to English adjectival passives, on the one hand, and (b) constructions equivalent to English experiential perfect tenses on the other (as well as the basis for non-finite relative clauses). See 4.2.1.

4.10.2.2.2.3. Other adverbial structures based on the participle

The participle is also used with other independent words to form adjunct clauses; these postpositions may take noun phrases as their complement (e.g. *ezik* ‘except for (not)’, *ezean* ‘except for (not)’, *gabe* ‘without’, *ondoren/ondoan/ostean* ‘after’, *bitartean* ‘in the meantime’, *arte* ‘until’), and, in some cases, also take *-en* headed finite clauses, as we saw in section 4.10.2.1.2.4. Even though the same structure that exists for the participle also exists for regular noun phrases, it is harder to argue that the perfect participle is indeed part of a nominalized structure; the article, for example, is missing and, in the cases where a regular noun phrase requires genitive case, the participle lacks it. Below we provide some relevant examples.

The words *ezik* and *ezean*, both based on *ez* ‘not’ form negative conditionals:

- (1799) a. *Jonek ezik, beste guztiok izena eman*
 Jon.ERG *ezik* other all.PROX.PL name give
dugu lasterketan parte hartzeko.
 AUX race.LOC part take.tzeko
 ‘Except for Jon, the rest of us have signed up to take part in the race.’
- b. *Dirurik eduki ezik, aurten oporrak*
 money.PRTT have *ezik* this.year vacations
etxean igaroko ditut.
 home.LOC spend.FUT AUX
 ‘Unless I have money, I’ll spend this year’s vacation at home.’
- (1800) a. *Dirurik ezean, aurten oporrak etxean*
 money.PRTT *ezean* this.year vacations home.LOC
igaroko ditut.
 spend.FUT AUX
 ‘With the lack of money, I’ll spend this year’s vacation at home.’

- b. *Dirurik eduki ezean, aurten oporrak etxean*
 money.PRTT have ezean this.year vacations home.LOC
igaroko ditut.
 spend.FUT AUX
 'If I don't have money, I'll spend this year's vacation at home.'

The free word postposition *gabe* 'without' retains its original meaning when forming clausal adjuncts:

- (1801) a. *Jon gabe ezin dugu musika taldea osatu.*
 Jon without cannot AUX music group complete
 'We cannot put together the group without Jon.'
 b. *Sarrerarik ez zegoela eta, filma ikusi gabe*
 ticket.PRTT not was.ela and film see without
geratu ginen.
 remain AUX
 'We were left without seeing the movie, because there were no tickets available.'

Non-finite temporal adjuncts where the event expressed by the verb is prior to the event expressed by the main verb are usually formed around the words *ondo/oste* 'afterwards, posterior' or even *gero* 'later':

- (1802) a. *Kantaldiaren ondoren/ondoan/ostean,*
 concert.GEN after.GEN/after.LOC/after.LOC
afaltzera joan ginen.
 dine.NOM.ALL go AUX
 'We went to have dinner after the concert.'
 b. *Kantaldia amaitu ondoren/ondoan/ostean,*
 concert finish after.GEN/.LOC/after.LOC
afaltzera joan ginen.
 'We went to have dinner after the concert was over.'
- (1803) a. *Kantaldia eta gero, afaltzera joan ginen.*
 concert and after
 'We went to have dinner after the concert.'
 b. *Kantaldia amaitu eta gero, afaltzera joan ginen.*
 concert finish and after
 'We went to have dinner after the concert was over.'

Non-finite temporal adjuncts where the event takes place after the event expressed by the main verb are formed around the words *aitzin* or *aurre* 'front, before', or else show up as a comparative:

- (1804) a. *Kantaldia baino lehen, aretoa bete egin zen.*
concert than before hall fill do AUX
'The auditorium filled up before the concert.'
b. *Kantaldia hasi baino lehen, aretoa beteta zegoen.*
concert start than before hall fill.PTCP was
'The auditorium was filled, before starting the concert.'
- (1805) a. *Eskolaren aurretik etxera deitu behar dut.*
class.GEN front.from home.ALL call must AUX
'I have to call home before class/from the front of the school.'
b. *Ikastolaren aitzinean ikusi zintudan.*
school.GEN front.LOC see AUX
'I saw you in front of the Basque school.'
c. *Eskolara joan aurretik/aitzinean etxera*
class.ALL go front.from/ front.LOC home.ALL
deitu behar dut.
call must AUX
'I have to call home before going to class.'

The word *ordu* together with the suffix *-ko* is also used to convey the idea of immediate succession:

- (1806) a. *Abenduko eguna, argitu orduko iluna.*
december.REL day clear orduko dark
'Days of December, darkness as soon as there is light.' [Proverb]
b. *Ikusi orduko ahogozoa jausten zaizu.*
see orduko spittle fall.IMPF AUX
'You drool as soon as you see [seeing] her/him.' [EH:18]
- (1807) *Alta ez da, ez eder, ez laket, gizon bat etsai*
thus not is not nice not please man one enemy
izanik ere, hil orduko beherala hartaz gaizki
be.PTCP even die orduko shortly that.INSTR badly
mintzatzea.
talk.NOM.DET
'Thus, it's neither nice nor pleasing to speak badly of a man shortly after he dies, even if he is an enemy.' [H.U. Gontz.:127]

A true comparative structure (finite or non-finite) can be used, too (cf. 4.10.4):

- (1808) a. *Ikusi bezain laster ahogozoa jausten zaizu.*
 see as soon spittle fall.IMPF AUX
 b. *Ikusten duzun bezain laster ahogozoa*
 see.IMPF AUX.en
jausten zaizu.
 ‘You drool as soon as you see [seeing] her/him.’

Sometimes, *orduko* can be used to mean simply ‘before, by the time of’:

- (1809) a. *Zortziak jo orduko, Gasteizen bertan*
 eight.DET.PL strike *orduko* Vitoria.LOC there.LOC
nengoen.
 was
 ‘By the time the clock struck eight, I was right in Vitoria.’
 b. *Kantaldia amaitu orduko ikusle guztiak*
 concert finish *orduko* spectator all.DET.PL
dantzan ari ziren.
 dance.LOC ari AUX
 ‘Before the concert was [be] over, the audience was dancing.’

Finally, there are words that can take the participle in addition to a noun phrase and an *-en* headed finite clause, words already discussed in section 4.10.2.1.2.4 above. Here are some examples:

- (1810) a. *Gitarra jotzen jardun zuen gaueko*
 guitar play.tzen engage AUX night.REL
11ak arte.
 11.DET.PL until
 ‘S/he stayed playing the guitar until 11 o’clock.’
 b. *Gitarra jotzen jardun zuen gaueko 11ak*
 guitar play.tzen engage AUX night.of 11.DET.PL
jo (zuten) arte.
 strike AUX.en until
 ‘S/he stayed playing the guitar until the clock struck 11.’

- (1811) a. *Meza bitartean jokorik egin ez*
 mass interval.LOC game.PRTT do not
dezatela ardandegian.
 AUX(SUBJ).ela winery.LOC
 'Let them not gamble during Mass.' [EH:155]
- b. *Musean ibiliko gara zuek heltzen*
 cardgame.LOC walk.FUT AUX you arrive.IMPF
zareten bitartean.
 AUX.en interval.LOC
 'We will be playing *mus* [cardgame] until you arrive.'
- c. *Musean ibiliko gara zuek heldu bitartean.*
 cardgame.LOC walk.FUT AUX you arrive interval.LOC
 'We will be playing *mus* [card game] until [you] arrive.'

We present below a chart which summarizes some of the most common combinations of the perfect participle with a case or a postposition. As indicated above (4.10.2.2.2.2), the status of the 'participial' ending *-ta* is not clear, but we include it along with the other participial ending among case endings, since the latter is morphologically identical to the partitive.

With this, we finish the overview of the main non-finite adjunct structures in Basque.

In brief, most of Basque non-finite clausal structures follow two different patterns: we find nominalized clauses headed by *-t(z)e* and a combination of some case-ending; and, second, we have the perfect participle combined with either some case-ending or postposition that itself bears some case mark. In the case of participle-based adjuncts, some of these structures could be analyzed as nominalized clauses ("NPs") + case-ending or postposition, but others appear to be pure clausal structures without finite verbs. It is also noteworthy that there are relatively few adjunct structures based on the verbal stem in those dialects where the difference between the participle and the verbal stem is well kept (eastern dialects). The few cases that Lafitte (1944:208) mentions are also possible with the participle.

Table 154. Participle + case ending

instrumental	<i>ikusiaz, ikusiz</i>	'by seeing'
instrumental + <i>gero</i> 'after'	<i>ikusiz gero</i>	'after seeing, if x sees'
<i>-(r)ik</i> (partitive) participle	<i>ikusirik</i>	'upon, after, on, while seeing'
<i>-ta</i> participle	<i>ikusita</i>	'upon, after, on seeing'

Table 155. Participle + postposition:

<i>arren</i> 'because; despite'	<i>ikusi arren</i>	'despite seeing it'
<i>gatik</i> 'because; despite'	<i>ikusiagatik</i>	'despite, because of seeing it'
<i>ondoren/ondoan/ostean</i> 'after'	<i>ikusi ondoren</i>	'after seeing'
<i>ezik, ezean</i> 'except for'	<i>ikusi ezik</i>	'unless x sees'
<i>gabe</i> 'without'	<i>ikusi gabe</i>	'without seeing'
<i>aurretik, aitzinean</i> 'before'	<i>ikusi aurretik</i>	'before seeing'
<i>orduko</i> 'time.REL'	<i>ikusi orduko</i>	'by the time, right after x sees'
<i>bezala</i> 'like'	<i>ikusi bezala</i>	'as seen'
<i>arte</i> 'until'	<i>ikusi arte</i>	'until seeing'

4.10.2.3. A final note on negation in subordinate structures

Before concluding, we would like to include in this chapter a brief mention of the syntactic behavior of negation in subordinate clauses; the following notes complement the more detailed account of negation in Basque offered in 4.5. We have mentioned some details on the issue here and there throughout, and now we aim at giving a more general though brief perspective. Firstly, we will discuss negation in finite clauses and, secondly, in non-finite structures.

As far as the position of negation in finite complement clauses is concerned, it is worth mentioning that complement clauses are by far the ones that most closely follow the left-movement of the auxiliary that we have seen in matrix clauses (4.5); this is more dramatic in the case of *-ela*, which resists the alternative order with no auxiliary movement to the left, i.e. with the [negation + finite verb + complementizer] immediately to the right of the main verb. Thus contrast the *-ela* examples in (1812) with the corresponding *-en* and *-enik* examples

- (1812) a. *Jonek esan du inork ez diola*
 Jon.ERG say AUX anybody not AUX.*ela*
horren berririk eman.
 that.GEN new.PRTT give
 b. ??*Jonek esan du inork horren berririk*
eman ez diola.
 give not AUX.*ela*
 'Jon said that nobody told him anything about that.'

- (1813) a. *Ez dakit ez zaren oraindik enteratu,*
 not know not AUX.en yet find.out
baina laster ezkonduko naiz.
 but soon marry.FUT AUX
 b. *Ez dakit oraindik enteratu ez zaren,*
 find.out not AUX.en
baina laster ezkonduko naiz.
 'I don't know if you don't know yet, but I will soon get married.'
- (1814) *Hiltzerakoan aphezak galdatu dionean*
 die.NOM.ALL.REL.LOC priest.ERG ask AUX.enean
ea etzenez nahi barkhamenduskatu,
 ea not.AUX.enez want apologize
ihardetsi dio: 'ez jauna...'
 reply AUX not sir
 'Upon dying, when the priest asked him whether or not he wanted to apologize, he replied: 'no, sir...'. [H.-U. Gontz.:130]
- (1815) *Ez dakit [...] ez othe garen gu hemen*
 not know not PTCL AUX.en we here
Frantzian ere españoltzen ari.
 France.LOC even spanishize ari
 'I am sure yet if we are not becoming more Spain-like even here, in France.' [H.U. Gontz.:149]
- (1816) *...ez dakit hemengo Cervantes-zale porrokatuen*
 not know here.REL Cervantes-fond strong.GEN
arao-biraoek ez ote duten horretan parterik izan.
 spells.ERG not PTCL AUX.en that.LOC part.PRTT have
 'I don't know if the spells of those who are strongly fond of Cervantes have not taken part in all this.' [Mitx. EIG I:181]
- (1817) a. *Ez dut esan liburua gustatzen ez zaidanik.*
 not AUX say book like.IMPF not AUX.enik
 b. *Ez dut esan ez zaidanik liburua gustatzen.*
 not AUX say not AUX.enik book like.IMPF
 'I didn't say that I don't like the book.'

Subjunctive clauses headed by *-en* do not usually pattern with matrix clauses, but exceptions can be found:

- (1818) *Retegik semea pilotaria izan ez dadin*
 Retegi.ERG son ball.player be not AUX(SUBJ).en
nahi luke.
 want AUX
 'Retegi wishes that his son did not become a ballplayer.'

- (1819) *Gizonak erlisionerik ez badu, beldurtzeko*
 man.ERG religion.PRTT not if.has fear.NOM.REL
da jendetasunik ere ez dezan ukan.
 is sociability.PRTT even not AUX(SUBJ).en have
 'If man doesn't have religion, it is to be feared that he may not have social rules either.' [H.U. *Gontz.*:49]

Finite adjunct clauses do not behave like complement clauses in that the pattern with no left-movement of the auxiliary can be considered as the unmarked order; nonetheless, there is some variation from complementizer to complementizer. We will not attempt a detailed analysis of each complementizer but will limit ourselves to point out the most salient facts.

Among the complementizers based on *-ela*, clausal *-elako* is the one that most clearly accepts both patterns, the one with left-movement of the auxiliary and the one without:

- (1820) a. *Inork agintzen ez didalako*
 anybody.ERG command.IMPF not AUX.elako
maite dut maite dudana.
 love AUX love AUX.en.DET
 b. *Inork ez didalako agintzen maite*
 not AUX.elako command.IMPF
dut maite dudana.
 'It's because nobody tells me so that I love what I love.'
- (1821) *Ez dute hiltzerat kondenatu, ez*
 not AUX die.NOM.ALL sentence not
zezaketelakotz kondena.
 AUX.POT.elako sentence(RAD)
 'They have not sentenced him, because they could not sentence him.' [H.U. *Gontz.*:13]

Data with left-movement of the auxiliary are harder to find when it comes to temporal and modal *-ela* :

- b. *Euskarak egundaino izan ez duelarik*
 Basque.ERG so.far have not AUX.elarik
gramatikako eta zientzietako laguntzarik, bere
 grammar.REL and sciences.REL help.PRTT its
antzea baliatu zaio munduko bi etsairik
 ability use AUX world.REL two enemy.PRTT
bortitzenen kontra, zeinak baitira
 strongest.GEN against which.DET.PL bait.are
denbora eta indarra.
 time and strength
 'As the Basque language has never had any help from grammar
 and science, its innate ability has prevailed against the two worst
 enemies, which are time and strength.' [EH:784]

The complementizer *bait-* tends to behave as matrix clauses, that is to say, with the movement of the auxiliary to the left-periphery of the sentence:

- (1825) a. *Bismark zenaren denboran gutik egin*
 Bismark was.DET.GEN time.LOC few.ERG do
du ez baita piztu Espainiaren eta
 AUX not bait.AUX start Spain.GEN and
Alemanian artean gerla bat gaitza.
 Germany.GEN between war one terrible
 'In the time of the deceased Bismark, Spain and Germany very
 nearly started a terrible war between them.' [H.U. Gontz.:165]
- b. *Hitz makhurren xuxentzea bat duzu;...*
 word wrong.GEN correct.NOM.DET one have
hauturik bat ere ja egin dutenek
 option.PRTT one even already do.DET AUX.en.ERG
ere ez baitautzute holakoetan onhartu
 even not bait.AUX this.way.LOC accept
nahi kasik deus.
 want almost anything
 'To correct some wrong word is one thing;...for in cases like this
 even those who have not yet made a decision don't want to ac-
 cept anything.' [H.U. Gontz.:190]

Conditional *ba*, on the other hand, seems to freely admit either order:

- (1826) *Hau bazauken eta bazagon ere ixilik, bere*
 this *ba.was.POT* and *ba.was* even quiet his
onetan, ez balu ikusi azkarrago bat guri
 good.LOC not if.AUX see quick.more one we.DAT
oldartzen, iduri berehala borroka gerlan hastekotan.
 attach.tzen like soon fight war.LOC start.tzekotan
 ‘This may have been and even was indeed quiet, had not seen a
 quicker one attacking us, as though ready to start fighting a war
 right away.’ [H.U. Gontz.:164]
- (1827) *Gogoetatzen ez badire, hango ara ikhusiz...*
 reflect.IMPF not if.AUX there.REL way see.INSTR
 ‘If they don’t realize, [by] seeing the style form there...’ [H.U.
 Gontz.:195]

The situation changes when it comes to the complex complementizers based on the suffix *-en*, for these seem to resist the left-movement of the auxiliary:

- (1828) a. *Jon Gasteizen bizi ez denetik, gutxitan*
 Jon Gasteiz.LOC live not AUX.enetik few.LOC
ikusten dugu.
 see.IMPF AUX
 b. *?Jon ez denetik Gasteizen bizi, gutxitan*
 not AUX.enetik
ikusten dugu.
 ‘Since Jon doesn’t live in Vitoria, we rarely see him.’
- (1829) a. *Inor ikusi ez dudanean, harritu egin naiz.*
 anybody see not AUX.enean surprise do AUX
 b. *?Ez dudanean inor ikusi, harritu egin naiz.*
 not AUX.enean
 ‘I got surprised when I didn’t see anybody.’
- (1830) a. *Ikaslerik etorri ez denez, eskola*
 student.PRTT come not AUX.enez class
bertan behera utziko dugu.
 there down.ALL leave.FUT AUX

- b. ?Ez denez ikaslerik etorri, eskola bertan
 not AUX.enez
 behera utziko dugu.

'Since no student has [not] come in, we'll have to call the session off.'

- (1831) a. Ikaslerik etorri ez denez gero, eskola
 not AUX.enez after
 bertan behera utziko dugu.

- b. ??Ez denez gero ikaslerik etorri, eskola
 not AUX.enez after
 bertan behera utziko dugu.

'Since no student has [not] come in, we'll have to call the session off.'

Once again, the (b) version of these sentences is generally regarded as awkward by most speakers, even though one might hear them in casual speech. As seen in 4.10.3, relative clauses rigidly require that the [negation + finite verb] unit be sentence-final.

Negation in nonfinite complement structures has been less studied and, as a general rule, we could say that negation and the nonfinite verb usually form an unbreakable unit that tends to be sentence-final. This is clearly the case of *-t(z)ea* nominalizations and tenseless indirect questions:

- (1832) a. *Jonek* [*mendira ez joatea*]
 Jon.ERG mountain.ALL not go.NOM.DET
erabaki zuen.
 decide AUX
- b. ??*Jonek* [*ez mendira joatea*]
 not mountain.ALL go.NOM.DET
erabaki zuen.
- c. **Jonek* [*mendira joate eza*] *erabaki*
 mountain.ALL go.NOM not.DET
zuen.
 'Jon decided not to go hiking.'

- (1833) a. [*Txipiroiak nola ez prestatu*] *azaldu genion.*
 squids how not prepare explain AUX

- b. [Nola txipiroiak ez prestatu] azaldu genion.
 how squids not prepare
- c. ?(?)[Nola ez txipiroiak prestatu] azaldu genion.
 how not squids prepare
- d. *[Nola txipiroiak prestatu ez] azaldu genion.
 how squids prepare not
- ‘We explained to her/him how not to prepare squid.’

As shown in the examples above, positioning negation at the beginning of the nonfinite structure gives rise to marginal sentences, more acceptable with tenseless indirect questions; the undisputed grammatical order is, however, that with negation right before the verb. Nominalizations based on the participle offer more possibilities, since they can appear with or without the auxiliary *izan*; with the auxiliary *izan*, negation can appear preceding either verb:

- (1834) a. *Pena dut [zu ez ikusi izana].*
 pity have you not see be.DET
- b. *Pena dut [zu ikusi ez izana].*
 you see not be.DET
- c. **Pena dut [ez zu ikusi izana].*
 not you see be.DET
- d. **Pena dut [zu ikusi izan eza].*
 you see be not.DET
- ‘I regret not having seen you.’

Without the auxiliary verb, negation immediately precedes the main verb, but one finds (usually literary) examples of negation located after the verb, bearing the article:

- (1835) *Damu dut [hori lehenago ez jakina].*
 regret have that before not know.DET
- ‘I regret not having known that before.’

- (1836) *Damu dut [zure lege santua gorde eza].*
 regret have you.GEN law saint.DET keep not.DET
- ‘I regret not having kept your holy law.’ [EH:268]

As for *-t(z)eko* complements (and imperatives without auxiliary verb), these are the ones that most clearly accept a negation-initial pattern, negation standing alone, as we saw in section 4.10.2.1.2.2.1:

- (1837) a. *Ez ardorik edan!* (=1551)
 not wine.PRTT drink
 'Don't drink wine!'
- b. *Mila bider esan/agindu dizut ez*
 thousand times tell/command AUX not
ardorik edateko.
 wine.PRTT drink.tzeko
 'I've told/ordered you one thousand times not to drink wine.'
 [Laka 1990:73]
- (1838) *Politika ez bakearen aurretik jartzeko*
 politics not peace.GEN front.from put.tzeko
eskatu die. (=1552)
 ask AUX
 'He asked them not to consider politics before peace.'
 [Egunk. 1999/2/27]

But the [negation-verb] pattern is perfectly grammatical:

- (1839) a. *Ez edan ardorik!*
 not drink wine.PRTT
 'Don't drink wine!'
- b. *Mila bider esan/agindu dizut ardorik*
 thousand times tell/command AUX wine.PRTT
ez edateko.
 not drink.tzeko
 'I've told/ordered you one thousand times not to drink wine.'
- (1840) *Politika bakearen aurretik ez jartzeko*
 politics peace.GEN front.from not put.tzeko
eskatu die
 ask AUX
 'He has asked them not to put politics before peace.'

Finally, a few remarks are in order with respect to adjunct nonfinite structures; those based on the verbal noun follow the exact same pattern as plain *-t(z)ea* complements:

- (1841) a. *inor ez ikustean...*
 anything not see.NOM.LOC

- b. **ez inor ikustean...*
not anybody see.NOM.LOC
- c. **inor ikuste ezean...*
anybody see.NOM not.LOC
'upon not seeing anybody...'

Those based on the participle (followed by a case-ending or some independent word) tend to only admit negation immediately preceding the verb:

- (1842) a. *inor ez ikusita...*
anybody not see.PTCP
- b. **ez inor ikusita...*
not anybody see.PTCP
- c. **inor ikusi ezta...*
anybody see not.ta
'not having seen anybody...'

- (1843) a. *ezer ez esanez...*
anything not say.INSTR
- b. **ez ezer esanez...*
not anything say.INSTR
- c. **ezer esan ezez...*
anything say not.INSTR
'by not saying anything...'

However, some adjunct structures formed with the participle and some independent word or postposition do admit negation right after the verb, most notably *arren* and *nahiz eta*:

- (1844) a. *Ezer aurkitu ez arren, bilaketa jarraitu genuen.*
anything find not arren search follow AUX
- b. *Ezer ez aurkitu arren, bilaketa jarraitu genuen.*
anything not find arren
'We went on with the search despite not finding anything.'

- (1845) a. *Nahiz eta ezer aurkitu ez, bilaketa jarraitu genuen.*
despite anything find not search follow
AUX

- b. *Nahiz eta ezer ez aurkitu, bilaketa*
 despite anything not find
jarraitu genuen.
 'We went on with the search despite not finding anything.'

To sum up, negation occurs immediately preceding the nonfinite verb, with the exception of *-t(z)eko* complements and adjuncts formed with *arren* and the like, which also admit other possibilities; *-t(z)eko* complements admit a sentence initial negation standing by itself, and *arren* adjuncts admit postverbal negation. Negation in finite sentences is always adjacent to the verb; there are two word order patterns: some complementizers (declarative *-ela* and *bait-*) require that the [negation + finite (auxiliary) verb + complementizer] complex appear moved to the left of the main verb (as in matrix clauses), while others require that the complex remain right after the main verb (in sentence-final position); some complementizers accept both possibilities. Generally speaking, it seems that the less semantic content a complementizer has, the more likely it is for it to accept the left-movement pattern, although this cannot be taken as a strict rule.

4.10.3. *Relatives*

B. Oyharçabal

Different relativization strategies are used in Basque. The main distinction is the one separating ordinary embedded relatives from appositive and extraposed relatives with relative pronouns. This second kind of relativization is a marked one, and has often been considered as not genuine by modern grammarians like Altube, Lafitte and Lafon. Although most Basque writers in the 20th century haven't used adjoined relatives with relative pronouns, these were very common in written texts until the second half of the 19th century in all dialects. Here are examples of both kinds of relatives:

- (1846) *Hala dio eskuizkribuari josita zetorren*
 so says manuscript.DAT attach.PTCP came.COMP
ohartxo horrek.
 note.DIM that.ERG
 'So says this little note which came attached to the manuscript.'
 [Arri:12]

In (1846), the relative clause precedes the modified noun, and it is embedded within the whole phrase. This clause contains no relative pronoun, and

no resumptive pronoun, and the relativized noun has no overt realization in it. Consider now (1847):

- (1847) *Ikusten ditut(...) bi zizpa-kanoiren muturrak,*
 see.IMPF AUX. two gun.GEN ends
zeinek(...) ez baininduten guti izitu.
 which.ERG not bait.AUX little frighten
 'I see ...two gun barrels, which scared me more than a little.' [Eliss. P.A.:67]

In (1847), the relative clause is said to be adjoined, because it is outside of the noun phrase whose head the relative modifies (*muturrak*). This relative contains a relative pronoun carrying a case ending (*zeinek*, ergative plural).

Besides the two types mentioned above, correlative relatives and adjoined relatives with resumptive pronouns are also employed, mainly in eastern dialects. These will be presented at the end of the section (4.10.3.4.3-4).

4.10.3.1. Ordinary relatives

4.10.3.1.1. Main characteristics of ordinary relatives

4.10.3.1.1.1. Definition

Ordinary relatives in Basque are embedded clauses that modify a head noun, in such a way that the relative clause contains a constituent coreferential with the modified head noun and with no overt realization:

- (1848) [*Ø Ez dakizkida-n*] *gaiez*
 not know.3A.PL./1E-COMP matters.INSTR
mintzatu nahi nuen.
 speak will AUX.
 'I wanted to speak about subjects I don't know.' [Mitx. EIG IV:91]

In this example we can observe the following points:

- The relative clause is embedded within the instrumental phrase.
- The relativized NP has no overt realization within the relative.
- The relative clause precedes the head noun (*gai* 'matter').

- The relative clause takes the suffix *-(e)n*, which is a complementizer also used in indirect questions, and subjunctive clauses. (see 4.10.2).

4.10.3.1.1.2. Embedding of ordinary relatives

Ordinary relatives appear in the same manner as other noun modifiers, and especially in the same manner as noun complements, within NPs. There is a strong parallelism between genitive complements or adverbial adnominals (*-ko* phrases) and relative clauses. This parallelism is shown in the following examples:

- (1849) a. *Pellok* *ekarri* *duen* *dirua* *galdu*
 Peter.ERG bring AUX.COMP money.DET lose
 dut.
 AUX.
 'I lost the money Peter brought.'
- b. *Pelloren* *dirua* *galdu* *dut.*
 Peter.GEN money lose AUX.
 'I lost Peter's money.'
- c. *Hango* *dirua* *galdu* *dut.*
 there.REL money lose AUX.
 'I lost the money from there.'

The relative clause in (a) is relativized by the adjunction of the complementizer *-(e)n* to the inflected verb. In (b) the noun complement appears with the genitive suffix *-(r)en*. In (c) the noun modifier is built by suffixing *-ko* to an adverbial phrase (locative).

4.10.3.1.1.3. Gapping of the relativized NP

As can be seen in the examples above, the relativized NP is gapped in ordinary relatives, and neither a relative pronoun, nor any other pronominal form corresponding directly to the relativized NP appears within the relative clause.

However, when the relativized NP is one of the NPs carrying verb-agreement (absolutive, ergative, dative), the agreement marker acts like a kind of remote or indirect resumptive morpheme (see Bossong 1984). Compare the following examples:

- (1850) a. *merkatuan erosi dituzun sagarrak*
 market.LOC buy AUX.COMP apple.DET.PL
 'the apples that you bought in the market.'
- b. *sagarrak erosi dituzun merkatua*
 apple.DET.PL buy AUX.COMP market.DET
 'the market where you bought the apples'

In (1850a) the relativized NP is the direct object of the relative clause. It triggers verb-agreement, and the inflected auxiliary has a morpheme (-*it*-) indicating that the object is plural. Thus, although the relativized NP is not overt within the relative clause, the plural marker within the verb inflection shows agreement with it.

On the contrary, in (1850b), the relativized NP is an adverbial NP (locative) and the verb doesn't agree with it. As can be seen, in this case the relative NP has no overt realization within the relative clause, neither direct (pronoun) nor indirect (agreement).

Observe that the gap within the relative clause stands not only for the relativized NP, but for the whole phrase, including the case-marker. This is true of all cases. For example in (1850a) the relativized NP corresponds to a grammatical case (absolutive), and in (1850b) to an adverbial case (locative).

4.10.3.1.1.4. Left- and right-branching

In the examples above, the relative clauses precede the head. Indeed, the prenominal position of relatives is the unmarked position in Basque, almost obligatory for many speakers in present-day Basque. This is reminiscent of what happens with genitive phrases, and the complementizer employed in relatives (-(*e*)*n*) has often been considered to be cognate with the genitive marker (-*en*), though this remains doubtful, because, unlike the genitive, the complementizer doesn't seem to be syllabic in its underlying form (-*n*).

In the past, another word order could be used, and can still be used as a marked form in modern eastern dialects. In this case the relative clause is still embedded, but, like an adjective, it follows the head. See (1851):

- (1851) [Eskualdun zahar [zerbait dakite-n] -ak] alde
 Basque old something know-COMP -DET.PL side
dituzte.
 have
 ‘The old Basques who know something have them on their side.’
 [Etch. *Bur.*:117]

In (1851) the head is *eskualdun* ‘Basque’, and the relative clause follows it (after the adjective *zahar* ‘old’).

Observe that in (1851) the relative clause precedes the determiner (-*ak*), which must be at the end of the whole NP. Thus, there is no extraposition of the relative clause. Actually the relative clause occupies the position that adjectives have in Basque, i.e. to the right of the head-noun, but before the determiner. Thus we have a case of right-branching with regard to the lexical head of the phrase (the bare noun), but not with regard to its functional head (the determiner). Hence, the relative clause in (1851) is not the last syntactic constituent within the whole NP because it is followed by the determiner, which is actually suffixed to it (-*ak*).

One should not analyze (1851) as a relative clause having an internal head. If this were the case, the head (*euskaldun*) would have the ergative case-marker which corresponds to it within the relative. Basque doesn’t allow this relativization strategy.

Postnominal embedded relatives share all the properties prenominal relatives have, and they must not be considered on a par with the extraposed relatives studied below.

4.10.3.1.2. Word order within the relative clause

There is a strong word order constraint regarding one constituent within the relative clause: the relative clause must end with the finite verb form to which the complementizer is joined. There is no exception to this rule. Even in negative clauses, where, apart from relatives, the main verb and other words generally follow the finite auxiliary, the inflected verb must appear at the end of the relative clause (see 4.5 and 4.10.2.3).

Consider the following example (a), which contains a negative relative clause. Within this clause the last word is the inflected auxiliary to which the complementizer is joined (*zuen*). The marker of negation (*ez*), although written as a separate word in standard Basque, is a proclitic, and must precede the auxiliary:

- (1852) a. [Altubek kontutan hartu ez zuen]
 Altube.ERG account.LOC take not.AUX.COMP
 oinarritzko partiketa batekin egin dut
 basic distinction a.COM do AUX
 topo
 encounter
 'I met with a basic distinction that Altube didn't take into account.' [Mitx. EIG IV:101]

The word order found in the relative clause in (a) is not the one usually found in sentences apart from relatives (see 4.5.2.1.2.1). In an ordinary clause, the unmarked word order for the verbal expression in (a) would be (b):

- b. Ez zuen kontutan hartu.
 no AUX account.LOC take
 'He didn't take it into account.'

If we try to keep the word order of (b) within a relative clause, the result is absolutely unacceptable, because the last word within the relative clause is not the inflected verb to which the complementizer is suffixed:

- c. *[Altubek ez zuen kontutan hartu]
 Altube.ERG not AUX.COMP account.LOC take
 oinarritzko partiketa batekin egin dut
 basic distinction one.COM do AUX
 topo.
 encounter

4.10.3.1.3. Modifier and relative stacking

All kinds of noun modifiers can be used on a par with relatives: genitive phrases, adnominal adverbial phrases, adjectives, quantifiers, etc. Usually, prenominal relatives appear as the leftmost constituent, and postnominal relatives as the rightmost lexical phrases within the relative. Hence, prenominal relative clauses generally precede other adnominal phrases as in (1853) below:

- (1853) *Jendea ere gutiago akituko zen (...) egon*
 people too less tire.FUT AUX stay
balitz jarririk [plazaren sahetsetan diren]
 if.AUX sit.PTCP square.GEN sides.LOC are.COMP
harrizko alkietan.
 stone.INSTR.REL benches.LOC
 'People too would have been less tired, if they had been sitting on
 the stone benches which are on both sides of the square.'
 [Etch. *Bur.*:108]

In (1853) there is an adverbial adnominal phrase (*harrizko* 'of stone') between the relative clause and the head noun.

In postnominal relatives the relative clause usually follows adjectives as (1851) above. But the reverse order, although marked, can be found:

- (1854) a. *Holako gezur [xutik doatzi-n]*
 that.type.REL lie standing.up go-COMP
izigarriek ez lukete nehork hitzik
 awful.ERG not have.POT anybody word.PRTT
ihardestea merezi.
 answer.NOM.DET merit
 'These awful lies, which are self-evident, don't deserve any-
 body answer a word (lit. lies which go standing up).' [H.U.
 72:107]

In (a) the relative clause is followed by an adjective (*izigarri* 'frightening'). Right-branching and left-branching relatives can be stacked, as in the following example:

- b. *Beñatek erran dizkit [sekula asmatuko*
 Beñat.ERG tell AUX never dream.FUT
ez nituen] gauza harrigarri [jende
 not AUX.COMP thing amazing person
normal batek erran ez ditzakeen]-ak.
 normal a tell not AUX.POT.COMP-DET.PL
 'Beñat told me amazing things that I would have never
 thought up (and) that a normal person cannot say.' [Land:81]

In (b) we observe that the first relative precedes the head noun (*gauza* ‘thing’), but the second one follows it (and the adjective *harrigarri* ‘amazing’).

Relatives can also be stacked on the same side of the noun, and especially on the left side, where relative clauses usually occur:

- c. *Zortzigarren errenkada da [berilo deitzen*
 eighth row is beryl call.IMPF
[berdetara dioten] ematen duen]
 green.ALL AUX.COMP give.IMPF AUX.COMP
harri eder bat.
 stone beautiful one
 ‘The eighth row is (made of) a beautiful stone that gets close
 to green (and) that is called beryl.’ [Agi.Ast.:351]

Though grammatically perfect, stacking of relative clauses is stylistically marked, since it is difficult for speakers to process more than two or three stacked relatives in a natural way, especially when the information given is not already known.

Of course, relative clauses can also be coordinated within the same NP, a known exception to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (see below 4.10.3.1.4.3). This is what the following two examples show. The relative clauses are between brackets:

- (1855) a. *kontua da nola deitu behar ditugun*
 problem is how call need AUX.COMP
[euskaraz ez dakiten] baina [Euskal
 Basque.INSTR not know.COMP but Basque
Herriko seme diren] alde batetik
 Country.REL son are.COMP side one.ABL
eta bestetik erdaldunak
 and other.ABL non-Basque.speakers
 ‘The issue is how we must call the *erdalduns* who can’t speak Basque but who, from one side and the other, are sons of the Basque Country.’ [Mitx. EIG IV:53] (Note: *erdaldun* means ‘non-Basque-speaking person’, in opposition to *euskaldun* ‘Basque speaker’)

- b. *Esan dugu gainera [eskualde horretan*
 say AUX moreover region that.LOC
bizi zen] eta [mintzaira hori
 live AUX.COMP and language that
erabili zuen] jende multzoa ere ez
 use AUX.COMP people group also not
zela ugariegia.
 was.that numerous.too
 'Moreover, we said that the group of people who lived in this
 region and who used this language weren't too numerous.'
 [Mitx. EIG IV:55]

Relative clauses can contain NPs which include relatives. In the following example, a relative clause is within the dative phrase which belongs to another relative clause:

- (1856) a. *Bibliofilia (..). diru asko duen*
 bibliophilism money much has.COMP
jendeari dagokion zaletasuna da.
 people.DAT suits.3A/3D.COMP craze is
 'Bibliophilism is a craze that corresponds to people who have
 a lot of money.' [Mitx. EIG IV:58]

There is no limit to the number of ordinary relatives which can be added in this way. For instance in the following example the writer uses recursion to obtain a certain literary effect in a dialogue between a sheep and a shepherd. We don't give a word-for-word translation of the example, but we number the embedded relative clauses. English presents the same stacking on the right side and thus in the reverse order; the first head noun is underlined.

- b. *Ai ardia, indartsua zara, [[[[[[[[gatibatu nauen 9] elurra urt-*
zen duen 8] eguzkia gelditzen duen 7] orma zulatzen duen 6]
sagua jaten duen 5] katua ausikitzen duen 4] zakurra kolpat-
zen duen 3] makila erretzen duen 2] sua amatatzen duen 1]
ura edaten baituzu.
 'Oh sheep, you are strong, because you drink the water [1 that
 puts out the fire [2 that burns the stick [3 that hurts the dog [4
 that bites the cat [5 that eats the mouse [6 that pierces the wall
 [7 that stops the sun [8 that melts the snow [9 that makes me a
 prisoner]]]]]]]]].' [Sarri. Ain:17]

In spite of examples like the preceding one, it should be said that Basque speakers have difficulties to process sentences where more than two or three relative clauses are embedded within each other. This fact has been observed in other languages using left-branching relatives.

4.10.3.1.4. Relativization of deeply embedded NPs

4.10.3.1.4.1. Relativized NP within a complement clause

In the examples above, the relativized NPs were major constituents within the relative. But this is not necessary and relativization is allowed for NPs belonging to embedded complement clauses within the relative. In this case the verb of the highest clause must be the final word within the relative:

- (1857) a. [[*zurekin joanen dela*] *uste duzun*] *neska*
 you.COM go.FUT AUX.COMP think have.COMP girl
 ‘the girl who you think will go with you’
- b. [[*zurekin joan dadin*] *nahi nukeen*] *neska*
 you.COM go AUX.COMP want have.POT.COMP girl
 ‘the girl I want to go with you’
- c. [[*zurekin joatea*] *nahi nukeen*] *neska*
 you.COM go.NOM.DET want have.POT.COMP girl
 ‘the girl who I would want to go with you’
- d. [[[*zurekin joan dadin*] *nahi nukeela*]
 you.COM go AUX.COMP want have.POT.COMP
 uste duzun] *neska*
 think AUX.COMP girl
 ‘the girl who you think I would want to go with you’

In (a) the relativized NP is the absolutive (subject) of the completive clause, which is inflected and carries the suffix *-ela* taken by declarative complement clauses. In (b) the complement is a subjunctive clause and takes the suffix *-n* characterizing these clauses. On the contrary, in (c) the complement clause is not inflected. In all three cases relativization of an NP belonging to the embedded clause is possible. There is no restriction on such embeddings; for example we can add another embedding as in (d). Deep relativization shows that there is some kind of operator-movement which permits establishing a link between the head noun and the relativized NP within the deeply embedded relative.

Relativization of NPs within indirect questions is also possible, as is shown in the following examples:

- (1858) a. *Maddi ezkondu zen [[nondik heldu*
Maddi.ERG marry AUX where.ABL come
zen] inork ez zekien] gizon batekin.
AUX.COMP nobody not knew.COMP man a.COM
 'Maddi married a man who nobody knows where [he] came from.'
- b. *Arras kario da [[nork idatzi duen]*
very expensive is who.ERG write AUX.COMP
galdez zauden] liburu hori.
question.INSTR are.COMP book that
 'The book which you are asking who wrote [it] is very expensive.'

It must be observed that Basque allows relativization of NPs which belong to a subject clause:

- (1859) *Ezagutzen dituzu [[hil hurran direla] ageri*
know.IMPF AUX die close are.COMP obvious
den] haur horiek?
is.COMP child those
 'Do you know these children who it is obvious are just about to die?'

In (1859) the relativized NP belongs to an embedded clause which is the subject of the verb locution *ageri izan* 'be obvious'.

4.10.3.1.4.2. Relativized NPs within an adjunct clause

Relativization within adjunct clauses is much more difficult than within complement clauses. For example, relativization within a causal or a temporal subordinate clause is rejected by most speakers (though in transparent contexts some accept such relativizations):

- (1860) a. *[[*ikusten dutelarik*] *haur guztiak*
 see.IMPF AUX.COMP child all.DET.PL
eskapatzen diren] *gizona*
 escape.IMPF AUX.COMP man
 'a man that all the children run away when they see (him)'
- b. *[[*joaten direnean*] *bazkaltzen hasiko*
 go.IMPF AUX.when lunch.tzen begin.FUT
garen] *lagunak*
 AUX.COMP friends
 'the friends that when they leave we'll begin having lunch'

4.10.3.1.4.3. The Complex NP constraint

When the relative is followed by an overt head as in the examples above, no element can be extracted out of it. Even if the head is the last element of the whole phrase, extraction is strongly prohibited. Compare the following sentences:

- (1861) a. [*Ahoz-aho erabili den*] *tradizio*
 mouth.to.mouth use AUX.COMP tradition
horrek merezi luke gain-begiratu bat.
 that merit have.POT over-look one
 'This tradition which has been transmitted by word of mouth
 would deserve a glance.' [Mitx. EIG IV:92]
- b. *[[*Erabili den*] *tradizio horrek* [*ahoz-aho*] *merezi luke gain-*
begiratu bat.

Here (1861a) is an ordinary relative clause containing an adverb (*ahoz-aho* 'by word of mouth'). In (1861b) the adverb has been moved out of the relative, and placed after the head noun. Now (1861b) is absolutely ungrammatical, even incomprehensible. If the adverb had been placed before the head the result would have been the same.

As a result of the complex NP constraint, relativization of NPs within noun complement clauses or independently headed relative clauses is blocked. In the same way, the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) also applies, preventing relativizing an NP which belongs to one of the conjuncts of a coordinated structure. This is shown in (1862):

- (1862) *[[*Patxik erosi zuen*] *eta* [*kanpora*
 Patxi.ERG buy AUX.COMP and outside.ALL
 atera zen]] *liburua*
 go.out AUX.COMP book
 'the book which Patxi bought and he went out'

In the previous example, the relativized NP is the object of the first coordinated relative clause, and the phrase is not well formed. Notice, however, that the CSC does not apply when the relativized NP belongs to both conjuncts, as indicated above.

4.10.3.1.5. Accessibility

4.10.3.1.5.1. Accessibility hierarchy

When a noun phrase can be relativized in a clause, it is said to be accessible to relative-clause formation. Most of the time, accessibility to relativization is understood according to the morphosyntactic features of the relativized NP, and this is the way we take it here.

Basque is an SOV language which uses a gapping strategy for the relativized phrase. Such languages typically have constraints on accessibility, and so we expect to find constraints in Basque. It is easy to understand how relativization may appear rather difficult in these circumstances, since the relativized phrase, which includes the case-ending, has no overt realization within the relative clause. Notice, however, that in those cases where the relativized NP agrees with the verb, verb-agreement can be considered as a kind of resumptive realization of the relativized phrase. Such a situation can appear in Basque with ergative, absolutive and dative phrases.

It is generally admitted that accessibility displays the following syntactic hierarchy (cf. Keenan & Comrie [1977, 1979]):

- (1863) subject > direct object > indirect object > adverbial

This hierarchy is the one which is found in Basque, as we will presently show.

First, let us see how the syntactic hierarchy shown in (1863) could be expressed within the Basque case system:

- (1864) absolutive & ergative > dative > subcategorized adverbial > adjunct adverbial

The hierarchy of (1863) is modified in (1864) because a) no superiority regarding accessibility seems to appear in Basque between subjects and objects, b) subcategorized adverbial phrases are easier to relativize than adjunctive adverbial cases. The interpretation of (1864) is as follows:

- Ergative and absolutive NPs can always be relativized without any kind of restriction, and no hierarchy seems to exist between them in inflected relatives.

- Dative NPs can be quite easily relativized, but relativization of indirect objects, though possible for all speakers, doesn't seem to be as easy as for subjects and direct objects; for instance, more time is needed for processing this interpretation in examples out of context. On the contrary, dative NPs associated with psych-verbs are easier to relativize than indirect objects.

- Adverbial cases can be relativized, but accessibility is linked to syntactic (subcategorization), morphological (morphologically single or complex cases) and semantic-contextual constraints (when the information carried by the relative is already known, relativization is easier).

There is no sharp division within the different grades of the hierarchy. Relativization is possible in all four cases, without difficulties in the first two cases, with restrictions in the third one. As for the fourth possibility of (1864), it could be said that NPs taking non-subcategorized morphologically complex cases resist relativization when there is no case-parallelism (see below 4.10.3.1.5.4).

In the following sentences we show different kinds of relativization. We only display examples where the relativized phrase and the whole phrase have. Relative clauses are bracketed and head-nouns are underlined.

- Relativization of a subject phrase which is ergative:

(1865) *Hor dauzkagu(...)* [*Bonaparteren lanari ekin*
 there have Bonaparte.GEN work.DAT tackle
zioten] *langile* *apalak*.
 AUX.3D/3E.PL.COMP worker humble.DET.PL
 'There we have the humble workers who took on the work of Bonaparte.' [Mitx. EIG IV:30]

In (1865), the relativized phrase in an ergative phrase. The whole phrase is a direct object and it takes the absolutive case-marker.

- Relativization of an absolutive subject phrase:

- (1866) [*Gerta daitekeen*] *amets* *horretan*
 happen(RAD) AUX.3A.COMP dream that.LOC
euskara ikusten dugu...
 Basque see.IMPF AUX
 'In this dream which can happen we see the Basque language...'
 [Mitx. EIG IV:42]

In (1866) the relativized phrase is the subject absolutive phrase. The whole phrase has the locative case.

- Relativization of a direct object (absolutive case):

- (1867) *Filologoa ere banaiz, ordea, [behiala eman*
 philologist also *ba.am* however long.ago give
zidaten] *tituluak* *adierazten duenez.*
 AUX.COMP title.ERG say.IMPF AUX.as
 'However, I am also a philologist, as the diploma they gave me long ago says.' [Mitx. EIG IV:74]

In (1867) the relativized phrase is the direct object, and the whole phrase a subject showing the ergative case.

- Relativization of a nominal predicate.

NPs can be predicates within the relative, as can be seen in the following example:

- (1868) [*Naizen*] *gizonak nekez onets dezake*
 am.COMP man.ERG hardly accept(RAD) AUX.POT
horrelakorik.
 such.thing.PRTT
 'The man I am can hardly accept things like that.'

- Relativization of a dative phrase:

- (1869) [*burni hotsa darion*] *Bizkaiko hizkeraz*
 iron sound pour.3A/3D.COMP Biscay.REL dialect.INSTR
 'in the dialect of Bizkaia, which pours out an iron sound' [Mitx. EIG IV:23]

In (1869) *dario* is an inflected form of the verb *jario* 'pour', an absolutive-dative verb, in which the locative-source corresponds to the dative. In the following example too, the relativized NP is dative, functioning here as an indirect object:

- (1870) *Ezagutzen al duzu [liburuak eskatu*
 know.IMPF Q AUX books ask.for
dizkiodan] gizona?
 AUX.3A.PL/3D/1E.COMP man
 'Do you know the man who I asked for the books?'

- Relativization of adverbial phrases:

- (1871) [*mendi xokoan edo zelaiaren erdian*
 mountain corner.LOC or meadow.GEN middle.GEN
etxetiar zauden] etxeño hura
 tenant are.2A.COMP house that
 'that little house in which they were tenant farmers in the middle of the meadows or in a corner of the mountain.' [Etch. Bur.:83]

In (1871) the relativized phrase corresponds to a local NP (locative case). The whole phrase gets the absolutive case. Some speakers show reluctance when this kind of relativization is proposed to them out of context, especially when the head noun is not easily linked to the required interpretation. However, examples like (1871) are perfect, and regularly produced by Basque speakers in appropriate discourse situations, even by speakers who would have hesitated to fully accept them out of context.

- (1872) [*zinkurinaz dauden] mina ttipienetarik baita*
 lament.INSTR are.COMP pain smallest.PL.ABL *bait*.is
 'that the pain they are complaining about is very small'
 [Etch. Bur.:150]

In (1872) the relativized phrase corresponds to an adverbial phrase (instrumental case) complement of *zinkurinaz egon* 'complain, moan', and indicating the cause of the laments. The whole phrase exhibits the absolutive case.

4.10.3.1.5.2. Conditions on relativization of adverbial phrases

As the previous examples show, relativization of adverbial phrases is possible, albeit subject to several constraints which make it more or less difficult. We can distinguish three types of constraints: Syntactic, morphological and contextual.

- *Syntactic constraints.* Subcategorized adverbial phrases, such as, say, locative phrases with *izan* or *egon* 'be', *bizi izan* 'live', ... or allative phrases with verbs like *joan* 'go', *etorri* 'come', etc. are easier to relativize than non subcategorized adverbial NPs. Consider the following example:

- (1873) [*Hauek bizi ziren*] *bailarak zortzi etxe zituen.*
 these live were.COMP valley.ERG eight house had
 'The valley where they lived had eight houses.'

In the example above the relativized NP corresponds to an adverbial NP (locative case) subcategorized for by the verbal expression *bizi izan* 'live'. The sentence is easy to understand even out of context. Suppose now that we want to relativize a comitative NP in a similar construction; the result would be rejected by speakers:

- (1874) *[*Hauek bizi ziren*] *jendeek diru asko zuten.*
 people.ERG money much had
 'The people with whom they lived had a lot of money.'

The example above is rejected because the comitative NP is not subcategorized for by the verb. Furthermore, the comitative is morphologically complex, since it contains a fixed suffix (-*kin*) joined to the genitive. As a result, relativization is obstructed.

- *Morphological constraints:* Morphologically complex endings are more difficult to relativize. Most often, morphologically complex cases such as comitative or destinative are not subcategorized NPs, and both syntactic and morphological constraints match each other. However, with verbs which subcategorize for the comitative case such as, for example, communication verbs like *hitza egin* or *mintzatu* 'speak', *ele egin* 'converse', relativization is much easier:

- (1875) [Arratsaldean tabernan kontu horietaz hitz
 afternoon.LOC pub.LOC story those.INSTR word
 egin dudan] gizona zurekin dago.
 make AUX.COMP man you.COM is
 'The man with whom I spoke about these matters in the pub this
 afternoon is with you.'

Example (1875), contrary to (1874), is quite easy to accept for many speakers, though in both examples the relativized NP bears the comitative case.

Accessibility to relativization is facilitated when the relative clause carries already known information, or when the pivot-noun corresponds to some lexical realization of the case joined to the relativized NP. For example, locative NPs are easy to relativize when the head noun is *leku* or *toki* 'place', and modal instrumental NPs are easy to relativize when the head noun is *modu* 'manner, mode'. Here are two examples:

- (1876) ...gizalde bat bertzeetarik berezia, ez
 society one others.ABL different.DET not
 bakarrik [bizi garen] tokiaz...
 only alive are.COMP place.INSTR
 '...a human group different from the others, not only because of the
 place where we live...' [Etch. *Bur.*:134]

- (1877) [Zuk lan egiten zenuen] moduak
 you.ERG work do.IMPF AUX.COMP way.ERG
 denak harritzen gintuen.
 all astonish.IMPF AUX
 'The way you worked astonished all of us.'

4.10.3.1.5.3. Conditions on relativization of genitive phrases

Genitive phrases employed as complements of verbal locutions subcategorizing for genitive phrases (usually corresponding to objects) like *zain egon*, *begira egon* 'wait', *bila ibili* 'look for', etc., are easy to relativize:

- (1878) [Zain geunden] lagunak berandu ailegatu ziren.
 waiting.for were.COMP friends late come AUX
 'The friends [we were looking for] came late.'

In (1878) the relativized NP corresponds to the genitive phrase governed by the verbal locution *zain egon* 'to be waiting for'. There is no difficulty in relativizing these genitive phrases. However, when genitive phrases are governed by nouns or postpositions the situation is different. With some postpositions like *kontra*, *aurka* 'against', or some postpositional nouns like *gain* 'above, top of', *atze* 'behind', etc... relativization is accepted by many speakers:

- (1879) [*Nabarreko erregeek gainean zin egiten*
 Navarre.REL kings.ERG above.LOC oath do.IMPF
ohi zuten] *zilar-estalgia* *rekilako liburu handia*
 PTCL AUX.COMP silver-cover.COM.REL book big.DET
 'the big book with a silver cover over which the kings of Navarre
 used to take oaths' [Etch. *Berebiler*:49]

- (1880) [*Hainbeste aldiz kontra aritu nintzen*]
 so.many time.INSTR against act AUX.COMP
arerioek lagundu ninduten.
 enemies.ERG help AUX
 'The adversaries [against whom I fought so many times] helped
 me.'

Relativization is much more difficult when the genitive is governed by ordinary nouns, unless the semantic interpretation is transparent. So although (1881) below is rejected, (1882) is easier to accept:

- (1881) * [*Etxea argazkian hartu dudana*] *gizona da*.
 house photograph.LOC take AUX.COMP man is
 'It is the man (whose) house I took a photo of.'
- (1882) [*Izena ahantzi dudana*] *gizon batek erran dit*.
 name forget AUX.COMP man a.ERG tell AUX
 'A man (whose) name I have forgotten told me.'

4.10.3.1.5.4. Case parallelism

Difficulties regarding accessibility disappear when there is case-parallelism, i.e. when the case marker of the whole NP, i.e. the one including the relative, is identical to the one carried by the relativized NP. Compare the following examples:

(1883) *[Orain bizi naizen] gizonak diru asko du.
 now live am.COMP man.ERG money many has
 'The man [(with) whom I live now] has a lot of money.'

(1884) [Orain bizi naizen] gizonarekin ezkontzeko
 man.COM marry.NOM.REL
 esperantza dut.
 hope have
 'I have the hope I'll marry the man (with) whom I live now.'

Sentence (1883) is an example where relativization is blocked because the relativized NP is a non-subcategorized adverbial NP (see (1874)). The apparently similar example (1884) is not rejected, since in the latter the head noun bears the same case as the relativized NP. This contrast shows that there is a general interpretive rule which attributes to the relativized NP the same case as that of the whole phrase. This is confirmed by the observation that mistakes resulting from case parallelism are often produced in child language.

4.10.3.1.6. Morphosyntactic secondary effects linked to relativization hierarchy

Basque has developed more or less marginal ways to lighten the problems linked to relativization of non-grammatical phrases. We mention three of them: *-ko* insertion, use of resumptive pronouns, and non-argumental verb-inflection.

4.10.3.1.6.1. *-ko* insertion

The relational suffix *-ko* is used to make possible for adverbial phrases, and especially locative phrases, to function as adnominals. As observed above, relativization of locative phrases, though possible, has some restrictions. But joining *-ko* to a relative clause permits the speaker to indicate that the locative interpretation of the relativized phrase is required. From the point of view of syntactic analysis, the relative is adverbialized as a headless relative with a locative case: a possibility which is generally restricted to temporal phrases. Adnominalization of the headless relative is then realized by means of the relational suffix. Consider the following example:

- (1885) [*Usoak iragaiten direneko*] *haroa zen.*
 doves pass.IMPF AUX.COMP.REL season was
 'It was the season when pigeons arrive' [Sarri. *Nar.*:10]

Without adjunction of *-eko* to the relative clause, (1885), where the relativized NP is a locative, would be grammatically correct, but more difficult to interpret. The relational suffix can be added to a plural form:

- (1886) [*pastoralak eman zirenetako*] *herri-izenen*
 pastorals give AUX.COMP.PL.REL village-names.GEN
 beste zerrenda
 other list
 'the other list of the names of villages where pastorals have been
 presented' [Leku. *Ahozko*:221]

4.10.3.1.6.2. Resumptive pronouns

Since verb-agreement occurs with all grammatical NPs (absolutive, ergative and dative), it can be considered as a kind of resumptive realization of the relativized grammatical NP. We won't discuss this point here, restricting resumptive pronouns to independently realized true pronominal forms.

In many languages, resumptive pronouns provide a strategy to facilitate the interpretation of relativized adverbial or genitive phrases. Actually, this strategy has been proposed for Basque by some modern grammarians and among them especially Altube (1929, §125). However, using resumptive pronouns in relative clauses doesn't represent a strategy Basque-speakers usually resort to, even with adverbial phrases which are hard to relativize. Nevertheless, resumptive pronouns are more readily accepted when the relativized NP is embedded within another NP or clause.

The distal demonstrative (*hura*) or its emphatic form (*bera*) can be used as resumptive pronouns. In (1887) we have an example where the resumptive pronoun bears a non-subcategorized complex case (comitative with *ezkondu* 'marry'). Out of context, the example is accepted by some speakers, but it is doubtful the construction is used in natural speech situations:

- (1887) %*Amerikara joan da [berarekin ezkondu*
 Americas.ALL go AUX him.COM marry
 nahi izan zenuen] *mutila.*
 will have AUX.COMP boy
 'The boy to whom you wanted to get married to went to America.'

The status of (1887) is not clear, though some people consider such use of resumptive pronouns acceptable. Observe that, without the resumptive (*berarekin* ‘with him’), the example would be rejected by most speakers. Resumptive pronouns are more readily used when embedded within other phrases within the relative. Consider the following example taken from a TV show:

- (1888) [*Harekin gustora egotea lortzen*
her.COM well be.NOM.DET succeed.IMPF
dudan] *lehengo neska da.*
AUX.COMP first girl is
‘She is the first girl with whom I succeed in feeling good.’
[ETB, *Jaun eta jabe*, 96/04/06]

In (1888) *harekin* is a resumptive pronoun which makes interpretation of the relative clause easier. The resumptive pronoun is not an immediate constituent of the relative clause, since it belongs to a nominalized clause embedded within the relative. The fact that the relativized NP is deeply embedded within the relative makes the use of a resumptive pronoun more natural.

4.10.3.1.6.3. Non-grammatical number agreement

Since the verb agrees with NPs having grammatical cases, the inflected verb retains the agreement marker corresponding to them. In such cases we can say that the agreement marking corresponds to some kind of resumptive marking. Consider now the following two examples:

- (1889) *Non dira [ekarri dituzun] liburuak?*
where are bring AUX.COMP books
‘Where are the books you brought?’
- (1890) *Non dira [ekartzeko esan nizkizun] liburuak?*
where are bring.NOM.REL tell AUX.COMP books
‘Where are the books I told you to bring?’

In (1889) the relativized NP is the absolutive NP and the inflected auxiliary bears the number agreement marker corresponding to it (*-it-*). In (1890) we have apparently the same situation, since the inflected auxiliary carries the plural agreement marker (*-zki-*) corresponding to the relativized NP. However, in (1889) the relativized NP is the direct object of the inflected verb

and agreement is regular, but this is not so in (1890), where the relativized NP is not the object of the inflected verb (*esan* 'tell'). Nevertheless the inflected auxiliary contains a plural agreement marker (-*zki*-) which corresponds to agreement with the relativized NP. Of course, without relativization such agreement is absolutely excluded:

- (1891) **Liburuak ekartzeko esan nizkizun.*
 books bring.NOM.REL tell AUX
 'I told you to bring the books.'

When the relativized NP belongs to a clause embedded within the relative, there is a tendency to make the highest verb within the relative clause agree (in number) with the relativized absolutive NP, even if the latter isn't subcategorized by this verb. The phenomenon is reminiscent of clitic climbing in Romance languages. This non-grammatical agreement, though not obligatory, is more widely accepted by many present-day speakers. To most of them, (1890) sounds more natural than (1892) which is the 'correct' form:

- (1892) *Non dira ekartzeko esan nizun liburuak?*
 where are bring.NOM.REL tell AUX.COMP books
 'Where are the books I told you to bring?'

In some cases, this type of agreement gives rise to morphologically aberrant forms. See the following example, where a genitive NP corresponding to an object has been relativized (see 3.5.5.1.2):

- (1893) *Ez nituen aurkitu [bila nenbiltzan]*
 not AUX find searching 1A.SG.walk.PL.PST.COMP
argitasunak.
 explanations
 'I didn't find the explanations I was looking for.' [adapted from Mitx. EIG VI:166]

The verb in (1893) is *bila ibili* 'look for', a complex expression where *ibili* 'walk, be active in' is inflected. With *bila ibili*, the subject NP takes the absolutive case, and the object the genitive case (see above [4.10.3.1.4.3]). The verb in (1893) is morphologically aberrant: on the one hand, it bears agreement with the absolutive subject (first person singular), on the other, it carries the plural agreement marker as if the subject were plural. Indeed, number agreement is only linked to absolutive case marking in Basque, and

the verb in the relative clause should only agree with its subject. But this is not the case in (1893), because in fact the plural marking within the verb (-*tza*-) corresponds to agreement with the relativized NP (something irregular, since genitive NPs don't have verb agreement). The regular form for (1893) would be (1894):

- (1894) *Ez nituen aurkitu bila nenbilen*
 not AUX find searching 1A.walk.PST.COMP
argitasunak.
 explanations
 'I didn't find the explanations I was looking for.'

Even though (1894) is correct, (1893) sounds better to many people. In fact, (1893) is attested (though slightly adapted here for the sake of clarity) in Mitxelena's text. When he corrected his paper before publishing it, Mitxelena added a note explaining that, although *nenbiltzan* was a true *freak* from the point of view of the verb morphology, he didn't want to correct it, because, as a speaker, he didn't find it so bad.

4.10.3.1.7. Question-words within relative clauses

Since, as seen above, the Complex NP constraint applies in Basque in a regular manner, a *wh*-word cannot be extracted from the relative in questions:

- (1895) **Nori jan dituzu [[aitak erosi dizkion] sagarrak]?*
 who.DAT eat AUX father buy AUX.COMP apples
 'Whom did you eat the apples Dad bought for?'
 (1896) *Nori nahi zenuke [[eros diezazkiodan] sagarrak]?*
 who.DAT want have.POT buy(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).COMP
 apples
 'Who do you want me to buy apples for?'

In (1896) the *wh*-word is extracted from the subjunctive complement, and the example is perfect. This is not the case in (1895), because the *wh*-word is extracted from the relative included within the complex NP.

However, provided there is no extraction, NPs within relatives can be question words. In this case pied-piping (4.4.5.3) is obligatory:

- (1897) [[*Nork zuzendu duen*] *lanaz*] *mintzatu dira?*
 who.ERG direct AUX.COMP work.INSTR speak AUX
 'The work that who directed did they speak about?'

- (1898) [[*Nori gertatu zaizkion*] *istripuak*] *nahi*
 who.DAT happen AUX.COMP accidents want
zenuke aipa diezazkizudan?
 have.POT mention(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).COMP
 'The accidents which happened to whom do you want me to mention?'

These examples are well-formed in Basque. In both cases, the *wh*-word is moved to the preverbal position, but along with it the whole NP in which the relative is included has to move. Observe that in the examples (1896-1898) the relative clause itself is not a question. The *wh*-word has scope over the whole clause.

4.10.3.1.8. Restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses

It is well known that some languages distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Basque also makes such a distinction because, as will be seen further, appositive and extraposed relatives are non-restrictive. However, embedded ordinary relatives don't distinguish between the two kinds of interpretation, or, to put it in another way, ordinary relatives can receive both interpretations depending on pragmatic factors. This can be observed by checking whether there is any difference in relativization when the head noun is a proper noun (non-restrictive interpretation), and when it is a common noun which is specified by means of the relative (restrictive interpretation). Compare the following examples:

- (1899) a. *Erakutsi didazun gizonaz mintzo naiz.*
 show AUX.COMP man.INSTR speak am
 'I am speaking about the man that you showed me.'
 b. *Hainbeste miresten duzun Axularrez mintzo naiz.*
 so.much admire.IMPF AUX.COMP Axular.INSTR
 speak am
 'I am speaking about Axular that you admire so much.'

In the first sentence, the relative is restrictive: the NP is specified and its specification results from the information given by the relative clause. In contrast, in the second sentence the relative is non-restrictive, because the head is a proper noun, which has its own specified reference. The information given by the relative doesn't contribute to the specification of the NP. As can be seen in the examples above, relativization is carried out in the same way in both cases, and no formal difference is attached to the distinction between the two types of interpretation.

The use of modifiers with proper nouns is stylistically rather marked, and relative clauses are no exception. Here is an example of such a construction:

- (1900) *Eta Arestik, horren oraintsuko Arestik,*
 and Aresti.ERG so right.now.REL Aresti.ERG
hainbeste ezagutu dugun Arestik, hain
 so.much know AUX.COMP Aresti.ERG so
ozenki mintzaten den Arestik, (...) utzi
 loudly speak.IMPF AUX.COMP Aresti.ERG leave
du pasarte ilunik ugari.
 AUX passage dark.PRTT many
 'And Aresti, Aresti who is so modern, Aresti who we know so well,
 Aresti who speaks so loudly, (...) left many obscure passages.'
 [Mitx. EIG IV:81]

4.10.3.1.9. Relatives describing proper nouns

Personal pronouns are full NPs and they can receive no modifier at all. Therefore no personal pronoun occurs as head of a relative clause:

- (1901) *[*Maite zaitudan*] *zurekin ezkondu nahi dut.*
 love have.2A/1E.COMP you.COM marry want have
 'I want to marry you whom I love so much.'

This sentence is ungrammatical because the head of the relative is a personal pronoun (*zurekin* 'with you'). However, relativization of personal pronouns is possible if a personal pronoun is not used as head of the whole phrase. The classical strategy uses a demonstrative pronoun after the relative: the first demonstrative (*hau*) for the first person singular (*hauek* for the plural), and the second demonstrative (*hori*) for the second person (*horiek* for the plural):

- (1902) *Zuk, Judua zarelarik nola eskatzen didazu*
 you Jew are.COMP.PRTT how ask.IMPF AUX
edatera, [Samariarra naizen] honi?
 drink.NOM.ALL Samaritan am.COMP this.DAT
 'How is it possible that you, being a Jew, are asking me, who am a Samaritan, for something to drink?'

In (1902), the dative NP is the first person singular. The personal pronoun as such has no overt realization within the sentence, but appears as the first demonstrative (*honi*) after the relative.

Usually the whole phrase is appositive (see 4.10.3.3.4), and follows the personal pronoun in its plain form. Both NPs, the personal pronoun and the appositive phrase, bear the same case marker:

- (1903) *Baina nik, [karismarik(...)] hartu ez dudan]*
 but I.ERG charisma.PRTT take not AUX.COMP
honek, lehen-orainak ditut begien
 this.ERG past-present.DET.PL have eyes.GEN
aurrean soil-soilik.
 front.LOC only
 'But I, who have not received any charisma, only have the present and the past before my eyes.' [Mitx. IH:392]

Observe that in (1902) and (1903) both the verb within the relative (*naizen*, *hartu ez dudan*) and the verb of which the personal pronoun is the argument in the main sentence (*didazu*, *ditut*) agree with the first person. Therefore, it can be said that, although personal pronouns cannot be used as relative heads, they can be relativized.

Some grammarians have claimed that it is possible to use some intensive pronouns bearing a local case ending as head of relatives. These pronouns are morphologically complex and result from the adjunction of the demonstrative to the personal pronoun itself (in its emphatic form): for instance, *nerau* (<*neur* + *hau*) for the first person singular. Although such constructs are somewhat easier to accept than those where the head is an unmarked personal pronoun, the result is still bad, and speakers can hardly employ such forms:

- (1904) *[*Maite zaitudan*] *zerorrengana hurbildu*
 love have.2A.1E.COMP you.INTS.ALL approach
nahi dut.
 want have
 'I want to get closer to you yourself whom I love so much.'

The definite article can also be joined to the appositive relative, as in (1905):

- (1905) *Nik [herrautsa baizen ez naizen]-ak*
 I.ERG dust only not am.COMP-DET.ERG
zer burupe duket?
 what authority have.POT
 'What authority can I, who am only dust, have?'

In the previous example, the personal pronoun is ergative (*nik* 'I'), and is followed by an appositive relative in which the first person (subject NP) is relativized and receives the article followed by the ergative case-marker (-*ak*). This kind of relative is often used when personal pronouns function as vocatives. Sometimes the pronoun itself is gapped and the relative is employed alone, as in example (1906), where the whole vocative phrase is underlined, and the relative clause is put between brackets:

- (1906) *Emanen ere didazu, [nere bizi zaren]-a,*
 give.FUT also AUX my life are.COMP-DET
aurreko egun hartan han eman zenidana.
 before.REL day that.LOC there give AUX.COMP.DET
 '(You), who are my life, you'll give me what you gave me that day.'
 [Gazt. Musi:201]

In (1906) the vocative NP is the second person singular, but the pronoun does not appear before the appositive phrase.

4.10.3.1.10. Subjective relatives.

In eastern dialects declarative complement clauses containing a relativized NP can be directly joined to a head noun, after the verb subcategorizing for the complement clause has been gapped. Declarative complement clauses take the suffix -(e)*la*, but the relational suffix -*ko* is joined to them when the governing verb has been gapped, and they are made adnominal. Thus, the

suffix *-lako* (*-la+ko*) is joined to these embedded clauses just like to ordinary noun complement clauses. By this construction, the speaker explicitly indicates that the relative is being reported. This is why these relatives are called subjective relatives:

- (1907) [*Kondenatuak direlako*] *liburuez mintzo*
 condemn.DET.PL are.COMP.REL books.INSTR speak
dira asko.
 are many
 'Many speak about the books which (reportedly) are condemned.'
 [H.U. *Gontz.*:50]

- (1908) [*bazterrera utzia zelako*] *Brisson*
 aside.ALL leave.DET was.COMP.REL Brisson
hura baitukegu(...) buruzagi
 that bait.have.POT chief
 '...we will probably have as leader that Brisson who was (reportedly) pushed aside' [H.U. *Gontz.*:70]

4.10.3.2. Non-finite relative clauses

Two kinds of non-finite relative clauses are usually recognized in Basque grammars and linguistics works: a) Participial clauses where the relative clause is either adjectivized or adverbialized, and b) Infinitival relatives where the relative clause is nominalized. With adverbialized and adnominalized clauses the relational suffix *-ko* must be joined to the verb form.

4.10.3.2.1. Adjectival participial relatives

These forms are only used in eastern dialects, where they represent the most usual realization of participial relatives. The verb within the relative is the perfective participle in its bare form:

- (1909) [*Baionako Ospitalean ikusi*] *etsenplu,*
 Bayonne.REL hospital.LOC see example
ibilmolde miresgarriak
 behavior admirable.DET.PL
 'the admirable examples and behaviors I saw in the Hospital of Bayonne' [Etcheb. *Ene Or.*:55]

Perfective participles can be used as adjectives, and, when they are employed in non-finite relatives, don't receive the relational suffix *-ko*. Thus, one can analyze these non-finite relative clauses as adjectival clauses. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that adjectival relatives usually precede the head noun (especially when they are not reduced to the participle), while ordinary adjectives must follow it.

4.10.3.2.2. Adverbial participial relatives

In adverbial participial relatives the participle receives an adverbial suffix, which is either the partitive marker (*-[r]ik*) or *-ta*. Then, the relational suffix (*-ko*) is joined to the adverbial form in order to make it adnominal. With the partitive we get *-(r)ikako* (*-[r]ika + ko*) in Navarrese-Lapurdian, and *-(r)iko* (*-[r]ik + ko*) in Bizkaian, as shown in the following examples:

- (1910) [*liranja eta zitroin lorez eginikako*]
 orange and lemon flower.INSTR make.PTCP.REL
usain gozo bat
 smell good a
 'a good smell made of orange and lemon flowers' [Etch. *Mend.*:71]

- (1911) [*ondo landuriko soro, baratza ta*]
 well cultivate.PTCP.REL meadow garden and
sagastitxo batzuk
 orchard.DIM some.PL
 'some meadows, gardens and little orchards which are well cultivated' [Ag. *Kres.*:51]

In western dialects, and especially in Gipuzkoan, the suffix used for adverbialization of the perfect participle is *-ta*. When the participial clause is adnominalized, it is again followed by the relational suffix *-ko*. This is the most usual form of participial relatives in southern dialects:

- (1912) [*berak bakarrik egindako erakusketan*]
 he.ERG alone.PRTT make.PTCP.REL exhibition.LOC
 'in the exhibition that he himself put together' [Mitx. EIG IX:144]

Regarding accessibility, it should be observed that direct objects are easier to relativize than subjects in transitive participial relatives. Relativization of

transitive subjects is allowed, but it is the marked interpretation in ambiguous contexts:

- (1913) *atzo ikusitako gizonak*
 yesterday see.PTCP.REL men
 'the men who saw X yesterday'

Sentence (1913), where neither the subject nor the object is realized, is ambiguous. Both interpretations are possible, but the second one, where the relativized NP is the object, is the unmarked one. Indeed relativization of ergative NPs in transitive clauses is difficult to accept for many speakers out of an appropriate context.

When the object NP is not gapped within the relative clause there is no ambiguity and relativization is more readily accepted:

- (1914) a. *atzo nik ikusitako gizonak*
 yesterday I.ERG see.PTCP.REL men
 'the men I saw yesterday'
 b. *atzo ni ikusitako gizonak*
 yesterday I see.PTCP.REL men
 'the men who saw me yesterday'

Adverbial NPs too can be relativized in participial relatives:

- (1915) *zu jaiotako herria*
 you born.PTCP.REL country
 'the country where you were born'

4.10.3.2.3. Infinitival relatives

In so-called infinitival relatives the nominalized verb of the relative clause receives the relational suffix *-ko*, as in the following example:

- (1916) *Donostia(...) [euskalduntasuna desegiteko]*
 Donostia basquehood destroy.NOM.REL
tresna bat da.
 tool a is
 'San Sebastian (...) is a tool to destroy basquehood.' [Mitx. IH:131]

In fact the syntactic status of these adnominal clauses is not clear, and it isn't sure that we have to analyze them as relative clauses. The alternative analysis consists of considering them as adnominal complement clauses subcategorized by different classes of nouns. In traditional grammars these adnominal clauses have received no specific analysis, and the proposal to consider them as relative clauses appears in modern linguistics works (Artiagoitia 1992). An example illustrating the relative clause analysis is (1917):

- (1917) [*Trafikoa zaintzeko*] *ertzainak heldu dira.*
 traffic direct.NOM.REL policemen arrive AUX
 'Policemen to direct the traffic have arrived.'

At first sight it seems that the analysis fits very well. The relativized NP can be analyzed as the subject of the infinitival clause, just as in participial relatives:

- (1918) [*trafikoa zaindutako*] *ertzainak*
 traffic direct.PTCP.REL policemen
 'the policemen who directed the traffic'

However, if we consider the different cases where nominalized adnominal clauses can be used, the picture is more complicated. These adnominal clauses can be used with nouns expressing some kind of purpose, such as *tirria* 'desire', *gogo* 'wish', *gutizia* 'desire', *esperantza* 'hope', *helburu* 'goal', *amets* 'dream', *xede* 'aim', *beldur* 'fear', etc. In other cases, the head noun has a modal meaning expressing a) possibility with *baimen* 'authorization', *ahal* 'capacity, possibility', *esku* 'right, power', *aukera* 'opportunity', *arrisku* 'risk', *ezintasun* 'impossibility, incapacity'; b) obligation with nouns such as *behar* 'necessity', *obligazio* 'obligation', *debeku* 'prohibition', etc. In such cases the adnominal clause can hardly be analyzed as a relative. It is a complement clause subcategorized by the head noun.

When the head noun expresses manner, means, function or instrument, or when it indicates a place or a moment in which the process described by the adnominal clause occurs, the situation is not so clear, since relativization is not excluded. Consider the following example:

- (1919) *Orduan izaten zen —orain ere bai—*
 then be.IMPF AUX now also
 [*etxeko neska-mutillai jostailuak eta goxoak*
 house.REL girl-boys.DAT NOM.REL and candy
ekartzeko] *eguna.*
 bring. NOM.REL day
 'That was then—and it still is—the day to bring toys and candies to
 the children of the family.' [Mitx. EIG I:204]

In this example the adnominal clause can be analyzed as a relative clause where a PP corresponding to a locative is relativized.

Under the complement clause analysis there is no relativized NP at all within the nominalized sentence, although the head noun is related to one of the constituents in it. Under this view, it is assumed that nouns can subcategorize for complement clauses expressing the way or the aim the entity they refer to is used, just like nouns of location, instrument or manner subcategorize for clauses expressing the processes whose achievement they are linked to. Admitting that nouns can subcategorize for adnominalized infinitival clauses in this way, one can ask whether the nominalized clauses which have been analyzed as infinitival relatives shouldn't be considered as a subset of them.

Let us consider examples like (1917) in this way, adapted here as (1920a). In this case, the adnominal clause would be a complement clause, just like (1920b) below, although the heads mentioned in the latter example, contrary to *ertzain* in (a), cannot be related to a constituent within the relative:

- (1920) a. [*trafikoa zaintzeko*] *ertzainak*
 traffic direct.NOM.REL policemen
 'the policemen to direct traffic'
 b. [*trafikoa zaintzeko*]
 traffic direct.NOM.REL
bideak/ tresnak/ saioak/ kargua/ ofizioa
 means/ tools/ efforts/ responsibility/ job
 'the ways/instruments/efforts/responsability/job to direct traffic'

The prediction that the relative clause analysis makes is that a head noun like *ertzain* 'policeman' could be used freely with infinitival relatives under similar syntactic conditions. On the contrary, since the complement clause analysis supposes restrictions on subcategorization, it predicts that it can be restricted to cases where the adnominal clause expresses a restriction on the

specific tasks which are ordinarily assigned to the police. See the following example:

- (1921) *[*Jendeekin bazkaltzeko*] *ertzainak etorri dira*.
 people.COM lunch.NOM.REL policemen arrive AUX
 'The policemen to have lunch with people have arrived.'

The previous example is not well formed. Observe that there is no semantic impossibility to relate a noun like *ertzain* 'policeman' to a clause like *jendeekin bazkaltzeko* 'to have lunch with people' having a purpose value. This is what is shown in the following

- (1922) *Ertzainak etorri dira [jendeekin bazkaltzeko]*.
 policemen arrive AUX people.COM lunch.NOM.REL
 'The policemen came to have lunch with people.'

This sentence shows that what makes (1921) wrong is not some kind of general semantic incompatibility. Sentence (1921) is ill-formed because the adnominal clause does not satisfy the restrictions linked to its subcategorization as an adnominal clause. To put it in another way, the job of policemen is not to have lunch with people.

This kind of restriction on subcategorization seems easier to account for under the complement clause analysis than under the relative clause analysis. However, the question of determining the exact nature of these adnominal clauses remains to be studied more deeply.

4.10.3.3. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are relative clauses which are not followed (or preceded) by a noun head within the same NP. This situation occurs in very different contexts which must be distinguished:

- the head noun is deleted but recoverable from the context (4.10.3.3.1);
- there is no recoverable lexical head, and the head corresponds to an empty canonic pronominal form: generic relatives (4.10.3.3.2);
- the headless relative is a predicate: predicate relatives (4.10.3.3.3);
- the headless relative is within an appositive phrase: appositive relatives (4.10.3.3.4);
- the headless relative is extraposed: extraposed relatives (4.10.3.3.5);
- the headless relative is a sentential relative (4.10.3.3.6).

4.10.3.3.1. Relatives with a deleted but recoverable lexical head

As other noun modifiers, relative clauses can appear without being followed by the lexical head they modify because the latter has been gapped. This is especially the case when the head noun has been previously used within the same sentence or in a near context. Consider the following sentence, where the determiner joined to the relative is in bold type:

- (1923) [*Eztabaidan ibili diren*]-*ak*(...) *belarri*
 discussion.LOC walk AUX.COM-DET.PL ear
zorrotzeko jendeak dira.
 sharp.REL people are
 'Those who have been discussing (...) are people of sharp ears.'
 [Mitx. EIG VI:99]

In (1923), no noun follows the relative sentence, to which the article (-*ak*) is directly joined. This is because the head noun has been gapped. Notice, however, that the context indicates what the head of the relative clause is. This kind of gapping is frequent in Basque, and allows the relative to occur along with all types of determiners and other noun modifiers.

4.10.3.3.2. Generic relative clauses

4.10.3.3.2.1. Properties of generic relatives

Generic relative clauses are apparently similar to relatives presented above (4.10.3.3.1), in that the determiner is directly joined to the relative as well. Nevertheless, there is an important difference: in generic relatives no lexical element is recoverable from the context. The head is just an empty pronominal form that has a canonical value. See the following example, where Ø stands for the empty pronominal head:

- (1924) a. [*Ez dakien*]-Ø*ak* [*dakiten*]-Ø*ei*
 not knows.COMP.DET.ERG know.COMP.PL.DAT
galda biezaie.
 ask(RAD) AUX.IMP
 'Let the one who doesn't know ask those who know.'

In this example the ergative NP (*ez dakienak* 'the one who doesn't know') consists of the relative clause followed by the definite article in singular

with the ergative case-ending. The dative NP has the same structure, but it has got the plural article as determiner (-*ei*). In both cases the empty head receives a generic interpretation where the only restriction is on the feature [+/-human]. For instance, in (1924), where the relativized NPs are the subjects of the verb *jakin* 'know', they must have the feature [+human]. The empty head has no feature regarding number: in our example one headless relative receives the singular article, and the other one the plural article.

Apart from the definite article, the indefinite article (*bat*, *batzuk*), the partitive, and forms indicating total quantification (*guztiak*, *oro*) can also follow the relative in generic relatives. In the following example the determiner is *guztiak* 'all':

- (1925) *Honela aitortu dute [auziaz arduratu*
 this.way confess AUX dispute.INSTR care.about
 diren] guztiak.
 AUX.COMP all.PL.ERG
 'So declared all who cared about the dispute.' [Mitx. EIG VI:30]

4.10.3.3.2.2. Constraints on accessibility in generic relatives

There seem to be specific restrictions on accessibility in generic relatives. Indeed, while subjects and object NPs are easy to relativize, that is not the case for adverbial NPs. For instance the following examples, where local NPs are relativized, are not well formed:

- (1926) a. **Nik ere bizi nahi nuke, [zu bizi*
 I.ERG also live want AUX.POT you live
 zarenean].
 AUX.COMP.LOC
 'I'd also like to live where you live.'
 b. **[Etorri naizenetik] joan behar zenuke.*
 come AUX.COMP.ABL go need AUX.POT
 'You should go through the way I came.'

The impossibility to relativize adverbial NPs explains why generic NPs expressing spatial location or manner take a lexical form (see 4.10.3.1.5.2). Compare the following examples in (1927) with those in (1926) above:

- (1927) a. *Nik ere bizi nahi nuke,* [zu bizi
I.ERG also live want AUX.POT you live
zaren tokian].
AUX.COMP place.LOC
'I'd like to live in the place you live.'
- b. [*Etorri naizen bidetik*] *joan behar zenuke.*
come AUX.COMP way.ABL go need AUX.POT
'You should go through the way I came.'

Observe however, that in old texts examples can be found where the relativized NP within the generic relative is not a subject or an object, as in the following 17th century example:

- (1928) *Otoitz eginen duzu zeure adiskide guziak,*
pray make.FUT AUX your friend all.DET.PL
eta [obligazino duzunak] gatik
and obligation have.COMP.DET.PL for
'You will pray for all your friends and for those (to whom) you are under an obligation.' [Haram.: 45]

In (1928), the relativized NP must be a PP that is subcategorized by the verb locution *obligazio izan* 'to have an obligation toward somebody'. The postposition is a complex one, like, for instance, *-en aldera* 'toward'. Such a use doesn't seem available to contemporary speakers.

4.10.3.3.2.3. Generic relatives and indirect questions

With some verbs like *jakin* 'know', *ahantzi* 'forget', *oroit izan* 'remember', *konprenitu* or *ulertu* 'understand', etc., which subcategorize for both NPs (or PPs) and indirect questions, generic relatives and indirect questions are equivalent in practice. Compare the following two examples:

- (1929) a. *Ez naiz oroit* [zer erran nuen
not AUX remember what say AUX.COMP
orduan].
moment.LOC
- b. *Ez naiz oroit* [orduan erran
not AUX remember moment.LOC say
nuenaz].
AUX.COMP.INSTR
'I don't remember what I said at that moment.'

Both examples in (1929) have the same meaning, though an indirect question is used in the first one (a), and an instrumental generic relative clause in the second one (b) (*oroit izan* 'remember' subcategorizes for instrumental NPs). Both constructs are well formed, and their meanings are similar. However, with other verbs, like for instance *ahantzi* 'forget', the distinction between both constructions can be made clearer, though the translation would still be similar in English (differing in whether *what* is stressed or not):

- (1930) a. *Ahantzi dut [zer ekarri behar nuen].*
 forget AUX what bring must AUX.COMP
 b. *Ahantzi dut [ekarri behar nuena].*
 forget AUX bring must AUX.COMP.DET
 'I have forgotten what I should bring.'

The verb *ahantzi* 'forget' subcategorizes for both indirect questions and absolutive NPs. However, the meanings are not the same in both cases: in (a), the speaker says that he doesn't remember which object he should have brought. In (b), he indicates that he forgot the object he should bring.

4.10.3.3. Predicative relative clauses

Like other noun modifiers, headless relative clauses can be predicates. We call these relative clauses predicative relatives. See the following example:

- (1931) *Liburu hau da [lagunek iaz eskaini*
 Book this is friends.ERG last.year offer
zidaten]-a.
 AUX.COMP-DET
 'This book is the one my friends offered me last year.'

In (1931) the headless relative clause is the predicate of the whole sentence, and, like other predicates, it bears the definite article as determiner (-a). Predicative relative sentences can be used in cleft sentences, especially when the relativized NP is ergative or absolutive.

4.10.3.3.1. Predicative relatives and personal pronouns

When the subject of the main sentence is a first or second person pronoun, the relativized NP can be either the same person or a third person. Consider the following example:

- (1932) *Ni naiz lehenbiziko joan behar duena.*
 I am first go must AUX.3A/3E.COMP.DET
 'I am the one who must go first.' (Sp *soy el primero que debe ir*)
 [Mitx. EIG IX:68]

In (1932) the auxiliary within the relative (*du*) carries third person agreement with the subject of the relative clause, which is the relativized NP. However, the subject of the predicate is the first person singular (*ni* 'I'). It is also possible to relativize the personal pronoun within the relative (see 4.10.3.1.8), as in (1933):

- (1933) *Ni naiz lehenbiziko joan behar dudana.*
 I am first go must AUX.3A/1E.COMP.DET
 'I am the one who (I) must go first.' (Sp *soy el primero que debo ir*)

In (1933) the verb within the relative (*duda-*) carries first person agreement with the relativized subject NP.

4.10.3.3.2. Predicative relatives with a relativized predicate

We have seen before (see 4.10.3.1.5.1) that predicates can be relativized. When the subject within the relative is the first or second person, a generic relative can result from this construction which can be a predicate as well. See the following example:

- (1934) *...eta soinean dudanean naiz naizena.*
 and body.LOC have.when am am.COMP.DET
 '...and it is when I wear it that I am the one I am.' [Mitx. EIG IX:95]

In (1934), the predicate is a predicative relative, which has a generic value (*naizena* 'the one I am'). The subject in all clauses is the first person singular.

This kind of relative can be duplicated in order to emphasize the predicate (just like other predicates can be emphasized). See the following example (1935), which is taken from a poem by B. Etxepare (8-10). Though the text is old (16th century), the construction is still perfectly natural in present-day Basque (we render the example in standard Basque):

- (1935) *Zaren zarena baitzara.*
 are.COMP are.COMP.DET bait.are
 'Because you are (just) the one you are.'

The preceding example can be compared to (1936), where the predicate is duplicated too:

- (1936) *Handi-handia zara.*
 tall-tall.DET are
 'You are very tall.'

4.10.3.3.3. Accessibility within predicative relatives

Accessibility within predicative relatives follows the same hierarchy as in ordinary relatives. However, it can be said that the different degrees are more marked. This is why when predicative relatives are used as cleft sentences the relativized NP, most of the time, is absolutive or ergative. However, in appropriate contexts, it can have another case:

- (1937) a. *Erakunde hori da [Oteizak bere obrak*
 institution this is Oteiza.ERG his works
utzi nahi lizkiokeena].
 bequeath want AUX.POT.COMP.DET
 'It is to that institution that Oteiza would like to bequeath his works.'
- b. *Etxe hau da [Zuloaga gaztetan bizi izan*
 house this is Zuloaga youth.LOC live be
zena].
 AUX.COMP.DET
 'This is the house where Zuloaga lived during his youth.'

Examples (1937a,b), where the relativized NPs are respectively a dative phrase (a) and a locative phrase (b) are well formed. However, they are not

as easy to accept as cleft sentences where the relativized NP is the subject or the object NP, as in (1938) below:

- (1938) a. *Oteiza da [bere obrak Bilboko museoari*
Oteiza is his works Bilbao.REL museum.DAT
utzi nahi lizkiokeena].
 bequeath want AUX.COMP.DET
 'It is Oteiza who would like to bequeath his works to the Bilbao Museum.'
- b. *Obra hori da [Oteizak Bilboko*
work that is Oteiza.ERG Bilbao.REL
museoari utzi nahi liokeena].
 museum.DAT bequeath want AUX.COMP.DET
 'It is this work that Oteiza would like to bequeath to the Bilbao Museum.'

In the following example, taken from Leizarraga (16th century) but accepted by contemporary speakers, the relativized NP is a genitive:

- (1939) *Ni naiz [galdez zaudetena].*
 I am question.INSTR are.COMP.DET
 'I am the one you (PL) are asking for.'

The verb locution found in the relative clause is (*norbaiten*) *galdez egon* 'to ask (for somebody)', where the genitive NP corresponds to the direct object of the verb *galdatu* when the latter is used instead of the mentioned locution.

4.10.3.3.4. Appositive relative clauses

Appositive relative clauses are headless relatives that follow immediately the NP whose head they describe or modify. Consider the following example:

- (1940) *Mintzagai usua, [erraz axaleratzen zena],*
 topic usual.DET easy arise.IMPF AUX.DET
euskararen(...) egoera(...) izan ohi zen.
 Basque.GEN situation be PTCL AUX
 ‘Our favorite subject of discussion, the one which easily arose, was
 ... the situation of the Basque language.’ [Mitx. EIG VII:37]

In (1940), the appositive relative is not embedded within the NP it refers to, but adjoined to it.

4.10.3.3.4.1. Case concord between the appositive relative and the NP it refers to

Most of the time, appositive relatives refer to an absolutive NP (the antecedent of traditional grammars), and they bear the absolutive suffix as well. However, they can also follow an NP bearing another case-marker. In such a case, the standard use is to join the same case-ending to the appositive relative:

- (1941) *Ez ote zekien euskaldunek, [euskaraz egiten*
 not Q knew Basques.ERG Basque.INSTR speak.IMPF
zutenek], bera barne, Irunberri esaten
 AUX.COMP.PL.ERG he inside Irunberri say.IMPF
zutela?
 AUX.COMP
 ‘Didn’t he know that Basques, those who can speak Basque, himself
 included, said *Irunberri*?’ [Mitx. EIG VII:118]
- (1942) *...zor diegu haiei, [itzali*
 debt have.3A/3D.PL/1E.PL they.DAT extinguish
zirenei], eta batez ere argizari bizi
 AUX.COMP.DAT.PL and especially candle alive
dugun Barandiaran Jaunari.
 have.COMP Barandiaran mister.DAT
 ‘...we owe it to them, to those who died away, and especially to
 Barandiaran, who is our living candle.’ [Mitx. EIG VIII:65]

Nevertheless, examples without such case concord can be found in modern texts. This happens when the antecedent is ergative and the appositive relative remains absolutive (unmarked). See the following examples:

- (1943) *Gure Jainkoak*, [*beti xuxen dabilana*],
 our god.ERG always right acts.COMP.DET
ongi gidatzen baitu.
 well guide.IMPF BAIT.AUX
 'Because our God, who always acts rightly, guides well.'
 [Ariztia Ama:16]

- (1944) ...*galdegin zuen zaharrenak*, [*izengoitiz*
 ask AUX oldest.DET.ERG nickname.INSTR
Beltza zeritzana].'
 Beltza called.COMP.DET
 '...asked the older, who was known as Beltza.' [Izet. Dir.:20]

In (1943) and (1944) the antecedent is ergative, while the appositive relative is absolutive. There is thus no case concord between the appositive relative and the NP it describes, which bears the ergative case. Though some contemporary writers have proposed to extend this kind of construction to other cases apart from ergative, it must be noticed that such a mismatch occurs especially when the antecedent is ergative. Therefore, it could be the case that the mismatches exemplified above simply follow some kind of weakening of the opposition ergative-absolutive in this context for these speakers. Standard Basque avoids such mismatches between NPs and appositive phrases.

4.10.3.3.4.2. Appositive relatives as non-restrictive relatives

Appositive relatives are non-restrictive relatives. Restrictive relatives are defined here as head modifiers that make the whole NP specific. When the NP is specific by itself, as, for instance, when the head is a proper noun, the relative is non-restrictive. But the same thing occurs when the whole NP is not specified, i.e. when the restriction carried by the relative isn't enough to make the NP specific (even if it contributes to the determination of the NP in a direct manner). This is why appositive relatives may follow specific, generic or indefinite NPs, but they cannot follow an NP whose head they make specific. Consider the following situations:

- The NP is already specific:

- (1945) *Zuk aipatutako herriak, [500 herritar baino gutiago dituztenak], egoera txarrean dira.*
 you mention.PTCP.REL villages inhabitant than
 less have.COMP.DET.PL situation bad.LOC are
 'The villages you mentioned, those which have less than 500 inhabitants, are in a bad situation.'

- The NP is generic:

- (1946) *Herri tikiak, 500 herritar baino gutiago dituztenak, egoera txarrean dira.*
 village small.DET.PL
 'Little villages, those which have less than 500 inhabitants, are in a bad situation.'

- The NP is indefinite:

- (1947) *Herri batzuk, 500 herritar baino gutiago dituztenak, egoera txarrean dira.*
 village some
 'Some villages, which have less than 500 inhabitants, are in a bad situation.'

- The NP is definite and specified:

- (1948) **Herriak, 500 herritar baino gutiago dituztenak, egoera txarrean dira.*
 village.DET.PL
 'The villages which have less than 500 inhabitants, are in a bad situation.'

The example (1948) is not well formed, because out of a special context the NP alone cannot be interpreted either as a generic NP or as a specified one. This sentence would be well formed if the appositive relative could be interpreted as a restrictive relative (i.e. 'The countries which have less than 500 inhabitants are in a bad situation'), but this is not the case.

4.10.3.3.5. Extraposed relatives

We call extraposed relatives appositive relatives which are extraposed at the end of the sentence, and which can be separated from the NP they describe (while other appositive relatives immediately follow the NP they describe or modify, and need not be at the end of the sentence). See the following example:

- (1949) *Zerbeit gertatu zitzaien orduantxe [ederki*
 something happen AUX then.INTS beautifully
lotsatu zituena].
 embarrass AUX.COMP.DET
 'At this moment, something happened which embarrassed them a lot.' [Eliss. BAH:20]

In (1949), the appositive relative is extraposed and appears at the end of the sentence, separated from the NP it describes (*zerbeit* 'something'). Extraposed relative clauses always carry absolutive case, and they usually agree with the NP they describe or modify. Therefore, this NP is absolutive. This is the main difference with other appositive relatives, which can receive case endings other than absolutive.

When the determiner within the NP is the partitive, the extraposed relative bears the same determiner:

- (1950) *Eta ez dut uste baden emazterik*
 and not AUX belief ba.is.COMP woman.PRTT
[ezetz ihardetsiko didanik].
 no answer.FUT AUX.COMP.PRTT
 'And I don't believe there is a woman who will answer no to me.'
 [Etch. Bur.]

Here, the extraposed relative bears the partitive ending, like the NP it modifies. In old Basque, the partitive was often joined to extraposed relatives when the NP had an indefinite determiner.

In spoken Basque the requirement for case concord between the extraposed relative and the NP is not as strong as in written Basque. When the NP bears an adverbial case ending, some speakers accept sentences like the following, where the NP bears the comitative case and the extraposed relative the absolutive case:

- (1951) %*Gizon batekin hitz egin dut [ongi
man a.COM word make AUX well
ezagutzen duzuna].*
know.IMPF AUX.COMP.DET
'I spoke with a man that you know well.'

For some speakers (1951) is ungrammatical, but not for others. Observe, however, that such mismatches cannot occur when the NP bears a grammatical case like dative or ergative:

- (1952) **Gizon bati esan nion [ongi ezagutzen duzuna].*
man one.DAT say AUX
'I told a man that you know well.'

In (1952) the NP the extraposed relative modifies bears the dative case. The sentence is ungrammatical for all speakers.

4.10.3.3.6. Ordinary headless relatives as sentential relatives

Sentential relatives are headless relative clauses that refer not to an NP, but to a whole sentence. For some speakers sentential relatives cannot be expressed by way of ordinary headless relatives. However, other speakers do accept such a use of headless relatives:

- (1953) %*Zozotzat hartzen nau, gustatzen ez
idiot.PROL take.IMPF AUX please.IMPF not
zaidana.*
AUX.COMP.DET
'He takes me for an idiot, which I don't like.'

4.10.3.3.7. Some characteristics of headless relative clauses

4.10.3.3.7.1. Word order within headless relative clauses

As seen above, there is a strong word order constraint in relative clauses: the inflected verb must be the last constituent within the relative (see 4.10.3.1.2), and no other constituent can be extracted out of the relative (see 4.10.3.1.4.3). This constraint, however, is dramatically lightened when the relative is a headless relative to which the determiner and case ending is di-

rectly joined. Indeed, in such cases, extraction is not blocked, provided the extracted elements immediately follow the verb:

- (1954) *Ithorrotzen ikusi dut Beñat Berterreix*
 Ithorrotz.LOC see AUX Beñat Berterreix
 [*Lafittekin ibili dena eskolan*].
 Lafitte.COM walk AUX.COMP.DET school.at
 'I saw in Ithorrotz Beñat Berterreix who went to school with Lafitte.' [Arb. *Pia*:26]

In (1954), there is no discontinuous constituent, but the last constituent within the phrase containing the appositive relative (between brackets) is not the inflected verb, to which the determiner is joined (*dena*), but the locative NP (*eskolan* 'at school'). This is especially likely when the relative is long and contains many or complex constituents:

- (1955) *Ikusiko dugu badirela nolanahiko izakiak, (...),*
 see.FUT AUX *ba*.are anyhow.REL beings
 [*ez direnak ez gizonezkoak eta ez*
 not are.COMP.DET.PL not men and not
emakumezkoak ez ezik, ez harrak eta
 women not only not male.DET.PL and
ez emeak ere].
 not female.DET.PL also
 'We will see that there are beings of many kinds, (...), which not only are neither men nor women, but even neither male nor female'.
 [Mitx. EIG VI:180]

In the preceding example, the headless relative is a complex negative sentence. If the inflected verb were at the end of the relative the example would be incomprehensible.

4.10.3.3.7.2. Diminutive suffixes in headless relatives

Diminutive suffixes like *-txo*, which can be joined to both adjectives and nouns, can also be joined to headless relative clauses, as in the following example:

- (1956) [Nik dakidantxo], sineskizun honetan
 I.ERG know.COMP.DIM.DET belief this.LOC
 eder da kokatzen.
 well AUX fit.IMPF
 'The little I know fits well within this belief.' [Ori. *Poe.*:537]

4.10.3.4. Other kinds of relatives

If embedded relatives, and appositive relatives which can be derived from them, illustrate the main way in which relative clauses are formed in Basque, there are other strategies, which will be examined successively: a) Appositive relative clauses constructed with relative pronouns (4.10.3.4.1); b) *Bait*-relative clauses with facultative resumptive pronouns (4.10.3.4.2); c) Correlatives (4.10.3.4.3) and d) Special constructions with non correlated wh-words (4.10.3.4.4).

4.10.3.4.1. Appositive relative clauses constructed with relative pronouns

Relative clauses constructed with relative pronouns occur in the written tradition of all dialects since the beginning of Basque literature in the 16th century. They did not really penetrate everyday spoken Basque, but they were widely used in written texts, not only in books, but also in less formal registers; they were employed, for instance, in sermons and correspondence. At the end of the 19th century, language consciousness led many to reject elements of the language taken from Romance languages, especially those that were not essential and not fully integrated into the popular language. This attitude was general. It was found among writers of western Basque dialects who were under the strong influence of linguistic purism, but it also occurred among easterners, who, though usually opposed to the form of purism promoted on the other side of the border, tried to keep written Basque based on the spoken language as far as possible. Most of the grammarians during the first two thirds of the 20th century considered these relatives as not genuine and Lafitte (1944) did not pay much attention to them, considering they were mere gibberish. Nowadays there is no such condemnation against these relatives, and no grammarian would consider that they do not belong in the language. Nevertheless, it should be said that their use is more or less marginal, and far from being as wide as it was until around 1880.

The most salient characteristics of these relative clauses are illustrated in (1957). They follow the antecedent and are appositive or extraposed rela-

tives. They contain a relative pronoun built on the *wh*-word *zein* 'which' (*non* 'where' in local cases); this pronoun receives the case ending that corresponds to it within the relative, and *zein* can receive the definite article as well. The verb within the relative receives either *-(e)n* or *bait-* as a complementizer:

- (1957) *Hiltzen ditu belar gaixtoak, [zeinek*
 kill.IMPF AUX grass bad.DET.PL which.PL.ERG
iresten baitute lurra ogiari
 swallow.IMPF bait.AUX earth.ERG wheat.DAT
eman behar lukeen gozoa].
 give need AUX.POT.COMP nourishment
 'It kills the weeds, which swallow the nourishment that the earth
 should give to the wheat.' [Duv. L.L.:72]

In (1957) the relative clause is bracketed. The antecedent is *belar gaixto* 'weed' which carries the plural absolutive suffix (*-ak*). The relative clause follows the antecedent. Its first constituent is the relative pronoun *zein* 'which', with the plural ergative suffix (*-ek*). The inflected verb form within the relative receives the prefix *bait-* as complementizer (*baitute*).

4.10.3.4.1.1. The relative pronoun

The relative pronouns are *zein* 'which' (in all cases) and *no-* (only for local cases). When used as a relative pronoun, *zein* appears in two forms depending on the dialect and the type of case it takes, but without any other consequences being related to this difference. In the first alternative, the pronoun *zein* receives directly the case ending (indefinite declension); in the second possibility, the definite article is joined to the pronoun (singular or plural declension).

In the eastern tradition the favored form, though not the sole one, was the indefinite *zein* (or *zoin*, the easternmost form) among writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. From the 18th century on, *zeina(k)* became the most widely used form in Lapurdian texts. In western texts, *zein* and *zeintzuk* were the most widely used forms. In all dialects, local pronouns (*non*, *nondik*, *nora*, *noraino*) were generally employed, though *zein(a)* with a local case ending (*zeinetan*, *zeinetarik*, *zeinetara*, *zeinetaraino*) could be used as well. Here are some examples of the different types of pronouns:

- Indefinite *zein*. In (1958) the relative pronoun is absolutive indefinite. The example is written in a dialect close to Zuberoan. In the Bizkaian example in (1959) the relative pronoun receives the comitative ending (-*gaz*).

- (1958) *Errege handi hark egun batez biktoria*
king great that.ERG day one.INSTR victory
handi bat irabazi zian, Athenasako hiriaren
great one win AUX Athens.REL city.GEN
kontre, [zoin baitzen Greziako erresumaren
against which bait.was Greece.REL kingdom.GEN
hiri kapitala].
city capital

'One day, that great king won a great victory against the city of Athens, which was the capital of the kingdom of Greece.' [Tart. *Onsa*:15]

- (1959) *Platon, Aristoteles, Seneka, Ciceron, ta beste*
Plato Aristotle Seneca Cicero and other
jentil askok erakutsi eban argija, [zeinegaz
gentile many.ERG show AUX light which.COM
amar agindubeetako egin biarrak ezaututen
ten commandments.REL do needs know.IMPF
ditugun].
AUX.COMP

'Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Cicero, and many other gentiles showed the light by which we know the duties of the ten commandments.' [Bart. *Ikas*.:28]

- *Zein* with the singular article:

- (1960) *Badiat beldurra ez dakikan zein abilki*
ba.have fear not know.COMP which skilfully
jokatu zen behin Sarako jaun hauzapez
act AUX.COMP once Sara.REL sir priest
bat, [zeinak izena baitzuen
one which.DET.ERG name.DET COMP.had
Erremundegibehere].
Erremundegibehere

'I am afraid that you don't know how cleverly acted a mayor of Sara, whose name was Erremundegibehere.' [Eliss. P.A.:71]

In (1960) the relative pronoun is ergative and receives the singular article: *zein-ak*.

- *Zein* with the plural article. In (1961), the relative pronoun is absolutive and appears with the plural article (*-ak*), while in (1962) the plural form *zeintzuk* (see 3.1.6.1.3) is used:

- (1961) *Piarres* *hitztorio* *hau* *akhabatu* *zuen* *heltzen*
 Piarres.ERG story this finish AUX arrive.IMPF
ginelarik *gure* *ahaideen* *artera*,
 AUX.COMP.PRTT our relatives.GEN among.ALL
 [*zeinak* *gure* *begira* *baitzauden* *mahainean*
 which.DET.PL our wait COMP.were table.LOC
jartzeko].
 sit.NOM.REL
 'Piarres finished this story when we arrived among our relatives,
 who were waiting for us to sit down at the table.' [Eliss. P.A.:85]

- (1962) *ipui onak*, [*zeintzuetan* *arkituko* *dituzten*
 tale good.DET.PL which.PL.LOC find.FUT AUX.COMP
euskaldun nekazari, *ta* *gazte guziak*
 Basque peasant and young all.DET.ERG
erakaste ederrak *beren bizitza*
 lesson beautiful.DET.PL their life
zuzentzeko].
 guide.NOM.REL
 'good tales, in which all Basque peasants and young people will find
 beautiful lessons to guide their life' [V.Mog:901]

An example with the locative pronoun *non* 'where' is given next:

- (1963) *Joan zen Donapalaia*, [*non baitzen*
 go AUX Saint.Palais.LOC where COMP.was
orduan Nafarroako parlamenta].
 then Navarre.REL parliament
 'He went to Saint Palais, where the Parliament of Navarre was at
 this time.' [Ax.:3]

4.10.3.4.1.2. Form of the complementizer

The complementizer or subordinator used in these relatives is *bait-* in eastern dialects and *-(e)n* in western dialects. No other difference is linked to the use of these morphemes. For instance, in examples (1960,1961,1963) above, the prefix *bait-* is used, and in (1959,1962) the suffix *-n* (*ditugu-n*, *dituzte-n*).

4.10.3.4.1.3. Word-order within the relative

The position of the relative pronoun at the beginning of the relative clause is obligatory, but the verb can appear in any position within the relative clause. In (1963) above the verb follows the relative pronoun. In the example below, it occurs at the end of the relative clause, preceded by the direct object (*Frantzia*), and an adjunct clause:

- (1964) ...gizon bat, Napoleon, [zeinak,
 man one Napoleon which.DET.ERG
gobernamenduari fidelitatezko juramentua
 government.DAT loyalty.INSTR.REL oath
egin ondoan, Frantzia trahitu izan baitzuen].
 make after France betray be COMP.AUX
 '...a man, Napoleon, who, after he swore to be loyal to the govern-
 ment, betrayed France.'

Relative pronouns that belong to a complement or an adjunct clause within the relative cannot be extracted from them. Therefore, in relative structures the whole phrase or clause containing the relative pronoun has to be moved along with the relative pronoun to the beginning of the sentence. The following examples illustrate pied-piping in this context (see 4.4.5.3):

- (1965) *San Agustinen hitzak berak dire, [zeini*
 Saint Augustin.GEN words same are which.DAT
narraiola ez baitut osoki erraiten
 follow.1A/3D.COMP not COMP.AUX totally say.IMPF
gaizki dela].
 wrong is.COMP
 'These are the words of Saint Augustin, according to whom I don't
 say it is absolutely wrong.' [Pou. *Phil.*:163]

Here the relative pronoun belongs to an adjunct manner clause (*zeini narraiola* ‘following whom’) which is part of the whole relative clause. The adjunct clause is pied-pied along with the relative pronoun, and the verb of the main clause within the relative receives the complementizer *bait-* (*baitut*).

4.10.3.4.1.4. The antecedent of the relative pronoun

Relative pronouns in Basque relatives must have an antecedent (for constructions where pronouns have no antecedent, see below in 4.10.3.4.4). In non-extraposed relatives the relative follows the antecedent or, if the latter is a noun complement, the minimal phrase containing it. The latter situation can be observed in the following examples:

- (1966) *Ene arimak ez du sekulan hartuko*
 my soul.ERG not AUX never take.FUT
pausurik honda dadin artean
 rest.PRTT ruin(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).COMP until
jainkotasunaren itsasoan, [zeina baita
 divinity.GEN sea.LOC which.DET COMP.is
haren iturburua].
 its source

‘My soul will take no rest until it is lost in the sea of divinity, which is its source.’ [Pou. *Phil.*:134]

- (1967) *Arimako midikuek ere, zer den*
 soul.REL doctors.ERG also what is.COMP
kolera(...) dakitenek, [zein baita
 anger know.COMP.PL.ERG which COMP.is
arimako eritasuna], bilhatu dute.
 soul.REL illness find AUX

‘The doctors of the soul, those who know what is anger (...), which is an illness of the soul, found it.’ [Ax.:191]

In (1966) the antecedent is the genitive complement, while in (1967) it is *kolera* ‘anger’, which is the subject of an indirect question belonging to a headless ordinary relative. The relative clause with the relative pronoun is extracted from the latter clause, whose verb (*dakitenek* ‘those who know’) it follows.

4.10.3.4.1.5. Extraposed relatives with a relative pronoun

Like other appositive relatives, relatives with a relative pronoun can be extraposed. This is shown in the following two examples:

- (1968) *Hortaz bertzalde, bada bat oraino, [zeinari*
 that.INSTR apart *ba.is* one still which.DAT
ez baitzare ohartzen].
 not COMP.AUX note.IMPF
 'Apart from that, there is still another one which you do not note.'
 [Duv. L.L.:114]

The antecedent in (1968) is *bat* 'one'. The adverb *oraino* 'still' occurs between the antecedent and the relative clause which appears at the end of the sentence.

- (1969) *Tokiak badira zeinetan lasterrago*
 places *ba.are* which.PL.LOC sooner
bakhandatu behar baita.
 thin.out need *bait.AUX*
 'There are places in which one must thin out sooner.'
 [Duv. L.L.:331]

The antecedent in (1969) is *tokiak* 'places'. The verb *badira* 'there are' occurs before the relative clause at the end of the sentence.

4.10.3.4.1.6. Sentential relatives with relative pronouns

In old texts the antecedent of relative pronouns could be whole clauses. This use is much more difficult in present day Basque. The following examples are adopted from a 17th century text:

- (1970) *Hartan emaiten baituzu aditzera, Iainko hura*
 that.LOC give.IMPF *bait.AUX* know.NOM.ALL God that
dela egiatia, eta gauza guztien berri
 is.COMP truthful and thing all.GEN news
dakiena, [zein baita ohore Iainkoarentzat
 knows.COMP.DET which *bait.is* honor God.BEN
 'With that you declare that this God is truthful, and that he knows everything, which is a great honor for God.' [Ax.:168]

In (1970) the antecedent of the relative pronoun is the propositional content of the sentence preceding the relative clause. In other words, the author says that what is a great honor for God is the fact that you declare that he is truthful and he knows everything.

- (1971) *Zeren Iainkoa izendatuki, gezurraren aithor*
 since God name.ADV lie.GEN testimony
eta lekhuko ekhartzen baita: zein baita
 and witness carry.IMPF bait.AUX which bait.is
bekhatu handia eta itsusia.
 sin great.DET and ugly.DET
 'Because you expressly carry God as testimony and witness of a lie:
 which is a great and ugly sin.' [Ax.:170]

The antecedent of the relative pronoun in (1971) is not an NP but what is said in the sentence preceding it.

4.10.3.4.2. *Bait*-relative clauses with facultative resumptive pronouns

When the use of relative pronouns was abandoned in written texts at the end of the 19th century, modern eastern dialects developed another kind of relative (which also exists in earlier texts, however), which we refer to as '*bait*-relative'. Contrary to relatives with relative pronouns, *bait*-relatives are very common in present day spoken Basque in eastern dialects. *Bait*-relatives are appositive or extraposed relatives, in which no relative pronoun is used, but where resumptive pronouns can be employed. The only complementizer which can be used in these relatives is *bait*- (-[e]n is excluded). Consider the following example:

- (1972) *Landibarren badira lau kartier, [horiek baitira*
 Landibar.LOC ba.are four neighborhood those bait.are
Behaune, Dona Martine, Donoztia eta Azkonbegi].
 Behaune Dona Martine Donoztia and Azkonbegi
 'There are in Landibarre four neighbourhoods, which are Behaune,
 Dona Martine, Donoztia and Azkonbegi.' [Etxeb. *Ene Or.*:19]

The verb within the bracketed sentence receives the prefix *bait*-. The complementizer has no specific meaning, and in another context it could take a causal meaning or even mark a complement sentence (see 4.10.2.2.1.3). In (1972), however, no such meaning can be given to the subordinated clause,

which corresponds rather to an extraposed relative clause. In the clause, *horiek* 'those' is a demonstrative pronoun which refers to the antecedent (*lau kartier* 'four neighborhoods'), and which can be analyzed as a resumptive pronoun. Notice, however, that the demonstrative is not obligatory, and could be absent within the *bait* clause. In the following example the bracketed clause is an extraposed *bait*-relative clause. No resumptive pronoun appears within the *bait* clause, though the NP corresponding to the antecedent in the relative clause is a null pronoun (subject of the *bait* clause):

- (1973) *Zenbat deputatu ez da [dirudunen eta*
 how.many deputy not is rich.GEN and
langileen arteko gerla berek sustatu
 workers.GEN between.REL war they stimulate
dutelakotz baitire jaun handi]?
 AUX.because bait.are gentleman big
 'How many deputies exist who are gentlemen, because they have
 been stimulating the war between workers and wealthy people.'
 [H.U. Gonz.:28]

Notice however that when the resumptive is an adverbial NP, it can be gapped within the *bait*- clause. This is shown in the following example:

- (1974) *Bizpahiru egun bereziki hor iragan dire,*
 two.or.three day especially there pass AUX
[beldurtzeko baitzen, ez zedin
 fear.NOM.REL bait.AUX not AUX(SUBJ).COMP
gehiago trein bat highi nehorat].
 anymore train one move(RAD) anywhere
 'At this time two or three days passed during which one was afraid
 that no train could move anywhere anymore.' [H.U. Gonz.:28]

The extraposed relative in (1974) has no adverbial resumptive NP which refers to the antecedent (*bizpahiru egun* 'two or three days'). In other words, nothing corresponding to what has been translated as *during which* appears within the relative. It should be added that many times *bait*- clauses are linked to the main clause in such a loose way that it is not easy to say whether they correspond to a relative or to another kind of subordinate clause, or even to an independent sentence. See the following example:

- (1975) *Gizon tzar bihotz-gabe heiek harriturik utzi*
 man bad heart-less these petrify.PRTT leave
zuten Frantzia dohakabea; [gillotinare
 AUX France unfortunate.DET guillotine.GEN
izena bera ez baititake aipha,
 name it not bait.AUX.POT mention(RAD)
hetaz eta heien egitate lazgarriez
 they.INSTR and their act horrible.INSTR
orhoitu gabe].
 remember without

'These ruthless bad men left unfortunate France petrified; (in such a way) that the name of the guillotine itself cannot be mentioned, without remembering them and their horrible acts.' [H.U. *Zah.*:22]

The example above contains a *bait*- clause with pronominal forms (*hetaz*, *heien*) whose antecedents are in the main clause. Nevertheless, it doesn't seem that the *bait*- clause in (1975) can be analyzed as an extraposed relative. This is because the antecedents are so distant from the subordinate clause that a relative with relative pronoun cannot be used instead, something possible in all the other examples with *bait*-.

4.10.3.4.3. Correlatives

Correlatives are complex sentences, where a subordinate clause (the relative) containing a *wh*-word is followed by a clause containing an anaphoric pronominal (a demonstrative). The *wh*-word within the anteposed relative is the antecedent of the demonstrative. See the following example:

- (1976) *Zer ere baitzuen eskas eta hura emaiten zakon.*
 what also bait.AUX scarce and that give.IMPF AUX
 'He gave him whatever he was short of.' [Etch. *Bur.*]

In modern texts, as in the example in (1976), the *wh*-word is generally followed by *ere* 'again' and *eta* 'and' often appears between the two clauses. *Eta* is sometimes cliticized to the last word within the relative, but it can also be used as the first word within the main clause. Both constructions are illustrated below:

- (1977) *Lehenago, nork ere pagatzen baitzuen*
 earlier whoever.ERG pay.IMPF bait.AUX
barrika arno gehienik-eta, hura zukan
 barrel wine most.PRTT-and he AUX
pasatzen bozetan...
 pass.IMPF elections.LOC
 'Before, whoever paid the most barrels of wine (and) that one won the election.' [Larz. *Orre.*:182]

- (1978) *Eta nork ere baititu hiruetarik biak,*
 and whoever.ERG bait.has three.ABL two.DET.PL
eta hura hautatua da Abadetzat.
 and he elect.DET is abbot.PROL
 'And whoever gets two from the three [votes], (and) that one is chosen as abbot.' [Joan. *San.B.*:Ch.64]

Until the second part of the 19th century the pronominal anaphor within the main clause could be *haina*, when it referred to persons. This pronominal form is not used anymore in present-day Basque:

- (1979) *Nork ere maiz hartzen baitu bazka*
 whoever.ERG often take.IMPF bait.AUX food
saindu(...) hori debozionerekin, eta hainak
 saint that devotion.COM and he.ERG
hartarainokoan borthizten du bere
 accordingly strengthen.IMPF AUX his
arimako osasuna eta bizia.
 soul.REL health and life
 'Whoever often eats this holy food (...) with devotion, (and) that one strengthens the life and the health of his soul accordingly.' [Arb. *Igan*:114]

As can be seen in the examples above, each of the pronominal forms receives the case that corresponds to its function within each clause. For instance, the *wh*-word is a direct object (absolutive case) in (1976), and a subject (ergative case) in (1977) and (1978), but in these three examples the anaphoric demonstrative is absolutive in the main clause. On the contrary, in (1979) the anaphor (*hainak*) is ergative.

Adverbial pronouns can be employed in correlatives:

- (1980) *Lurrak non-ere baitu ichuria, eta han*
 earth.ERG wherever *bait.has* spill and there
egiten da erreka bat.
 make.IMPF AUX creek one
 'A drain is made in the side where the earth pours out.' [Duv. L.L.:112]

- (1981) *Noiz-ere hain beroa izanen baita ur*
 whenever so hot.DET be.FUT *bait.AUX* water
hura, non eskuak nekhez ihardukiko baitio,
 that where hands hardly keep.FUT *bait.AUX*
sutik khentzen da.
 fire.ABL take.out.IMPF AUX
 'When the water is so hot that one hardly can keep his hands in it, it is removed from the fire.' [Duv. L.L.:51]

Correlatives are mainly used in eastern dialects. Western dialects show a similar construction which is used in spoken Basque. Altube (1929:139) gives the following example:

- (1982) *Berak zer esaten eban? Nik arexeri*
 he.ERG what say.IMPF AUX I.ERG that.DAT
erantzun baino ez.
 answer but not
 'What did he say? I just answered to this.'

The interrogative sentence in (1982) is not a true question and is pronounced in such a way that both sentences appear to be linked. The following step to make such construction similar to correlatives would involve making the interrogative sentence a subordinate clause, adding a complementizer to it. Such a possibility seems to be available in present-day Basque and westerners consider sentences like (1983) are well-formed sentences:

- (1983) *Hark zer esaten duen, nik hura*
 he.ERG what say.IMPF AUX.COMP I.ERG that
sinesten dut.
 believe.IMPF AUX
 'I believe what he says.'

In (1983) we find the correlative structure examined above, with the only difference that the complementizer within the relative clause is *-(e)n* instead of *bait-*.

Correlative relatives are often used with non finite verb forms, or without verbs, in proverbs and sayings (all dialects):

- (1984) *Mina non eta mihia hara.*
 pain where and tongue there.ALL
 'Where the pain, there the tongue.' [Etch. *Lehen.*:49]

4.10.3.4.4. Special constructions with non correlated wh-words

There are two types of constructions similar to free relatives where wh-words like *nor* 'who' *zer* 'what', *non* 'where', etc... are used without being correlated with an anaphor. Each construction is illustrated in the examples below. In (1986) the wh-word is absolutive (*zer* 'what'). It refers to the direct object of both the main and the subordinate clauses. In (1985) the bracketed sentence is non finite. This sentence, which constitutes the object of the main clause, contains a wh-word (*non* 'where').

- (1985) *Emanen daraiela zer baitute merezi.*
 give.FUT AUX.COMP what bait.AUX deserve
 'That he will give them what they deserve.' [Etx.:247]
- (1986) *Gizonaren semeak ez du [bere burua non
 man.GEN son.ERG not AUX his head where
 pausa].*
 lay(RAD)
 'The Son of man has nowhere to lay his head.' [Leon. *Mat* 8,20]

The two examples above correspond to the structures in (1987):

- (1987) a. ... VERB ... WH [... BAIT-VERB ...]
 b. ... VERB ... [... WH ... NON-FINITE VERB ...]

In (a), the wh-word is an argument of the verb in the main clause and it receives its case from it. In (b), on the other hand, the wh-word is an argument of the verb within the non-finite clause. The latter (taken as a whole) is the direct object or the subject (absolutive) of the main clause. The first construction (a) is highly marked. It is found in old texts and it usually requires

the *wh*-word to correspond to arguments having the same case ending in both sentences, as in (1985). However, when this is not the case, the *wh*-word shows the case ending given by the verb in the main clause (not the one it would receive from the verb in the subordinate clause). One such example appears in Etxepare's 1545 poems:

- (1988) *Kondu hertsia behar dugu harzaz eman*
 account careful need AUX that.INSTR give
segurki [nori baitu bere odolaz
 surely who.DAT bait.AUX his blood.INSTR
kario erosi].
 dear buy

'Surely, we must give a careful account [for our soul] to the one who redeemed it with his blood at such a high price.' [Etx:109-110]

In (1988) the dative *wh*-word (*nori*) is the indirect object within the main clause. If the case corresponded to its role in the subordinate clause, it would have been ergative.

Unlike the first construction (1987a), the second construction (1987b) with a non finite verb within the subordinate clause is found in all dialects of present-day Basque. It is used especially with verbs like **edun* or *eduki* 'have', and *izan*, *egon* 'be' when they express existence and possession, respectively. The *wh*-word within the subordinate clause can receive any case. Crucially, it can be subject and receive the ergative case; therefore, the construction must be distinguished from control structures found in other contexts. Consider the following example (Bizkaian dialect, 20th century):

- (1989) [*Nok eman*] *baleukie orrek jango leukie*
 who.ERG give if.had.POT they.ERG eat.FUT AUX.POT
 'If they had somebody to give it to them, they would eat it.' [Kir. Egun:39]

In (1989) the *wh*-word within the non finite clause is ergative. In eastern dialects, the non finite verb appears in the radical form. This is the case in (1986) where the verb is *pausa* 'lay', radical of the past participle *pausatu*. In western dialects, the participial is used, and it is often nominalized taking the definite article or the partitive. For instance, Matthew 8,20 is expressed in a Gipuzkoan version as in (1990) where the participle takes the partitive:

- (1990) *Gizonaren Semeak, ordean, ez du [burua*
 man.GEN son.ERG however not has head
non ezarririk].
 where put.PRTT
 'But the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head.' [Oriz. *Mat* 8,20]

In older texts the subordinate clauses appear with finite forms. These were subjunctive forms as shown in (1991) below:

- (1991) *Gizonaren semeak ez dik non bere*
 man.GEN son.ERG not has(ALLOC) where his
burua reposa dezan.
 head.DET put(RAD) AUX(SUBJ).COMP
 'But the son of man has nowhere to lay his head.' [Leiz. *Mat* 8,20]

Example (1991) is taken from the translation of the gospels by Leizarraga (16th century) and it must be compared here with (1986) and (1990). In (1991) the subordinate clause is finite, and the inflected verb form is the auxiliary **ezan* in subjunctive form (*dezan*). Such forms are not used in present day Basque and look quite archaic. However, they were still used in the 18th century by writers such as Larramendi and Mogel in western dialects:

- (1992) *Ez dago [nok egin dagijan*
 not is who.ERG make AUX(SUBJ).COMP
penitenzijarik].
 penance.PRTT
 'There is nobody to do penance.' [Mog. *Konf.*:29]

The example is extracted from a Bizkaian text by Mogel (1803). In this dialect, the transitive auxiliary for subjunctive forms is *egin* (*dagijan*) instead of **ezan* (*dezan*).

4.10.4. Comparative constructions

J.I. Hualde & J. Ortiz de Urbina

The morphology of adjective comparison is discussed in section 3.1.3.3. Here, we describe the syntax of comparative constructions. First, we discuss comparisons of inequality (4.10.4.1), turning to constructions of equality in 4.10.4.2. Some notes on superlative constructions are offered in 4.10.4.3. Adverb comparison is very similar to adjective comparison, and is ad-

dressed in each of these subsections. Word order in comparatives is discussed in section 4.10.4.4. Finally, in 4.10.4.5 we consider clausal standards of comparison and their relation with non-clausal ones. A thorough description of Basque comparatives, which we have taken very much into account in writing this section, can be found in Euskaltzaindia (1999).

4.10.4.1. Comparative constructions of inequality

4.10.4.1.1. Inequality of quality and quantity

With both adjectives and adverbs, to express possession of a quality to a greater degree than a standard (superiority), the standard of comparison is followed by *baino* 'than' and the adjective or adverb takes the suffix *-ago* 'more' (after which, in the case of adjectives, we may have a determiner):

- (1993) *Koldo baino azkarr-ago-a zara.*
 Koldo than fast-more-DET are
 'You are faster than Koldo.'

- (1994) *Zure lagunak gu baino goiz-ago esnatu dira.*
 your friends we than early-more wake.up AUX
 'Your friends have awakened earlier than us.'

- (1995) *Nire zereginak zure-ak baino*
 my tasks your-DET.PL than
astun-ago-ak dira.
 heavy-more-DET.PL are
 'My tasks are harder than yours.'

- (1996) *Balinba bada hauk baino bekhatu handi-ago-rik.*
 surely *ba*.is these than sin big-more-PRTT
 'Surely there are sins (which are) greater than these' [Ax. p. 211]

Predicative adjectives can optionally occur with the determiner *-a*, agreeing in number with the nominal they are predicated about, as in (1993) and (1995) above. The agreeing option is stronger in central and western dialects. However, even in these dialectal areas, comparative adjectives are readily acceptable in the bare form, as indicated in 4.4.2. Thus, *azkarrago* would also be acceptable in (1993).

In comparisons of quantity expressing superiority, the word *gehiago* ‘more’ is used as a bare quantifier or following an uninflected noun phrase. As stated in 3.1.3.3, in Basque it is not possible to establish comparisons of inferiority with adjectives (e.g. ‘I am less tall than you’). Only participles admit it in examples such as (2016) below. However, such comparisons are possible when quantities are being compared. For these purposes the word *guttiago* (*gutiago*, *gutxiago*, *gitxiago*) ‘less’ is employed with the same distribution as *gehiago* ‘more’. Etymologically this is a comparative form of *gutti* (*guti*, *gutxi*, *gitxi*) ‘little’:

- (1997) *Zuk baino gehiago/guttiago dakit nik.*
 you.ERG than more/less know I.ERG
 ‘I know more/less than you do.’

- (1998) *Gatesek nik baino diru gehiago/guttiago dauka.*
 Gates.ERG I.ERG than money more/less has
 ‘Gates has more/less money than I do.’

The word *gehiago* ‘more’ (and *guttiago* ‘less’) itself can take indefinite case inflection:

- (1999) *Bati baino irakasle gehiagori galdetu nion.*
 one.DAT than teacher more.DAT ask AUX
 ‘I asked more than one teacher’

- (2000) *Erakusten duzun baino arreta gehiagoz
 show.IMPf AUX.COMP than attention more.INSTR
 zaindu behar duzu.*
 care.for must AUX
 ‘You must care for it with more concern than you show.’

- (2001) *Esan duzun baino jende gehiagorentzat
 say AUX.COMP than people more.BEN
 prestatu beharko da janaria.*
 prepare must.FUT AUX food
 ‘Food will have to be prepared for more people than you said.’

4.10.4.1.2. Comparative emphasizees

The degree of superiority/inferiority in the comparison can be emphasized by modifiers such as *askoz (ere)* ‘much (even)’, *are* ‘even’, *aise* ‘much’, *hagitzez* (formal) ‘much’, adverbs like *oraindik* ‘still’, or extent phrases like *mila bider* ‘one thousand times’, *apur bat* ‘a little’, etc.: *askoz handiagoa* ‘much bigger’, *askoz ere diru gehiago* ‘much more money’, *askoz goizago* ‘much earlier’, *askoz denbora guttiagotan* ‘in much less time’, *apur bat handiagoa* ‘a little bit bigger’.

To express ‘even more’ a construction with the structure *are* Adj/Adv-*ago* is used. In comparisons of quantity we find *are* (N) *gehiago/guttiago* ‘even more/less (N)’:

(2002) *Lan hori zaila bada, hau are zailagoa da.*
 work that hard.DET if.is this even hard.more.DET is
 ‘It that task is difficult, this is even more difficult.’

(2003) *Koldo goiz esnatzen bada, ni are*
 Koldo early wake.up.IMP if.AUX I even
goizago esnatzen naiz.
 early.more wake.up.IMP AUX
 ‘If Koldo wakes up early, I wake up even earlier.’

(2004) *Guk are problema gehiago ditugu.*
 we.ERG even problem more AUX
 ‘We have even more problems.’

The word *are* ‘even’ itself may bear the comparative suffix *-ago*:

(2005) *Zeren Iainkoak behatzen badu ere*
 because God.ERG look.IMP if.AUX too
emaitzara, ordea areago borondatera.
 deed.ALL instead even.more will.ALL
 ‘Because if God looks at the deed, [He looks] even more at the intention.’ [Ax. p. 153]

- (2006) *Euskaraz beste hizkuntza batzuetan baino areago,*
 Basque.INSTR other language some.LOC than even.more
hiztegiak eta testuak bereizi behar dira.
 dictionaries and texts differentiate must AUX
 'In Basque, even more than in some other languages, dictionaries
 and texts must be separated' [HEH, XIX]

Sometimes instead of *are* 'even', the word *oraindik* 'still' is found in this construction, but this is generally seen as a calque from Spanish *todavía más* 'still/even more' to be avoided. There is a similar construction involving *hainbat* 'so much' + Adv-ago which, although structurally parallel to Spanish *tanto más* is not the object of puristic rejection: *hainbat hobeto* 'even, so much the better' (cf. Sp *tanto mejor*), *hainbat erreago* 'even, so much easier' (Sp *tanto más fácil*).

4.10.4.1.3. Other constructions involving comparatives

The classical Lapurdian dialect of the 17th century, allowed the addition of the comparative suffix *-ago* 'more' to the imperfective participle in analytical tenses; e.g.: *galtzen da* 'it gets lost', *galtzenago da* 'it gets more lost', as we can see in the following example by P. Axular:

- (2007) *Hala bada bekhatorea ere, gero eta gero*
 that.way ba.is sinner too later and later
galtzenago, errebelatzenago eta bere aztura
 lose.IMPF.more rebel.IMPF.more and his habit
gaixtoetan barrena sartzenago da.
 bad.LOC inside get.into.IMPF.more AUX
 'A sinner is also like that, he gets more and more lost, he strays
 more and more, and he gets more and more into his bad habits.'
 [Ax. p. 83]

This construction is no longer possible. However, it is still possible to use *-ago* with the imperfective participle in periphrastic constructions with *joan* 'go' (3.5.5.1.2), in examples like the following one. The second option given, where the imperfective suffix is added to a deadjectival stem with *-ago* (*handiago* 'bigger', *handiagotu* 'to make bigger') is more common:

- (2008) *Gure problemak handitzenago/handiagotzen doaz.*
 our problems big.IMPF.more/increase.IMPF go.3A.PL
 'Our problems are getting bigger.'

The verb *nahiago ukan* 'to prefer' is transparently a comparative form of *nahi ukan* 'to want'; e.g.: *nahi dut* 'I want it', *nahiago dut* 'I prefer it'. In Bizkaian areas where *gura* (< Lat *gula*) is used instead of *nahi*, there is a parallel form *gurago*: *B gurago dot* 'I prefer it'. The comparative suffix can also be added to adverbial expressions containing some case endings: *gusturago* 'more pleasantly' (*gustura* 'pleasantly', cf. Sp *a gusto*), *gogotikago* 'with more pleasure' (based on *gogotik* 'with pleasure', ablative of *gogo* 'mind'). Villasante (1979:225) also points out an example from Axular with comitative inflection: *malenkonia guti-rekin-ago* 'with less melancholy'.

In addition to the comparative construction with *baino* 'than' postposed to the standard, in eastern dialects we also find comparative sentences with *ezen* (*ez*) 'than (not)' or *ezen eta* 'than and' preposed to the standard, instead of *baino*:

- (2009) *Galeretan laborari gutiago hihatzen da*
 galleys.LOC worker less wear.out.IMPF AUX
ezenetz tratulari.
 than dealer
 'Fewer workers languish in the galleys than dealers.' [Duv. L.L.:43]
- (2010) *Euskarak gehiago eutsi dio Iparraldean*
 Basque.ERG more hold AUX north.side.LOC
ezen eta Hegoaldean.
 than and south.side.LOC
 'The Basque language has remained stronger in the North than in the South.' [Sareko Argia, E. Baxok, 11/14/2000]

Another construction with the comparative suffix is *gero eta* Adj/Adv-*ago* 'more and more' or, comparing quantities, *gero eta* (N) *gehiago/guttiago*. Literally, *gero eta* means 'later and':

- (2011) *Gure bizitza gero eta gogorragoa da.*
 our life then and hard.more.DET is
 'Our life is getting harder and harder.'

- (2012) *Elurteak gero eta beranduago datoz.*
 snow.storms then and late.more come
 'The snow storms come later and later.'
- (2013) *Gero eta jende gehiagok ikasten du ingelesa.*
 then and people more.ERG learn.IMPF AUX English
 'More and more people are learning English.'
- (2014) *Gizajoak gero eta diru guttiago*
 poor.man.ERG then and money less
irabazten du.
 earn.IMPF AUX
 'The poor man earns less and less money.'

To express the meaning of the English construction 'the more/less... the more/less' the construction *zenbat eta ...-ago, orduan/hainbat eta ...-ago* is employed (*zenbat* 'how much/how many', *orduan* 'then', *hainbat* 'as much'):

- (2015) *Zenbat eta gehiago ikasten dut hortaz,*
 how.much and more learn.IMPF AUX this.INSTR
orduan eta interesatuagoa nago.
 then and interested.more.DET am.
 'The more I learn about that, the more interested I am.'
- (2016) *Gaiak euskal gramatika tradizioan zenbat*
 topics Basque grammar tradition.LOC how.much
eta gutxiago landuak diren, hainbat
 and less research.DET.PL are.COMP so.much
handiagoa eskatzen dute ahalegina.
 big.more.DET ask.IMPF AUX effort
 'The less researched the topics are in the Basque grammatical tradition, the bigger the effort they require.' [Euskaltzaindia 1999:1]

It is also possible, but far less common, to use exclusively the comparative morpheme on both correlates:

- (2017) *Lurra erabiliago eta erabil errexago.*
 land use.more and use easy.more
 'The more tilled the land [is], the easier [it is] to till.' [Duv. L.L.:51]

There is also a morphologically comparative expression with the modal *ezin* ‘not to be possible’: *ezin argiago dago* ‘it could not be more clear’, *ezin hobeto* ‘it couldn’t be better’.

4.10.4.2. Comparative constructions of equality

In this section, we will describe equality comparatives involving quality, quantity, and manner, turning finally to correlative comparative constructions.

In comparisons of equality involving qualities (adjectives or adverbs), the most common structure is: standard of comparison + *bezain* ‘as’ + adjective/adverb, where the adjective bears one of the articles:

(2018) *Koldo bezain azkarra zara.*
 Koldo as.much.as fast.DET are
 ‘You are as fast as Koldo.’

(2019) *Nire lanak zureak bezain astunak dira.*
 my works your.DET.PL as.much.as heavy.DET.PL are
 ‘My tasks are as hard as yours.’

(2020) *Mündian ez ahal da ni bezain irusik.*
 world.LOC not can is I as.much.as happy.PRTT
 ‘There can be no one in the world as happy as I am.’ [Zuberoan folk song]

(2021) *Mündian malerusik hanitx bagirade, bena
 world.LOC unfortunate.PRTT many if.are but
 ni bezain denik, ez da ihur ere.
 I as.much.as is.COMP.PRTT not is anyone even
 ‘There are many unfortunate people in the world, but nobody at all
 who is (as unfortunate) as me.’ [Pierre Topet Etxahun]*

As indicated in 4.10.4.1, comparative adjectives occur more readily in a bare, non-agreeing form than basic predicative adjectives. This can also be observed in comparisons of equality. Thus, in the following examples, agreement is found in the adjective head in (a), a citation, title context where determiners are typically required, but not in the standard adjective *luze* ‘long’. Moreover, it is absent from both adjectives in (b):

- (2022) a. *Euskararen bide luze bezain malkarrak*
 Basque.GEN path long as.much.as tortuous.DET.PL
 'The routes of the Basque language, tortuous as [they are] long' [Mitx. EIG VI:25]
- b. *Eta lehen gaixto bezain on eta*
 and before bad as.much.as good and
prestu egiten dira gero.
 noble become.IMPF AUX then
 'And they become then as good and noble as they were bad before.' [Euskaltzaindia 1999:323]

As with predicative adjectives in general, the tendency in western dialects is to show agreement on both adjectives. See 4.2.2.

In comparisons of quantity, instead of *bezain*, a number of other expressions are used depending on the dialect and including *adina*, *beste*, *bezain-beste*, *bezainbat*, *adinbat* 'as much, as many' (the last one is sometimes spelled *hainbat* like the quantifier 'so much'); the compared noun phrase is uninflected:

- (2023) *Gorek Bushek adina botu lortu zituen*
 Gore.ERG Bush.ERG as.many.as vote get AUX
hauteskundeetan.
 elections.LOC
 'Gore got as many votes as Bush in the election.'

- (2024) *Aurten iaz beste behi saldu ditugu.*
 this.year last.year as.many.as cow sell AUX
 'This year we have sold as many cows as last year.'

Adina, *beste*, and the other equivalent expressions can be used in *-ko* noun modifiers:

- (2025) *Behar besteko sagarrak jaso genituen.*
 need as.many.as.REL apples gather AUX
 'We gathered as many apples as we needed.'
- (2026) *Zuk adinako indarra dauka mutil horrek.*
 you.ERG as.much.as.REL strength has boy that.ERG
 'That boy has as much strength as you do.'

- (2027) *Zu airean bidaltzeko adinako*
 you air.LOC send.NOM.REL as.much.as.REL
indarra badu.
 strength ba.has
 'S/he has enough strength to send you flying in the air.' [HEH]

Unlike quality comparatives based on *bezain*, quantity comparatives with *adina*, *beste*, *bezainbat*, etc. have a 'pronominal' usage where no overt head noun is being modified:

- (2028) *Nahi adina jan dezakezu.*
 want as.much.as eat AUX.POT
 'You can eat as much as you want.'
- (2029) *...libertate hari nahi duen bezainbat*
 liberty that.DAT want AUX.COMP as.much.as
iraun arazi ahal diazaiola.
 last CAUSE can AUX.COMP
 '...and that he can make that liberty last as much as he wants.' [Ax. 76]

Adverbs follow the same pattern as adjectives, so time and manner comparatives can be constructed like comparisons of quality with the degree word *bezain*:

- (2030) *Zure lagunak gu bezain goiz esnatu dira.*
 your friends we as.much.as early wake.up AUX
 'Your friends have waken up as early as we have.'
- (2031) *Ni (noan) bezain astiro joan beharko*
 I go.COMP as.much.as slowly go must.FUT
zenuke.
 AUX.POT
 'You should go as slowly as I (go).'
- (2032) *...ez dela ...azken urteotan bezain*
 not AUX.COMP last year.LOC as.much.as
ongi idatzi gure hizkuntza.
 well write our language
 '...that our language has not been written as well as in these last years.' [Mitx. EIG IV:30]

However, the manner comparative construction can be used not only in connection with an adverb, but as a manner adjunct itself. In that case, the adjunct is headed by *bezala* or *legez* (Bizkaian) ‘like, as’:

- (2033) *Zuk esaten duzun bezala egingo dut.*
 you.ERG say.IMPF AUX.COMP like do.FUT AUX
 ‘I will do it as you say.’

- (2034) *Harrotasunean igeri dabilta txerriak lokatzetan bezala.*
 pride.LOC swim walk pigs dirt.LOC
 like
 ‘They are immersed in their pride like pigs in the dirt.’ [Mitx. EIG IV:32]

Like other adverbial elements, *bezala* comparatives can also occur as more peripheral clausal elements:

- (2035) *Zuk esan bezala, hemen ez dago zer egiterik.*
 you.ERG say like here not is what
 do.NOM.PRTT
 ‘As you say, there is nothing to do here.’

It is possible to negate *bezala*:

- (2036) *Zurekin ez bezala, nirekin ondo portatu dira.*
 you.COM not like I.COM well behave AUX
 ‘Unlike with you, they behaved well with me.’

Bezala/legez comparative structures can also occur in adnominal position, linked to the noun by the relational suffix *-ko*. The manner interpretation is largely lost in this adjectival function:

- (2037) *Zü bezalako pollitetarik desir nūke bi seme.*
 you like.REL beautiful.ABL desire AUX.POT two son
 ‘From someone as beautiful as you, I would like to have two children.’ [Zuberoan folk song]

These adnominal phrases behave like regular *-ko* phrases and unlike comparative standards. Thus, unlike the latter, they are compatible with other

degree phrases (*zu bezalako hain jende azkarra*, lit. 'people as smart as you' vs. **zu bezain hain jende azkarra* 'such smart people as you'). Moreover, they do not show incompatibilities with some quantifiers, which occasionally emerge with comparatives: *zu bezalako bi mutil azkar* 'two smart boys like you' vs. ??*zu bezain bi mutil azkar* 'two boys as smart as you'. In the Bizkaian area *lakollango* can be used instead of *bezalakollegezko* (for B *-lan* rather than *-la* cf. *halan* 'that way', *zelan* 'how'; common *hala*, *nola*).

There is also a correlative comparative construction of equality *hain* Adj/Adv *nola* 'as...as' (*hain* 'so, as', *nola* 'how') which finds a parallel in the Romance construction exemplified by Spanish *tan... como*:

- (2038) *Aberatsa hain biluz-gorri sorthu zen, nola probea.*
 wealthy.DET so naked appear AUX how poor.DET
 'The wealthy man was born as naked as the poor.' [Ax. p. 253]

In the following example, which involves comparison of an adverb, this is modified by (*h*)*alako*, the *-ko* form of *hala* 'in that manner':

- (2039) *Dozenaka tragatzen zituen aliak... alako*
 dozen.ADV swallow.IMPF AUX exemplars that.way.REL
aixa nola antxua baliak.
 easy how anchovy whale.ERG
 'He swallowed the exemplars by the dozen...as easily as a whale
 (swallows) an anchovy.' [Bilintx]

Correlative comparatives of the same sort can be found for comparisons of quantity:

- (2040) *nola sorho horiek ez baitute hainbertze*
 since plot those.ERG not bait-have so.much
lan nola laborantzek...
 work as tillage.lands.ERG
 'since those plots do not require as much work as tillage lands'
 [Duv. L.L.:79]

A different comparative construction can sometimes be constructed with *ahala*, the determined form of *ahal* 'can', taking participial clause complements:

- (2041) *Liburu hau goretsi ahala, izan zituen*
 book that praise can.DET have AUX.COMP
aitzindariak beheratzen zituen.
 precursors lower.IMPF AUX
 'As much as he praised this book, he criticized the precursors it had.' [Mitx. EIG IV:74]

4.10.4.3. Superlatives

As described in 3.1.3.3, the superlative form of adjectives takes the suffix *-en*, whereas the noun phrase representing the group being compared usually bears the partitive case. However, the noun phrase may also be unflected or, in eastern dialects, take ablative plural or locative inflection: *herrietarik/herrietan/herririk/herri ederrena* 'the most beautiful village'.

- (2042) *Hau da Euskal Herriko leku(rik)*
 this is Basque Country.REL place(PRTT)
ederrena.
 beautiful.most.DET
 'This is the most beautiful place in the Basque Country.'

While the partitive and bare noun make up a constituent with the adjective, ablative and locative phrases have a looser connection with it and may be found separate from the superlative:

- (2043) *Zuhaitzetan/zuhaitzetatik/*zuhaitz/*zuhaitzik, hau da*
 trees.LOC/trees.ABL/tree/tree.PRTT this is
ederrena.
 beautiful.most.DET
 'Among trees/of trees, this is the most beautiful one.'

Whether in attributive or in predicative position, the superlative adjective takes the definite determiner. Lafitte (1944:144) mentions that in eastern dialects, a singular determiner (an 'adverbial article') can occur even when predicated of plural nominals:

- (2044) *Arrotzak urrikari ditut, bainan etxeakoak*
 strangers pitiful consider but house.REL.DET.PL
urrikariena.
 pitiful.most.DET
 'I pity the strangers, but I pity those at home the most.'

The intuition that this usage is adverbial could be supported by the fact that, as Lafitte mentions, the partitive *urrikarienik* would also be possible in this context, as in the clearly adverbial examples described below (see 3.4.3 for the adverbial usage of the partitive).

The superlative of a quantity is expressed with *gehien* 'the most' or *gut-tien* 'the least'. It usually occurs in the indefinite form, although a determiner may be added. In the following example, *fama gehiena*, with the singular determiner, is ambiguous between a superlative interpretation and a different one where *gehiena* is used as a quantifier ('most of the reputation'), without comparative content. On the other hand, with the countable plural noun in (2046) the singular determiner is unacceptable and the plural one is not superlative but a regular quantifier ('most of the books'):

- (2045) *Bera da fama gehien/gehiena duena.*
 he is fame most/most.DET has.COMP.DET
 'It is him that has (the) most reputation.'

- (2046) *Liburutegi horrek ditu liburu*
 library that.ERG has book
gehien/??gehienal/gehienak.
 most/most.DET/most.DET.PL
 'That library has the most books.'

The 'simple' quantifier reading is not found with *guttien* 'least'. Thus, the following sentence is unambiguous:

- (2047) *Modelo honek funtzionatu du akats guttienekin.*
 model that.ERG work AUX flaw least.COM
 'That model has worked with least flaws.'

However, the same facts can be reproduced in the following examples, where the superlative phrase is marked dative: the indefinite dative *bezero gehieni* is interpreted as superlative 'to the biggest number of clients', while plural dative *berezo gehienei* receives a simple quantificational reading 'to most clients'.

- (2048) *Bi opari hauen artean, hau bidali zaie*
 two present these.GEN among this send AUX
bezero gehien/gehienei.
 client most.DAT/most.PL.DAT
 'Of these two presents, this one got sent to most/the biggest number
 of clients.'

Adverbs can also occur in the superlative form. In that case, they can occur in the bare form, with the singular determiner *-a* or with the partitive:

- (2049) *Zuk dakizu mintzatzen*
 you.ERG know speak.NOM.LOC
hobekien/hobekien-ik/hobekien-a.
 better.ADV.most/-PRTT/-DET
 'You know how to speak best.'

Guttien 'least' and *gehien* 'most' can also be used as adverbial modifiers:

- (2050) *Irakaslea zen hortaz guttien zekiena.*
 teacher was that.INSTR least knew.COMP.DET
 'The teacher was the one who knew the least about that.'
- (2051) *Gurasoek sufritu dute gehien/gehienal/gehienik.*
 parents.ERG suffer AUX most/most.DET/most.PRTT
 'The parents suffered the most.'

Several constructions involve the superlative form of the adjective or the adverb (suffix *-en*). The expression *ahalik eta...* Adj/Adv-*en* 'as as possible' contains the semiauxiliary *ahal* 'to be able' in a participial form marked with partitive inflection:

- (2052) *Ahalik eta lasterren bukatu behar dugu lana.*
 can.PRTT and soon.most finish must AUX work
 'We have to finish the work as soon as possible (lit. 'possible and soonest').'

4.10.4.4. Word order in comparative constructions

The standard is always to the immediate left of the comparative particle. Where comparative structures occur inside noun phrases, the standard, along with the comparative particle, is placed before the noun. As a consequence, the standard will be discontinuous with respect to the parameter:

(2053) *zu bezain jende azkarra*
 you as.much.as people smart.DET
 'people as smart as you'

(2054) *zu bezalako jende azkarra*
 you like.REL people smart.DET
 'intelligent people like you'

(2055) *zuk esan baino jende gehiago*
 you.ERG say than people more
 'more people than you say'

(2056) *zuk esan baino jende azkarragoa*
 you.ERG say than people smart.more.DET
 'people more intelligent than you say'

In this respect, the standard behaves in a way similar to degree words like *hain* 'so', *oso* 'very': *oso jende azkarra* 'very smart people', *hain emakume azkarra* 'so intelligent a woman'. With comparatives of inequality an alternative order can be (less commonly) obtained by turning the complex comparative adjective phrase into a prenominal adjunct joined to the noun by the relational suffix:

(2057) *Trumioia baino larriagoko orroa bota zuen.*
 thunder than terrible.more.REL roar utter AUX
 'He uttered a roar more terrible than thunder.'
 [Euskaltzaindia 1999:390]

Very occasionally, it is possible to eliminate the discontinuous structure by placing the complex adjective phrase in the regular position for attributive adjectives (Euskaltzaindia 1999:309):

- (2058) *tenplu ezin erran bezain eder hura*
 temple can't say as.much.as beautiful that
 'that undescribably beautiful temple' [Lg.:329]

In comparisons of inequality, the standard (with *baino*) usually precedes the comparative adjective or adverb with *-ago*. However, it can be dislocated and occur in other positions, if markedly:

- (2059) *Zu azkarragoa zara, Koldo baino.*
 you fast.more.DET are Koldo than
 'You are faster than Koldo.'

- (2060) *Ordea egun baiño, bihar gutiago*
 instead today than tomorrow less
orhoitzen zara.
 remember.IMPF AUX
 'Instead, tomorrow you will remember it less than today.' [Ax. 71]

- (2061) *Gaitasunari garrantzia gehiago eman diogu*
 competence.DAT importance more give AUX
erabilerari baino.
 usage.DAT than
 'We have given more importance to competence than to usage.'
 [Sareko Argia, E. Baxok, 11/14/2000]

Such dislocations are also occasionally found with equality comparatives of quantity (with *adina* 'as much/many', etc)., although not with those of quality (with *bezain*).

4.10.4.5. Ellipsis in comparative constructions

While a wide range of elements may appear as the standard of comparison, it is useful to think of standards as primarily clausal constituents. When the full clause occurs as the standard with the comparative particle, it bears the subordinating complementizer *-(e)n*:

- (2062) *Ekarri dituen adina sagar jan ditut.*
 bring AUX.COMP as.many.as apple eat AUX
 'I ate as many apples as he brought.'

- (2063) *Ekarri dituen baino sagar gehiago jan*
 bring AUX.COMP than apple more eat
nahiko nituzke.
 want.FUT AUX.POT
 'I would like to eat more apples than he brought.'

In some comparatives, many speakers add a determiner to the complementizer:

- (2064) *Esan duzun(-a) baino korapilotsuagoa da.*
 say AUX.COMP-DET than complicated.more.DET is
 'It is more complicated than (what) you said.'
- (2065) *Irabazten duen(-a) baino gehiago behar*
 earn.IMPF AUX.COMP-DET than more must
izaten du horrek.
 be.IMPF AUX that.ERG
 'That one needs more than (what) he earns.'

The standard in this case is a headless relative clause. While this pattern is possible in Basque, it seems to be overused as a result of interference from Spanish, where clauses cannot occur as standards and headless relatives with *lo que* are used instead (Euskaltzaindia 1999:301).

Typically, the embedded clause is an 'open' clause with a gap corresponding to the compared element, *sagar* in the preceding example in (2062). The gap may be more extensive, corresponding again to material in the main clause, as in the following example (from Sáez 1989), where the standard is interpreted as 'than it seems [that you ate (apples)]'.

- (2066) *Dirudien baino sagar gehiago jan zenituen.*
 seems.COMP than apple more eat AUX
 'You ate more apples than it seems.'

Much of the shared material is then omitted. The verb in a clause that serves as standard of comparison may be expressed, in which case it must be clause final. In the following comparatives of inequality, the verbs in parentheses can be optionally expressed:

- (2067) *Uste duzun baino handiagoa da.*
 think AUX.COMP than big.more.DET is
 'It is bigger than you think.'

(2068) *Nik uste (nuen) baino zailagoa zen.*
 I.ERG think (AUX) than hard.more.DET was
 'It was more difficult than I thought.'

(2069) *Koldo zu (zaren) baino lodiagoa da.*
 Koldo you (are.COMP) than fat.more.DET is
 'Koldo is fatter than you (are)'

(2070) *Nik zuk (irabazi duzun) baino diru*
 I.ERG you.ERG (earn AUX.COMP) than money
gehiago irabazi dut.
 more earn AUX
 'I have earned more money than you (have earned).'

(2071) *Iaz (irabazi nuen) baino diru*
 last.year (earn AUX.COMP) than money
gehiago irabazi dut aurten.
 more earn AUX this.year
 'I have earned more money this year than (I earned) last year.'

Deletion of the verb is possible (and preferred) under lexical identity with the verb in the main clause. As the examples above show, the person and tense features do not need to be identical for deletion to take place. The auxiliary in the subordinate clause can be deleted even in cases where the main verbs of the two clauses are not identical:

(2072) *Nik zuk irabazi (duzun) baino diru*
 I.ERG you.ERG earn (AUX.COMP) than money
gehiago gastatu dut.
 more spend AUX
 'I have spent more money than you have earned.'

Just as in comparisons of inequality, in comparisons of equality, if the tensed verb is expressed in the subordinate clause it carries the suffix *-(e)n* and precedes the comparative word:

(2073) *Nahi duzun beste sagar jan ditzakezu.*
 want AUX.COMP as.many.as apple eat AUX.POT
 'You may eat as many apples as you want.'

- (2074) *Etxea uste nuen bezain ederra da.*
 house think AUX.COMP as.much.as beautiful.DET is
 'The house is as beautiful as I thought.'

It is possible to find *-la* complements where the clause could be a complement to the adjective which is being compared:

- (2075) *Lurra laua dela bezain argia da hori.*
 earth flat.DET is.COMP as.much.as clear.DET is that
 'That is as clear as that the earth is flat.'

Notice that the embedded clause is here the only remnant of a full 'as it is clear that the earth is flat', where the *that* clause is the complement of the adjective. If the shared predicate 'is clear' were repeated in the standard, it would be marked with the complementizer *-(e)n* as expected (*lurra laua dela argia den bezala*). Tenseless, *-t(z)ea* nominalized clauses can be found as complements of the comparative word.

On the other hand, the auxiliary may be dropped leaving the participle as the only remnant of the tensed verb. In such case, the commonest shape is that of the perfect participle, regardless of the original aspect (Euskaltzaindia 1999:363):

- (2076) *Etorri bezala joango dira.*
 come like go.FUT AUX
 'They will go just as they have/will come.'

Imperfective and future participles are far less common in this context. As indicated in 4.10.2.2.2.3, *before* clauses are typically constructed with a comparative structure taking a participial clause as standard temporal reference point:

- (2077) *Hobetu baino lehenago, egoerak*
 improve than before.more situation.ERG
txarrerago jo beharko du.
 bad.to.more go must.FUT AUX
 'The situation will get worse before it improves.'

The verb is often dropped altogether under identity with the main clause verb, producing apparently non-clausal standards. Often, a single constituent will be found in the standard, but it is also possible to have more, in fact,

as many as elements in the embedded original clause contrast with the main clause:

- (2078) *Zuk niri orain baino askoz diru*
 you.ERG I.DAT now than much money
gehiago utzi dizut nik bestetan.
 more lend AUX I.ERG other.LOC
 'I have lent you much more money on other occasions than you (are lending) me now.'

In the ellipsis analysis of standards, *zuk*, *niri* and *orain* would be constituents of the embedded clause (*zuk niri eman didazun* 'than you have given me') and their cases correspond to their function in that clause. Ellipsis is used here in a purely descriptive sense to indicate that elements in the standard can be a full clause or any subset of its constituents, typically those contrasting with constituents of the main clause. Thus, many standards would be the remnant of elided clauses. Analyses differ as to whether the missing material is 'erased', as it were, (Euskaltzaindia 1999) or simply corresponds to an anaphoric gap taking the main clause material as antecedent (Sáez 1989).

The comparative clause is interpreted as containing a quantifier to match that of the main clause. This accounts also for the form of the object *diru* in a sentence like the following:

- (2079) *Diru baino amets gehiago zuen agureak.*
 money than dream more AUX old.man.ERG
 'The old man had more dreams than money.'

In principle, under ellipsis, one would expect not the determinerless *diru* but *dirua* (*agureak dirua zuen* 'the old man had money'), since the determiner is obligatory unless the noun is quantified. The indefinite form is expected, on the other hand, if there is some sort of quantifier corresponding to the interpretation 'more dreams than whatever amount of money he had'. This quantifier can also become the minimal link between the main and the embedded comparative clause, as in examples like the following, where the element modified by the comparative structure plays no direct function in the comparative clause itself:

- (2080) a. *Zuk etxeak erosi baino gehiago liburuak*
 you.ERG houses buy than more books
idatzi ditut nik.
 write AUX I.ERG
 'I have written books more than you have bought houses.'
- b. *Zuk etxeak erosi baino liburu gehiago*
 than book more
idatzi ditut nik.
 'I have written more books than you have bought houses.'

In (a) the comparison is between the number of my book-writing events and the number of your house-buying events, while in (b) the comparison is probably between the number of books I wrote and the number of houses you bought. The two characteristics (indefinite nouns without overt quantifier and lack of parallel structures) are also found in this example, quoted in Euskaltzaindia (1999:347):

- (2081) *Itsasoan ur den bezainbat nigar egingen*
 sea.LOC water is.COMP as.much.as cry make.FUT
banu ere.
 if.AUX even
 'Even if I cried as much as there is water in the sea.'

The comparison is established here with the quantity of water in the sea.

4.11. Coordination

I. Amundarain

4.11.1. Coordinating conjunctions

It is convenient to distinguish true coordinators from other words that, although appearing very often in conjoined and juxtaposed sentences, are not strictly coordinators, but connectors that refer to previous discourse.

- (2082) *Ni zinemara joan naiz, eta Pello, ordea,*
 I cinema.to go AUX and Pello on.the.other.hand
antzerkira.
 theatre.to
 'I have been to the cinema, and Peter, on the other hand, to the theatre.'

- (2083) *Ni mendira joan naiz; Pello, aldiz,*
 I cinema.to go AUX Pello on.the.contrary
etxean geratu da.
 home.in stay AUX
 'I have been to the cinema; Peter, on the contrary, has stayed at home.'

- (2084) *Ni zinemara joan naiz, baina Pello, oster,*
 I cinema.to go AUX but Pello on.the.other.hand
museora.
 museum.to
 'I have been to the cinema, but Peter, however, to the museum.'

Ordea, *ostera* and *aldiz*, all three meaning 'on the contrary, on the other hand', are in fact adverbs that can be combined with true coordinating conjunctions like *eta* 'and' or *baina* 'but'. In the preceding examples coordination is carried out by the latter real coordinators or by parataxis. Connectors like *ordea*, etc. have been taken as coordinators in some grammars, but we will leave them aside here.

4.11.1.1. Copulative coordination

The main copulative conjunction in Basque is *eta* 'and', which is inserted between the conjoined elements. It can be used to coordinate sentences or other constituents:

- (2085) *Ane etxera iritsi zen eta Mirenek ireki*
 Ane house.to arrive AUX and Miren.ERG open
zion atea.
 AUX door
 'Ane arrived home and Miren opened the door.'
- (2086) *Iñaki eta Mikel zinemara joan dira.*
 Iñaki and Mikel cinema.to go AUX
 'Iñaki and Mikel have been to the cinema.'
- (2087) *Mikel Iñakirekin eta Jonekin joango da antzerkira.*
 Mikel Iñaki.with and Jon.with go.FUT AUX theatre.to
 'Mikel will go to the theatre with Iñaki and with Jon.'

- (2088) *Guk mendi eta ibai garbiak nahi ditugu.*
 we.ERG mountain an river clean.DET.PL want AUX
 'We want clean mountains and rivers.'

This conjunction can join any number of elements, but usually all but the last conjunction are omitted:

- (2089) *Pellok, Jonek, Mirenek eta Irenek*
 Pello.ERG Jon.ERG Miren.ERG and Irene.ERG
musika klasikoa dute gustuko.
 music classical.DET have like.REL
 'Pello, Jon, Miren and Irene like classical music.'

4.11.1.2. Adversative coordination

We must distinguish two types of adversative coordination. The first one is carried out by inserting *baina* 'but' between the conjoined elements:

- (2090) *Mirenek gogor ikasi zuen, baina ez zuen*
 Miren.ERG hard study AUX, but not AUX
etsamina gainditu.
 exam pass
 'Miren studied hard, but she didn't pass the exam.'

This coordinator can only join elements that have predicates, and the number of conjuncts is always two:

- (2091) *Guk gizon indartsu baina koldarrak genituen.*
 we.ERG man strong but coward.DET.PL had
 'Our men were strong but coward.' (lit. 'We had strong but cowardly men.')

The second type of adversative coordination is used to contrast two foci. Depending on the dialect, several coordinators are found: *baizik*, *baino*, *baina*, *ezpada* and *ez-baina*. The most common conjunction in the standard language is *baizik* 'but' (used in all dialects except Bizkaian), whose usage has already been indirectly referred to in previous sections (see 4.4.7.2): it is used after negative sentences to contrast the quasifocus (in the terminology of de Rijk 1996b) placed to the right of negation and immediately preceding

the tenseless verbal form of periphrastic verbs (or after the group formed by the negation and the synthetic verb):

- (2092) *Ez naiz Mikelekin zinemara joan, antzerkira baizik.*
 not AUX Mikel.with cinema.to go theatre.to but
 'I didn't go with Mikel to the cinema, but to the theatre.'

These constructions are banned with foci that appear immediately to the left of the tensed verbal form and are interpreted outside of the scope of negation:

- (2093) **Mikelekin ez naiz joan zinemara, Mirenekin baizik.*
 Mikel.with not AUX go cinema.to Miren.with but
 'It is with Mikel that I didn't go to the cinema, but with Mary.' ('It is not with Mikel that I went to the cinema, but with Mary')

It has been posited in some grammars that these constructions always involve coordination of two parallel sentences varying only with respect to a single constituent and omitting the like elements of the second clause. We believe, however, that it is more accurate to define them in terms of contrasting focus. For example, although the focus is usually just one constituent, we may have a more complex focus. In such a case, omitting all the like elements, we would have two (or more) syntactic constituents in the second clause:

- (2094) *Liburua ez nuen NIK LIBURUTEGIAN OSTU,*
 book not AUX I library.in steal
Mirenek kalean aurkitu baizik.
 Miren street.in find but
 'I didn't steal the book from the library, but Miren found it in the street.'

Baizik can be placed both after or before the contrasting focus, with preference for the second location with complex foci. The other coordinators that can be used in this type of adversative are *baino* (western), which appears always after the second conjunct; *ezpada* (western), and *baina* (eastern), which appear before the second element; and *ez-baina*, after the first conjunct. Notice that the western contrast between *baina*, on the one hand, and *baizik*, *baino* or *ezpada*, on the other, parallels the contrast between *pero* and *sino* in Spanish, whereas eastern Basque agrees with French in not making this distinction:

- (2095) *Ez naiz antzerkira joan, zinemara baino.*
 not AUX theatre.to go cinema.to but
 'I haven't been to the theatre, but to the cinema.'
- (2096) *Ez naiz antzerkira joan, ezpada zinemara.*
 not AUX theatre.to go but cinema.to
 'I haven't been to the theatre, but to the cinema.'
- (2097) *Ez naiz antzerkira joan, baina zinemara.*
 not AUX theatre.to go but cinema.to
 'I haven't been to the theatre, but to the cinema.'
- (2098) *Antzerkira ez-baina mendira joan naiz.*
 theatre.to not-but mountain.to go AUX
 'Not to the theatre, but I have been to the mountains.'

4.11.1.3. Disjunctive coordination.

The two main disjunctive coordinators in Basque are *edo* and *ala* 'or'; Euskaltzaindia (1994) claims that *edota* (*edo+eta*) 'and or' should also be added to them. In some grammars *edo* has been taken as the inclusive disjunctive, and *ala* as the exclusive coordinator. But depending on the constituents they conjoin, they may be used with several intersecting values.

When *edo* and *edota* are used in declarative sentences joining non-finite clauses or other phrases, they denote an alternative:

- (2099) *Sendagileek Pellori hil edo biziko*
 doctors.ERG Pello.DAT die or live.REL
ebakuntza egin diote.
 operation do AUX
 'The doctors have performed life and death surgery on Pello.'

We do not find evidence of this value of *ala* in the literary tradition. *Edo* can also be used to coordinate numbers and synonyms:

- (2100) *Mirenek bost edo sei film ikusi ditu.*
 Miren.ERG five or six film see AUX
 'Miren has seen five or six films.'

- (2101) *Oporrak hartzeko gogoa edo nahia nuen.*
 holidays take.NOM.REL desire or wish had
 'I had the desire or wish to take my holidays.'

In questions, *edo* and *edota* can be used to link wh-words or elements that are not focalized:

- (2102) *Zer dauka horrek zer-ikusi*
 what has that.ERG relation
ezkonduta edoledota ezkongai egoteko?
 marry.PTCP or single be. NOM.REL
 'What does it have to do with the fact of being married or single?'
 [Ag. Kr.:122]

- (2103) *Ez didazu galdetu behar nora edoledota*
 not AUX ask need where or
zertara noan?
 what.to go.AUX
 'Won't you ask me where I go or what I go for?'

These are also the coordinators used to join interrogative sentences that express two different questions:

- (2104) *Trena huts egin duzu edo zer gertatu zaizu*
 train miss do AUX or what happen AUX
hain berandu iristeko?
 so late arrive.NOM.REL
 'Have you missed the train or else what has happened to you to arrive so late?'

To express exclusive disjunction or to coordinate focalized elements in questions, both *ala* and, again, *edo* are used, although the literary language tends to choose the first one:

- (2105) *Bazkariko ontziak garbituko dituzu alaledo*
 lunch.REL dishes clean.FUT AUX or
afaria prestatzea nahiago duzu?
 dinner cook.NOM.DET prefer AUX
 'Will you wash the dishes from lunch or will you cook the dinner?'

- (2106) *Nora joan nahi duzu, zinemara alaledo antzerkira?*
 where go want AUX cinema.to or theatre.to
 'Where do you want to go, to the cinema or to the theatre?'

There is one more value that *edo* and *ala* share (as well as *edota*): they can be used in declarative sentences joining non-finite clauses or constituents smaller than sentences expressing distributivity (*ala* in eastern texts):

- (2107) *Zuria edo beltza izan, handia ala txikia,*
 white or black be big or small
gizonezkoa edota emakumezkoa, gizaki
 man or woman, human.being
guztiak berdinak gara.
 all equal.DET.PL are
 'Being white or black, big or small, man or woman, we human beings are all equal.'

4.11.1.4. Distributive coordinators

Euskaltzaindia (1994) treats this kind of coordination as a subclass of disjunctive coordination, where instead of having to choose between two alternatives, the speaker wants to express that for him/her there is not much of a difference between the two alternatives and he/she doesn't mind which one to choose.

In addition to the distributive value that *edo*, *edota* and *ala* can have, other elements that can be used in the same way are *nahiz* and *zein* (western); they join uninflected subordinate clauses or any phrase smaller than sentences:

- (2108) *Gaur nahiz/zein bihar, erosketak egitera*
 today or.even tomorrow shopping do.NOM.ALL
joan behar dut.
 go must AUX
 'Whether today or tomorrow, I must go to do the shopping.'

Since *nahiz* and *zein* can be used together with coordinating conjunctions, they are not true coordinators.

Other formulae based on the repetition of some elements (*bai...bai...; ez...ez...; dela...dela..*). that are not coordinating conjunctions are used to express distributiveness, but we will leave them aside:

- (2109) *Bai gaur bai bihar, eguraldi ona*
 yes today yes tomorrow weather good.DET
egingo du.
 do.FUT AUX
 'Both today and tomorrow the weather will be fine.'

4.11.2. Characteristics of Basque coordination

Some aspects must be taken into account to determine the structure and the type of coordination we find in Basque.

4.11.2.1. Placement

As said before, nearly all coordinators are placed between the conjoined elements:

- (2110) *Mikel eta Pello antzerkira joan dira.*
 Mikel and Pello theatre.to go AUX
 'Mikel and Pello have been to the theatre.'
- (2111) *Mikel zinemara edo antzerkira joango da.*
 Mikel cinema.to or theatre.to go.FUT AUX
 'Mikel will go to the cinema or to the theatre.'

Regarding intonation breaks, the coordinating conjunctions are usually grouped with the second element:

- (2112) *Joxe/eta Maria*

This is perhaps clearer in the case of the adversative *baina*:

- (2113) *Garaiz jaiki naiz,/baina berandu iritsi naiz*
 early get.up AUX,/but late arrive AUX
lanera.
 work.to
 'I have got up early, but I have arrived late to work.'

Nevertheless, sometimes the coordinating conjunctions behave as enclitics, grouped with the preceding element. This can be clearly observed regarding

the conjunction (*e*)*ta* ‘and’ in dialects with processes such as Low Vowel Assimilation (2.1.5.1) and/or Palatalization of /t/ (2.1.4.2): *hiru-te lau* ‘three and four’, *Peru-te Koldo* ‘Peru and Koldo’, *bi-tte hiru* ‘two and three’. The dental stop of this conjunction may also undergo voicing after a nasal or lateral in many dialects: *joan-da etorri* ‘go and come back’ (2.1.4.5).

There are expressions where only the first element of the coordination appears, leaving unspecified the second element, and triggering plural agreement in the verb:

- (2114) *Miren-eta etorri dira.*
 Miren-and come AUX.3A.PL
 ‘Miren and all have come.’

- (2115) *Mirenekin-eta joan naiz.*
 Miren.with-and go AUX.1A
 ‘I went with Miren and all.’

This type of expression is used either when the speakers know what it refers to (i.e., they know who is with Joxe/who has come with Joxe), or the speaker thinks that it doesn’t matter or s/he just doesn’t want to specify it. This pattern occurs preferably when the conjuncts are human, and the second element of the coordination is understood as third person, either singular or plural:

- (2116) *??Joxe-eta etorri gara/zarete.*
 Joxe-and come AUX.1A.PL/2A.PL

There are constraints about the constituents that allow this construction: the conjuncts must be noun phrases or postpositional phrases, and smaller constituents are banned. For example, in (2117) we have tried to use this pattern with nouns that are inside a bigger noun phrase:

- (2117) **musikari-eta ... handiekin etorri gara.*
 musician-and ... big.with come AUX

Similar examples may be found with *edo*:

- (2118) a. *Jonek-edo egingo du.*
 Jon.ERG-or do.FUT AUX.3E
 ‘Jon or somebody will do it.’

- b. *Mutilek-edo egingo zuten.*
 boys.ERG-or do.FUT AUX.3E.PL
 'The boys or somebody must have done it.'

In (2118a) Jon is the most likely candidate, but we are not absolutely sure that he will do it, and we do not mind too much who will. The agreement in the verb doesn't change: singular in (2118a) and plural in (2118b). In other examples, this pattern is used when we are unable to specify some information (cf. Sp *o así* 'or so').

- (2119) *Zazpietan-edo etorriko naiz.*
 at.seven-or come.FUT AUX
 'I will come back around seven.'

- (2120) *Gaixo itxura-edo zeukan.*
 sick aspect-or had
 'He looked kind of sick.'

- (2121) *Bezperan berandu oheratu nintzelako edo,*
 day.before late go.to.bed AUX.cause or
goizean buruko minez esnatu nintzen.
 morning head.REL ache.with wake.up AUX
 'Because the night before I went to bed late or something, I woke up with a headache in the morning.'

When the conjuncts are clauses instead of smaller constituents, the coordinators can again be sometimes grouped with the preceding conjunct. Thus, in the first example the coordinating conjunction displays its usual value and is grouped with the following clause, but in the second example *eta* expresses causality and appears at the end (see 4.10.2.2.1.5.1):

- (2122) *Joxe berandu etorri da eta oraintxe hasi*
 Joxe late come AUX and just.now start
gara afaltzen.
 AUX have.dinner.tzen
 'Joxe has come late and (we) have started having dinner just now.'

- (2123) *Oraintxe hasi gara afaltzen, Joxe*
 just.now star AUX have.dinner.tzen Joxe
berandu etorri da eta.
 late come AUX and
 'We have started having dinner just now, since Joxe has come late.'

Another possibility for *eta* with sentences is to appear at the end of an exclamative sentence, without true coordination, expressing unexpectedness or surprise:

- (2124) *Elurra hasi du eta!*
 snow start AUX and
 'It has started snowing!'

Along with this, coordination also allows for the possibility of asking about the second conjunct:

- (2125) a. *Joxe eta nor etorri diral/zarete?*
 Joxe and who come AUX.3A.PL/2A.PL
 'Joxe and who else has come?'
 b. *Joxe eta norekin joan zara?*
 Joxe and who.with go AUX
 'Apart from Joxe who else have you come with?'

This happens only with *eta* and when the agreement with the verb is plural. It must be noted that it is not obligatory to take the question word as third person for agreement purposes.

The examples in (2126) illustrate another kind of structure where question words appear as conjuncts:

- (2126) a. *Norekin eta Joxerekin etorri naiz.*
 who.with and Joxe.with come AUX
 'I have come with no other than Joxe.'
 b. *Nork eta Joxek irabazi behar!*
 who.ERG and Joxe.ERG win must
 'Who should have won but Joxe!'
 c. *Non eta hondartzan aurkitu nuen.*
 where and beach.in find AUX
 'I found him/her on the beach, of all places.'

The question word is always the first element in the coordination and both conjuncts must have case endings.

In questions with the disjunctive coordinators, we have the possibility of not specifying the second conjunct:

- (2127) a. *Nora zoaz, zinemara ala?*
 where go cinema.to or
 'Where are you going? To the movies?'
 b. *Zertara zoaz, erosketetara edo?*
 what.for go shopping.to or
 'What are you going out for? To do some shopping?'

The disjunctive conjunction *ala* is also used in Bizkaian Basque as an enclitic in certain types of questions with exclamatory force (cf. Sp *o qué* 'or what'; see 4.6.1.4):

- (2128) a. *Zinemara joan nahi duzu ala?*
 cinema.to go want AUX or?
 'You want to go to the movies or what?'
 b. *Burutik jota zara ala?*
 head.ABL hit.PTCP are or
 'Are you out of your mind or what?'

Another pattern that we find in disjunctive and distributive coordination is that of a coordinator appearing before each conjunct:

- (2129) *Nola joango zarete, edo autoz edo trenez?*
 how go.FUT AUX or car.by or train.by?
 'How will you go, by train or by car?'
 (2130) *Ez dakigu zer egin: ala etxean geratu,*
 not know what do or house.in stay
ala zinemara joan.
 or cinema.to go
 'We do not know what to do: stay at home, or go to the cinema.'

- (2131) *Beti izaten du ikusgai telebistan edo*
 always have.IMPF AUX to.see television.in or
futbola, edo pilota, edo txirrindularitza.
 football or pilota, or bicycle.races
 'He always has something to watch on television, either football, or
 pilota or bicycle races.'
- (2132) *Nahiz Mirenek nahiz Jonek erraz egin*
 either Miren.ERG or Jon.ERG easily do
dezakete lan hau.
 AUX.POT work this
 'Either Miren or Jon can easily do this work.'
- (2133) *Zein lehoia zein tigrea ez dira guk uste*
 either lion or tiger not are we.ERG think
bezain arriskutsuak.
 as dangerous.DET.PL
 'Neither the lion nor the tiger are as dangerous as we think.'

4.11.2.2. Agreement

When agreeing elements (subjects, direct and indirect objects) appear coordinated by *eta*, both conjuncts are pooled for agreement, and the usual resolution rules apply (Corbett 1983):

- (2134) *Zu eta ni zinemara joan gara.*
 you and I cinema.to go AUX.1A.PL
 'You and I have gone to the cinema.'
- (2135) *Nik aitari eta amari oparia eman*
 I.ERG father.DAT and mother.DAT gift.DET give
diet.
 AUX.3A/3D.PL/1E
 'I have given a gift to my father and my mother.'
- (2136) *Pellok eta nik zakurra eta katua erosi*
 Pello.ERG and I.ERG dog.DET and cat.DET buy
dizkiegu Mireni eta Joni.
 AUX.3A.PL/3D.PL/1E. Miren.DAT and Jon.DAT
 'Pello and I have bought a dog and a cat for Miren and Jon.'

However, these rules are not exceptionless when it comes to number agreement: sometimes we find that the auxiliary can be singular instead of being plural, especially in the case of agreement with the direct object. This happens when we conjoin synonyms or nouns of similar meaning, when both nouns refer to the same abstract concept or when the nouns themselves are abstract. In the following examples the auxiliary shows agreement with a third person singular absolutive (subject or direct object):

- (2137) *Nire gogoa eta nahia agertu nuen.*
 I.GEN wish and desire show AUX
 'I showed my wish and desire.'

- (2138) *Lanerako gogoa eta indarra agertu nuen.*
 work.for wish and strength show AUX
 'I showed my wish and strength to work.'

- (2139) *Jesusen oinazea eta nekea oso handia zen.*
 Jesus.GEN suffering and tiredness very big.DET was
 'Jesus' suffering and tiredness was very big.'

- (2140) *Nire nekea eta zoritxarra agertu nahi nuen.*
 I.GEN tiredness and misfortune show want AUX
 'I wanted to show my tiredness and misfortune.'

Agreement is usually singular in coordinations of nominalized clauses:

- (2141) *Garaiz oheratzea eta berandu arte*
 early go.to.bed.NOM.DET and late until
ohean egotea dut nik gustuko.
 bed.in stay.NOM.DET have I.ERG like.REL
 'I like to go to bed early and to be in bed until late.'

But singular agreement is not obligatory: it is also possible to have plural agreement. This happens when each of the sentences denotes a separate event. In the following example the verb registers a third person plural object, as opposed to the singular object in the preceding example :

- (2142) *Hegazkinez bidaiatzea eta igogailuak*
 plane.by travel.NOM.DET and elevators
erabiltzea ez ditut gustuko.
 use.NOM.DET not have like.REL
 'I do not like travelling by plane and using the elevators.'

In enumerations, specially when the verb comes before the conjoined elements, it may happen that the verb takes into account only the nearest conjunct for number and person agreement:

- (2143) *Nekatu zait bihotza, arnasa eta*
 tire AUX.3A/1D heart.DET breath.DET and
begiak.
 eye.DET.PL
 'My heart, breathing and eyes are tired.'

Due to their semantic specifications, non-copulative coordination shows different agreement patterns. Adversative coordination, as pointed out above, can only link predicates. *Edo, ala* and *edota* do not usually pool the number of both conjuncts, and have singular agreement:

- (2144) *Joxe edo Mikel joango da.*
 Joxe or Mikel go.FUT AUX
 'Joxe or Mikel will go.'

The problems arise when the conjuncts differ in person:

- (2145) *Zu ala ni joango ...?*
 you or I go.FUT ...

In these cases, we may find examples where both conjuncts are pooled, but also examples where only the last conjunct has been taken into consideration:

- (2146) *Zu ala ni joango gara/naiz?*
 you or I go.FUT AUX.1A.PL/1A
 'You or I will go?'

Nevertheless, it is not unusual to find examples with plural agreement where both conjuncts have been pooled. This occurs mostly when these coordinators have distributive value.

- (2147) *Kasparov nahiz Anand saiatu ziren, baina*
 Kasparov and Anand try AUX.3A.PL but
ez zuten lortu ordenagailua garaitzea.
 not AUX.3A/3E.PL get computer beat.NOM.DET
 'Both Kasparov and Anand tried to beat the computer, but they
 couldn't.'

4.11.3. Coordinated constituents

In this section, we examine which constituents can be coordinated in Basque. We have already said that in adversative coordination we can only conjoin constituents that express predicates. In copulative, disjunctive and distributive coordination, we may join any type of major constituent: sentences (2148), verb phrases (2149), adverbs (2150) or noun phrases that bear case-endings or postpositions (2151).

- (2148) *Eguraldi ona dago eta hondartzara joango naiz.*
 weather good.DET is and beach.to go.FUT AUX
 'The weather is fine and I will go to the beach.'
- (2149) *Nik etxea garbitu eta erosketak egin ditut.*
 I.ERG house clean and shopping do AUX
 'I have cleaned the house and done the shopping.'
- (2150) *Ni gaur edo bihar joango naiz.*
 I today or tomorrow go.FUT AUX
 'I will go today or tomorrow.'
- (2151) *Miren Paristik edo Erromatik etorri zen.*
 Miren Paris.from or Rome.from come AUX
 'Miren came from Paris or Rome.'

4.11.3.1. Coordination in noun phrases

Problems arise when we want to determine which elements smaller than postpositional phrases or case-marked noun phrases can be coordinated. Case endings are attached to the end of the noun phrase. As shown in 3.1, the structure of the noun phrase can be analyzed by means of the following template:

Complex Modifier* Adj1 Det1 N Adj2* Det2

The first situation under study is the possibility of coordinating two noun phrases under a single case ending:

[NP and NP] Case

In this pattern, different degrees of unacceptability arise, depending on the nature and the structure of the noun phrases conjoined. It is never possible to coordinate noun phrases ending with demonstratives (2152) or plural articles (2153), and the same is true of personal pronouns (2154):

- (2152) **Irakasleek neska hura eta mutil hari*
 teachers.ERG girl this and boy that.DAT
deitu diete.
 call AUX
 'The teachers have called this girl and that boy.'

- (2153) **Nik lagunak eta ahaideei esan diet.*
 I.ERG friends and relatives.DAT tell AUX
 'I have told (it) to (my) friends and relatives.'

- (2154) **Irakasleek zu eta niri deitu digute.*
 teachers.ERG you and I.DAT call AUX
 'The teachers have called you and me.'

If the noun phrases end with the singular article, it is completely impossible to coordinate them under the scope of spatio-temporal case-endings:

- (2155) **mendia eta hirian*
 mountain.DET and city.DET.LOC
 'in the mountain and the city'

- (2156) **mendia eta hirira*
 mountain.DET and city.ALL
 'to the mountain and the city'

And it is also odd with the rest of the case endings:

- (2157) ??*Nik zakurra eta katuari jana eman diet.*
 I.ERG dog.DET and cat.DET.DAT food.DET give AUX
 'I have given food to the dog and the cat.'
- (2158) ??*Zakurra eta katuak etxetik aldegin dute.*
 dog.DET and cat.DET.ERG house.ABL escape AUX
 'The dog and the cat have escaped from home.'

We find very few examples of this pattern in the literary tradition, although they may occasionally appear in modern western writings:

- (2159) *Kokapena eta edukinari eskaintzen*
 placement.DET and content.DET.DAT offer.IMPF
zaie beti ere arretarik handiena.
 AUX always also attention.PRTT biggest.DET
 'The biggest attention is always paid to placement and content.'
 [But.:116]

- (2160) *Azi ta ugaritu zaitezte; ta beste mundua*
 grow and multiply AUX and other world.DET
ta onen jabe egin.
 and this.GEN owner do
 'Go forth and multiply; and conquer this and the other world.'
 [M.Atx.:13]

Exceptional in this respect are *-ren artean/ko* (2160) and the postpositions that take absolutive noun phrases, as in (2159) and (2161):

- (2161) *Zu eta nigmatik ez dute egingo afaria.*
 you and me.because not AUX do.FUT dinner
 'They won't have dinner because of you and me'.

- (2162) *Ez naiz hemen hasiko [egilea] ta*
 not AUX here start.FUT author.DET and
[egilearen seme-alab]en arteko
 author.DET.GEN son-daughters.GEN between.REL
harremanen korapilo luze bihurria
 relations.GEN knot long complicated.DET
askatzen.
 undo.IMPF

'I will not start here undoing the long messy knot of the relationship between the author and the author's children.' [Mitx. IH:300]

- (2163) *Ni laguna eta irakasleagana joan naiz.*
 I friend.DET and teacher.DET.ALL go AUX
 'I have been to my friend and (my) teacher.'

Nevertheless, when the noun phrases do not end with specified determiners, it is possible to conjoin them under one single case ending. This happens with proper names and with some quantifiers:

- (2164) *Nik Pello eta Mikeli deitu diet.*
 I.ERG Pello and Mikel.DAT call AUX
 'I have called Pello and Mikel.'
- (2165) *Nik bost gizon eta sei emakumeri deitu diet.*
 I.ERG five man and six woman.DAT call AUX
 'I have called five men and six women.'
- (2166) *Nagusiek gizon asko eta emakume gutxiri*
 bosses.ERG man many and woman few.DAT
deitu diete.
 call AUX
 'The bosses have called many men and few women.'

Although ellipsis is possible in these few cases, the examples with case endings in all conjuncts are more common, and usually there is no different value or reading between the two patterns:

- (2167) *Pellori eta Mikeli deitu diet.*
 Pello.DAT and Mikel.DAT call AUX
 'I have called Pello and Mikel.'

- (2168) *Pello eta Mikeli deitu diet.*
 Pello and Mikel.DAT call AUX
 'I have called Pello and Mikel.'

Sometimes, however, only the construction that coordinates two NPs under a single case ending is possible:

- (2169) *Frantzia eta Espainiako mugan bizi naiz.*
 France and Spain.REL border.LOC live AUX
 'I live on the border of France and Spain.'

Returning to the template presented above, another possibility is for the postnominal determiner and the case-ending to appear only in the second conjunct.

[[..N..] and [..N..] Det]

In such cases, there are no problems with plural determiners (although, again, the full forms are more common):

- (2170) *Gobernuak liburu eta aldizkariak*
 government.ERG book and magazine.PL.DAT
zerga igo die.
 tax raised AUX
 'The government has raised the taxes for books and magazines.'

- (2171) *Lapurrek neska eta mutil horiei ostu*
 thieves.ERG girl and boy those.DAT steal
diete autoa.
 AUX car
 'The thieves have stolen the car from those girls and boys.'

However, the singular article is more reluctant to allow this pattern:

- (2172) ??*Nik zakur eta katuari ilea moztu diet.*
 I.ERG dog and cat.DET.DAT hair cut AUX
 'I have cut the cat and dog's hair.'

- (2173) ??*Mirenek katu eta zakurrarentzat ekarri du jana.*
 Miren.ERG cat and dog.DET.BEN bring AUX food.DET
 'Miren has brought some food for the dog and cat.'

The same applies to examples with singular demonstratives:

- (2174) ??*Mirenek katu eta zakur honentzat ekarri du*
 Miren.ERG cat and dog this.BEN bring AUX
jana.
 food.DET
 'Miren has brought some food for this dog and cat.'

When possible, one tends to interpret the conjuncts as referring to the same individual:

- (2175) *Miren lagun eta irakaslearekin mintzatu da*
 Miren friend and teacher.DET.COM talk AUX
telefonoz.
 telephone.INSTR
 'Miren has talked with the teacher and friend by phone.'

This sentence would normally be interpreted as if Miren had talked with just one person who is, at the same time, a friend and a teacher of hers. When this interpretation is not available, it seems that the characteristics of the nouns conjoined determine the acceptability of these examples to a large extent. They are more felicitous when the nouns conjoined are synonyms or near synonyms, when both nouns refer to the same concept, or when the nouns are abstract or, at least, uncountable:

- (2176) *askatasunaren nahi eta kutizia*
 freedom.GEN wish and desire.DET
 'the wish and desire for freedom'
- (2177) *garbiago izateko gogo eta indarra*
 purer be.to wish and strength.DET
 'the wish and strength to be purer'
- (2178) *nolako nahigabe ta damua?*
 what annoyance and regret.DET
 'what kind of annoyance and regret?' [Mog. KKE.:233]

- (2179) *Pozaldi bakoitzak berekin dakar oñaze ta*
 happiness each.ERG it.with brings suffering and
nekea.
 tiredness.DET
 'Every moment of happiness brings with it suffering and fatigue.'
 [Etxa. :35]

Enumerations also favour this type of construction:

- (2180) *Nondik datorkio nobelari, ipui, teatro*
 where.from come novel.DET.DAT tale theatre
eta zineari bere arrakasta izugarria?
 and cinema.DET.DAT its success big.DET
 'Where does the big success of novels, tales, theatre and cinema
 come from?' [Vill. 131]

These are essentially the same conditions required to allow singular agreement in the verb with multiple conjoined phrases. There are few examples in the literary tradition which do not follow these conditions, concentrated in a handful of authors.

In addition to the characteristics of the nouns conjoined, some structural factors make these constructions more acceptable. For instance, the presence of an adjective, genitive or prenominal modifier modifying both nouns favors this pattern:

- (2181) *Aho eta euskara ederraren omena*
 mouth and Basque good.DET.GEN reputation
zuen gizon hark.
 had man that.ERG
 'That man had the reputation of having a good mouth and Basque.'
 [Etx. *Bur.*:134]

- (2182) *Jesusen pasio eta heriotza*
 Jesus.GEN passion and death.DET
 'the passion and death of Jesus'

It must be pointed out that the presence of a demonstrative in the first conjunct makes this interpretation impossible in the case of adjectives that follow the noun (2183), but not in the case of genitives or other prenominal modifiers (2185):

- (2183) *egonezin eta beldur handia*
 restlessness and fear big.DET
 'the big fear and restlessness'
- (2184) *egonezina eta beldur handia*
 restlessness.DET and fear big.DET
 'the restlessness and big fear'
- (2185) *gure egonezin eta beldurra*
 our restlessness and fear.DET
 'our restlessness and fear'
- (2186) *gure egonezina eta beldurra*
 our restlessness.DET and fear.DET
 'our restlessness and fear'

In the example in (2183), only the fear is big, not the restlessness; however, (2185-2186) can have the reading where both the restlessness and the fear are ours.

Continuing with the different behavior that postnominal adjectives and prenominal modifiers exhibit in this type of construction, another interesting point arises when we compare examples like (2187) with others like (2188). Even if examples like (2187) are not entirely felicitous, the result is worse if the article is plural and we are talking about one dog and one cat, as in (2188):

- (2187) ??*Mirenek zakur eta katuari jana eman die.*
 Miren.ERG dog and cat.DET.DAT food give AUX
 'Miren has fed the dog and the cat.'
- (2188) **Mirenek zakur eta katuei jana eman die.*
 Miren.ERG dog and cats.PL.DAT food give AUX
 'Miren has fed the dog and the cats.'

However, if we add an adjective that modifies both nouns, the preferred possibility is the plural determiner:

- (2189) ?*Mirenek zakur eta katu handiari jana*
 Miren.ERG dog and cat big.DET.DAT food.DET
eman diel/dio.
 give AUX.3D.PL/3D.SG
 'Miren has fed the big cat and dog.'

- (2190) *Mirenek zakur eta katu handiei jana*
 Miren.ERG dog and cat big.PL.DAT food.DET
eman die.
 give AUX
 'Miren has fed the big cat and dog.'

But if what modifies both nouns is a prenominal modifier, the acceptability judgements are not clear:

- (2191) ?*Mirenek gure zakur eta katuari jana eman die.*
 Miren.ERG our dog and cat.DET.DAT food give AUX
 'Miren has fed our cat and dog.'

- (2192) ?*Mirenek gure zakur eta katuei jana eman die.*
 Miren.ERG our dog and cat.PL.DAT food give AUX
 'Miren has fed our cat and dog.'

Although the behavior of articles and determiners is parallel in most circumstances, they differ as to the possibility of coordinating two singular nouns under a plural determiner: examples like (2188) are better if demonstratives are used instead of the plural article.

- (2193) *Mirenek zakur eta katu hauei eman die jana.*
 Miren.ERG dog and cat these.DAT give AUX food
 'Miren has fed these cat and dog.'

Another possibility that we haven't dealt with yet is conjoining nouns that differ in number under a single determiner. Even if it is uncommon, we do find examples of this type of construction, especially in enumerations:

- (2194) *Nire begi, belarri, mingain eta bihotza*
 my eye ear tongue and heart.DET
emango dizkizut.
 give.FUT AUX.3A.PL/2D/1E
 'I will give you my eyes, tongue, ears and heart.'

Note that the agreement with the verb is plural.

Returning to the elements of the template presented above, it must be pointed out that all the elements may be coordinated with other elements of their same group, unless there are semantic incompatibilities or phonological constraints. And we can also find coordination of some intermediate constituents:

- (2195) *Joxeren liburu eta Mirenen aldizkari*
 Joxe.GEN book and Miren.GEN magazine
berriak. (Complex mod.+noun)
 new.DET.PL
 'Joxe's (new) book(s) and Miren's new magazines.'
- (2196) *Joxeren liburu berri eta aldizkari zaharrak.*
 Joxe.GEN book new and magazine old.DET.PL
 (noun+ADJ)
 'Joxe's new books and old magazines.'
- (2197) *Joxeren bost liburu eta sei aldizkariak.*
 Joxe.GEN five book and six magazine.DET.PL
 (DET1+noun)
 'Joxe's five books and six magazines.'

4.11.3.2. Coordination in complex words

We will explore in this section the possibility of word internal coordination in Basque. As shown in 3.7, Basque derivational affixes are almost exclusively suffixes. In coordination, two patterns could arise in principle:

Root-aff and-aff
 Root- and Root-aff

The first pattern is impossible. In general, we could say the same about the second one:

- (2198) **zabal eta luz.era*
 wide and long.ness
 'width and length'

(2199) **aste eta urte.karia*
 week and year.book
 'weekly and yearly (publication)'

(2200) **alfer eta nagi.keria*
 lazy and idle.ness
 'laziness and idleness'

There are, however, a few cases where two elements appear coordinated under one single affix. When this occurs, we are always in the presence of elements that could also be regarded as inflectional suffixes, or that arose historically from compounds:

(2201) *sei eta zazpi.garren*
 six and seven.ordinal
 'sixth and seventh' (lit. 'six and seventh')

(2202) *salto eta oihu.ka*
 jump and scream.ADV
 'jumping and screaming' (lit. 'jump and screaming')

(2203) *herriko emakume on eta zintzo.ena*
 town.REL woman good and honest.most.DET
 'the best and most honest (lit. 'good and most honest') woman in the village'

(2204) *minutu eta segundu.oro*
 minute and second.every
 'every minute and second'

(2205) *olerki eta ipuin.gileak*
 poem and tale.maker.DET.PL
 'poem and story writers'

It is not clear if all these elements differ with respect to stress from the affixes that do not allow coordination under them, but many of them have their own stress in some dialects (Txillardegi 1984, Hualde 1991).

As for word compounding, two patterns could arise in subcompounds:

Modifier- and Modifier-Head
 Modifier-Head and -Head

Both patterns are sometimes possible, and are represented by the following two examples:

- (2206) *Ekonomia eta finantza arduradunak deitu*
 economy and finance responsible.DET.PL call
ditut. (Mod.&Mod.Head)
 AUX
 'I have called the economy and finances directors.'

- (2207) *Giza beso eta iztarrak aurkitu dituzte.*
 man arm and thigh.DET.PL find AUX
 (Mod.Head&Head)
 'They have found human arms and thighs.'

Many of these examples are ambiguous. For example, in (2206) it may be the case that we are calling two people, one that is in charge of the economy, and the other being in charge of finances; but it could also be the case that we refer to people that are at the same time in charge of the economy and finances.

Thus, the possibility of coordination is wider in word compounding than in the case of derivation; but this possibility is not unconstrained. We will try to analyze the conditions that favor this kind of construction or make it more difficult.

This type of coordination is not allowed in co-compounds:

- (2208) *arroz eta kafesnea*
 rice and coffee.milk.DET
 'rice and coffee with milk'/*'rice with milk and coffee with milk'

The same happens when morphophonological changes have taken place (*arto* to the derivational form *arta*-):

- (2209) **arbi eta arta.soro*
 turnip and corn.field

A high degree of lexicalization makes it difficult to coordinate two elements under one only 'head':

- (2210) *?ardi eta behi-esnea*
 sheep and cow-milk.DET

The lack of parallelism in the relations of each conjunct with the head prohibits their coordination:

- (2211) **mando eta mendi.bide*
 mule and mountain.trail
 ‘mule- and mountain trails’

Mandobide would be a mule trail, and *mendibide* a mountain trail. The two modifier nouns cannot be coordinated with the head noun.

On the other hand, coordination is easier with synthetic compounds:

- (2212) *barazki eta gozoki saltzaileak*
 vegetables and candy seller.DET.PL
 ‘vegetable and candy sellers’

Coordination is also possible when the head is semantically ‘open’ and imposes very few requirements on its complement, allowing for a large variety of them:

- (2213) *uso eta antzar sailak*
 dove and goose group.DET.PL
 ‘flocks of doves and geese’

In this line, compounds with a very low degree of lexicalization and a high regularity and productivity are accepted and used without any problem:

- (2214) *ekonomia eta hizkuntza arazoak*
 economy and language problem.DET.PL
 ‘language and economy problems’

A last case that could be taken into account is the possibility of coordinating parts of complex words with prenominal modifiers. These constructions are totally ruled out in Basque:

- (2215) **azukrearen eta gatz-ontzia*
 sugar.DET.GEN and salt-pot.DET

- (2216) **ekonomiaren eta hizkuntza-arazoak*
 economy.DET.GEN and language-problem.DET.PL

4.11.4. *Sentence coordination and ellipsis*

In the same way as smaller elements, whole sentences may also be conjuncts in coordinated structures. If the two clauses have some like material, the repeated elements are often omitted. When this happens, it is not always clear to which category the coordinated constituents belong. In this section we will try to analyze mainly two structures where the constituents involved seem to be sentences: gapping structures, and examples with ellipsis of the auxiliary verb.

4.11.4.1. Gapping structures

4.11.4.1.1. Forward and backward gapping

It has been posited (Ross 1970) that the direction in which gapping occurs in a language depends on its word order. Consequently, for SOV and SVO languages respectively, the next two patterns would be expected:

SVO + SVO → SVO + SO

SOV + SOV → SO + SOV

These two types have been called forward and backward gapping, respectively. As for Basque, Gastañaga (1977) argues that it has two possibilities for gapping (examples in Bizkaian dialect):

- (2217) *Lindak ardaua edaten dau ta*
 Linda.ERG wine.DET drink.IMPF AUX.3A/3E and
Anderrek esnea.
 Ander.ERG milk.DET
 'Linda drinks wine, and Ander milk.'

- (2218) *Lindak ardaua ta Anderrek esnea*
 Linda.ERG wine.DET and Ander.ERG milk.DET
edaten dabez. [dabez=dituzte]
 drink.IMPF AUX.3A.PL/3E.PL

The second example would be what should have been expected for a language like Basque; yet, the first pattern is considered to be more natural by a majority of speakers. Furthermore, examples like (2218) exhibit some characteristics that differ from those displayed in gapping structures. First of

all, both conjuncts are taken into account for agreement, while in gapping examples only one of them is taken into consideration. Compare the differences in the following examples:

(2219) *Miren zinemara joan da, eta Pello antzerkira.*
 Miren cinema.to go AUX.3A and Pello theatre.to
 'Miren has been to the cinema, and Pello to the theatre.'

(2220) *Miren zinemara eta Pello antzerkira joan dira.*
 Miren cinema.to and Pello theatre.to go
 AUX.3A.PL

Moreover, and connected with it, while in gapping examples the main intonation break coincides with the coordinating conjunction, it comes before the shared elements in structures like (2220):

(2221) *Miren zinemara joan da eta Pello antzerkira*

(2222) *Miren zinemara eta Pello antzerkiral joan dira*

This raises doubts about the nature of structures like (2220) and the constituents that are coordinated in them. For example, the strings that appear on both sides of the coordinating conjunction must be strictly parallel:

(2223) **?Miren pozik zinemara eta Pello antzerkira*
 Miren happy movies.to and Pello theatre.to
joan dira.
 go AUX

(2224) **?Miren zinemara eta Pello pozik antzerkira*
 Miren movies.to and Pello happy theatre.to
joan dira.
 go AUX

(2225) **?Miren zinemara eta pozik Pello antzerkira*
 Miren movies.to and happy Pello theatre.to
joan dira.
 go AUX

And there are examples that are very difficult to analyze as sentence coordination:

- (2226) *Pellok botak eta Joxek zapilak denda*
 Pello.ERG boots and Joxe.ERG trainers shop
berean erosi zituzten.
 same.in buy AUX.3A.PL/3E.PL
 ‘Pello [bought] the boots and Joxe bought the trainers at the same shop.’

In view of these facts, we would summarize the situation in the following way: (2219) would be the usual forward gapping pattern; taking into account that examples like (2220) pool agreement with subjects (and objects when required), have the main intonation break before the shared elements, and show a different behavior in some aspects, we will not refer to them as gapping (we will analyze them in section 4.11.5 together with some other examples of coordination that raise doubts about the constituenthood of the conjuncts). Besides them, there are also examples like (2227), with the verb omitted in the first conjunct, where the main intonation break coincides with the coordinator, and that look for agreement only in the last conjunct:

- (2227) *Miren zinemara/eta Pello antzerkira joan da.*
 Miren cinema.to/and Pello theatre.to go AUX.3A
 ‘Miren [has gone] to the movies and Pello has gone to the theatre.’

These will be considered instances of backward gapping.

4.11.4.1.2. Characteristics of gapping

In this section we will discuss the characteristics of gapping structures in Basque. We will use examples of forward gapping to illustrate their behavior. Usually, gapping structures have been presented as coordinations of two (or more) clauses, one full and the rest with the verb and possibly some more constituents elided, leaving as remnants the subject and one nonverbal element of the predicate. We would prefer here to characterize gapping in terms of pragmatic information. Gapping constructions are highly parallel structures, where we have two topics in contrast, and about whose contrasting topics very similar comments or rhemes are expressed. The second rheme has a focus that contrasts with the focus of the previous sentence, and the repeated material is left unrealized:

- (2228) *Mikelen amak sei liburu eman zizkidan, eta*
 Mikel's mother six book give AUX and
nire aitonak mendiko botak.
 my grandfather trekking boots
 'Mikel's mother gave me six books, and my grandfather trekking boots.'

<u>Mikelen amak</u>	<u>sei liburu eman zizkidan,</u>
topic	focus
	rheme
<u>eta nire aitonak</u>	<u>mendiko botak</u> \emptyset \emptyset
topic'	focus'
	rheme'

This characterization in terms of pragmatic structure explains more satisfactorily the behavior of Basque gapping structures. First of all, gapping occurs primarily in coordinated structures:

- (2229) *Miren zinemara joan da, eta/baina Pello antzerkira*
 Miren cinema.to go AUX, and/but Pello theatre.to
 'Miren has gone to the cinema, and/but Pello to the theatre.'

But when the pragmatic conditions required for gapping are met, the relation between the gapped sentence and its 'antecedent sentence' can go beyond coordinate structures, and even beyond sentence grammar to the domain of discourse grammar. In (2230) several sentences intervene between the 'antecedent' and the gapped sentence (both in boldface):

- (2230) *Nire bi anaiak atzerrian izan dira abuztuan. **Mikel Nepal-era joan da, baina ez du espero zuenik aurkitu. Ez da harritzekoa, udan Nepal aldea turistaz beterik egoten da eta. Joxe berriz Indiarara, eta askoz errazago izan zaio bertako kultura ezagutzea.***
 'My two brothers have been abroad in August. **Mikel went to Nepal, but he didn't find what he expected. It is not a surprise, since Nepal is full of tourists during summer. Joxe however (went) to India,** and it was much easier for him to get to know the local culture.'

Secondly, there are acceptable examples where two or more constituents of the predicate have been left behind and the subject has been elided in the gapped sentence:

- (2231) *Nik Joxeri Donostian bi liburu eman*
 I.ERG Joxe.DAT Donostia.in two book give
nizkion, eta Mireni Baionan disko bat.
 AUX and Miren.DAT Baiona.in record one
 'I gave two books to Joxe in Donostia, and a tape to Miren in Baiona.'

This is easily explained from a pragmatic characterization of gapping like (2228). Another aspect where we notice the advantages of having characterized gapping in terms of pragmatic parallelism instead of parallelism of syntactic structure is the fact that we can contrast topics and foci that are not syntactically parallel. In (2232a) postpositions that express different notions are contrasted; in (2232b) we find face to face a locative and a direct object:

- (2232) a. *Osasunak Sevillaren aurka jokatu du*
 Osasuna.ERG Sevilla.GEN against play.FUT AUX
igandean, eta Errealak Nou Camp-en.
 Sunday.on and Erreala.ERG Nou Camp-in
 'Osasuna will play against Sevilla on Sunday, and Erreala in the Nou Camp.'
- b. *Asteburuetan Joxek izugarri leku*
 weekends.in Joxe.ERG extremely place
garestietan jaten du, eta Mirenek
 expensive.in eat.IMPF AUX and Miren.ERG
janari harrigarriki finak.
 food incredibly exquisite.DET.PL
 'At weekends Joxe eats in extremely expensive places, and Miren incredibly exquisite food.'

Connected again to the type of parallelism required, there are acceptable examples that have in the gapped sentence overt elements lacking a counterpart in the full sentence:

- (2233) *Gaur goizean nik hiru aldizkari erosi*
 today morning.in I.ERG three magazine buy
ditut, eta Pellok bere semeari liburu bat.
 AUX and Pello.ERG his son.DAT book one
 'This morning I have bought three magazines, and Pello a book to his son.'

Or, even if usually everything in the full sentence is represented in the gapped sentence, some elements of the full form may not be understood in the latter sentence, if the context makes it clear that this is the correct interpretation:

- (2234) *Mirenek uztalean lan egiten duenez atzo erosi zuen abuzturako abioi-txartela, eta dagoeneko esan liteke erabakita daukagula oporretan Euskal Herriatik ateratzea. Zorte apur bat badut ni uztalean Irlandara joango naiz, eta Miren, lehen esan bezala, Guatemalara.*
 'Since Miren works in July she bought her airplane ticket for August yesterday, and we can already say that we have decided to go on holidays out of the Basque Country. **If I have a bit of luck, I will go to Ireland in July**, and Miren, as said before, to Guatemala.'

In this example we do not understand that Miren will go *in July* and on the condition that *she has a bit of luck*, since we know *for sure* that she is going *in August*. Defining the parallelism required for gapping in strictly syntactic terms makes it very difficult to explain examples of this sort.

Another point that deserves our attention is the possibility of gapping in negative sentences. It has been claimed in several works about gapping that these constructions are disallowed with negative sentences. This is also very often the case in Basque: while the full sentence (2235) is perfect, its gapped counterpart (2236) is unacceptable:

- (2235) *Jonak ez du arraina jan, eta Pellok*
 Jon.ERG not AUX fish eat and Pello.ERG
ez du haragia jan.
 not AUX meat eat
 'Jon hasn't eaten the fish, and Pello hasn't eaten the meat.'

- (2236) **Jonek ez du arraina jan, eta Pellok*
 Jon.ERG not AUX fish eat and Pello.ERG
haragia.
 meat
 'Jon hasn't eaten the fish, and Pello the meat.'

But again, we do find examples of gapping with negative sentences, provided that the pragmatic conditions mentioned above are satisfactorily met. For example, when we have a focus that appears immediately to the left of the tensed verbal form in the full clause. These foci are pronounced with contrastive stress and interpreted outside of the scope of negation:

- (2237) *Pellori arraina ez zaio gustatzen, eta*
 Pello.DAT fish not AUX like.IMPF and
Josebari haragia.
 Joseba.DAT meat
 'It is the fish that Pello doesn't like, and Joseba the meat.'

The unacceptability of (2236) is due to the fact that the negation (which is the focalized element), lacks an adequate contrasting overt focus in the gapped sentence. But when this condition is met the example is perfectly acceptable:

- (2238) *Pellori ez zaio arraina gustatzen, baina*
 Pello.DAT not AUX fish like.IMPF but
Josebari bai.
 Joseba.DAT yes
 'Pello doesn't like fish, but Joseba does.'

(The counterparts of English verb phrase ellipsis are expressed in Basque using the same mechanisms that are used for gapping).

So far, the characterization of gapping structures in terms of pragmatic structure has proved to be valuable: it would be more difficult to explain these facts departing from an exclusively syntactic parallelism. In this line, since the verb itself may be focalized and topicalized, it should be possible for the main verb to be a remnant in the gapped sentence. This prediction is fulfilled:

- (2239) *Nik gehienetan GALDU egiten dut, eta*
 I.ERG most.times lose do.IMPF AUX and
Mikelek IRABAZI.
 Mikel.ERG win
 'Most of the time I LOSE, and Mikel WINS.'

The verb-remnant appears in the participial or citation form.

Going one step further, the connection between gapping and focalization explains the lack of ambiguity of examples like (2240): in the interpretation of (2241) the topic and the focus are in the same embedded clause; in the unacceptable interpretation (2240), the focus is not in an extraction site for the whole sentence (Ortiz de Urbina 1989a).

- (2240) *Mikel damutu zen Pello zineman ikustean,*
 Mikel regret AUX Pello cinema.in see.NOM.LOC
eta Josu antzerkian.
 and Josu theatre.in
 'Mikel felt regret when he saw Pello in the cinema, and Josu in the theatre.'
- (2241) *Mikel damutu zen Pello zineman ikustean,*
 Mikel regret AUX Pello cinema.in see.NOM.LOC
eta (Mikel damutu zen) Josu antzerkian (ikustean).
 and Mikel regret AUX Josu theatre.in see.NOM.LOC
 'Mikel felt regret when he saw Pello in the cinema, and (Mikel felt regret when he saw) Josu in the theatre.'
- (2242) **Mikel damutu zen Pello zineman ikustean,*
 Mikel regret AUX Pello cinema.in see.NOM.LOC
eta Josu (damutu zen Pello) antzerkian (ikustean).
 and Josu regret AUX Pello theatre.in see.NOM.LOC
 'Mikel felt regret when he saw Pello in the cinema, and Josu (felt regret when he saw Pello) in the theatre.'

The different grammaticality judgements of the examples in (2243) and (2244-2245) also follow from the fact that in (2243) the gapped element is in a site where *wh*-words and foci may be extracted, whereas this is not the case in (2244)-(2245).

- (2243) *Joni erosketak Garberan egitea*
 Jon.DAT shopping Garbera.in do.NOM.DET
gustatzen zaio, eta Mireni Carrefour-en.
 like.IMPF AUX and Miren.DAT Carrefour-in
 'Jon likes to do the shopping in Garbera, and Miren in Carrefour.'
- (2244) **Nik Kunderak idatzitako liburua*
 I.ERG Kundera.ERG write.PTCP.REL book
irakurri dut, eta Mirenek Atxagak.
 read AUX and Miren.ERG Atxaga.ERG
 'I have read the book written by Kundera, and Miren (by) Atxaga.'
- (2245) **Mirenek aurkezpena ikusi ondoren aldegin*
 Miren.ERG presentation see after leave
zuen, eta Jonek ekitaldi nagusia.
 AUX and Jon.ERG act main
 'Miren left after seeing the presentation, and Jon the main act.'

The mechanism to save the latter examples is pied-piping (4.4.5.3); that is, the repetition of the whole focalized constituent:

- (2246) *Nik Kunderak idatzitako liburua*
 I.ERG Kundera.ERG write.PTCP.REL book.DET
irakurri dut, eta Mirenek Atxagak
 read AUX and Miren.ERG Atxaga.ERG
idatzitako liburua.
 write.PTCP.REL book.DET
 'I have read the book written by Kundera, and Miren the book written by Atxaga.'
- (2247) *Mirenek aurkezpena ikusi ondoren*
 Miren.ERG presentation.DET see after
aldegin zuen, eta Jonek ekitaldi nagusia
 leave AUX and Jon.ERG act main.DET
ikusi ondoren.
 see after
 'Miren left after seeing the presentation, and Jon after seeing the main act.'

To summarize, Basque allows both forward and backward gapping, but examples like (2218) and (2220), where the verb pools the elements of both

conjuncts with regard to agreement, differ in many respects from gapping structures. The best way to characterize gapping is to take their pragmatic specifications as the starting point.

4.11.4.2. Auxiliary ellipsis

When two clauses are coordinated, the auxiliary verb may be dropped in either one of the two conjuncts:

- (2248) *Mirenek Joni telefonoz deitu zion eta*
 Miren.ERG Jon.DAT phone.by call AUX and
berarekin joateko esan zion.
 her.with go.teko tell AUX
 'Miren phoned Jon and told him to go with her.'

- (2249) a. *Mirenek Joni telefonoz deitu zion eta berarekin joateko esan.*
 b. *Mirenek Joni telefonoz deitu eta berarekin joateko esan zion.*

The pattern in (2249b) is found mainly in western texts while the pattern of (2249a) is general in Basque. There are also differences regarding the behavior of the aspect markers between eastern and western speakers. Eastern speakers usually retain the aspect marker of the clause that has undergone ellipsis:

- (2250) *Aro eder horrek phizten zeraukoten*
 season beautiful this.ERG light.IMPF AUX
bihotza eta zalhutzen mihia.
 heart.DET and release.IMPF tongue.DET.
 'That beautiful season lighted their hearts and released their tongues.' [Arb.:146]

In western writings both situations may appear, i.e. the second verb may either be in the perfective participle or in the same participial form as the first verb:

- (2251) a. *Euskaldun herriak berriki egin edo*
 Basque people.ERG newly make or
kanpotik eratorritakotik hartuko du,
 outside.ABL derive.PRTP.REL.ABL take.FUT AUX
eta molde berri horiek euskal folklore
 and pattern new those Basque folklore
bilakatuko.
 turn.FUT

'The Basque people will make new ones or take from what is derived from the outside, and will turn those new patterns into Basque folklore.' [Mitx. IH.:43]

- b. *Jaungoikoaren gauzetarako nagia, eta*
 God.GEN things.for lazy.DET and
atzeratua izan danak, artuko du
 delay.DET be AUX.en.DET.ERG take.FUT AUX
bizitza berri bat, ta palagatu Jainkoaren justizia.
 live new one and praise God.GEN justice
 'He who has been lazy for God's things, and he who has procrastinated, will take a new life, and praise God's justice.' [Mog. KKE.:148]

When ellipsis occurs in the first clause, the verb is typically in the perfective participle form and is usually placed at the end of its clause:

- (2252) *Bihar eguraldi ona badugu, jai hartu*
 tomorrow weather good.DET if.have holiday take
eta bederatzietarako hondartzan izango naiz.
 and nine.by beach.in be.FUT AUX
 'If the weather is good tomorrow, I will take the day off and will be on the beach by nine.'

(It must be noted that examples similar to (2251a-2251b) and (2252), with coordination of full sentences or at least verb phrases, but with the auxiliary verb elided, seem to be impossible). When the verbs appear directly coordinated, the differences between eastern and western speakers show up again: Eastern speakers retain both aspect markers (2253), while western speakers produce the first verb in the perfective participle (2254):

- (2253) *Liburuak idatziko eta irakurriko ditut.* (eastern)
 books write.FUT and read.FUT AUX
 'I will write and will read books.'

- (2254) *Liburuak idatzi eta irakurriko ditut.* (western)
 books write and read.FUT AUX
 'I will write and read books.'

It must be noticed that the only interpretation of (2254) is as in (2255). It cannot be interpreted as (2256):

- (2255) *Liburuak idatziko ditut eta irakurriko ditut.*
 books write.FUT AUX and read.FUT AUX
 'I will write and will read books.'

- (2256) *Liburuak idatzi ditut eta irakurriko ditut.*
 books write AUX and read.FUT AUX
 'I have written and will read books.'

The only way to get the interpretation of (2256) is to repeat the auxiliary, as in (2256). Alternatively, in eastern dialects the second auxiliary may be deleted:

- (2257) *Liburuak idatzi ditut eta idatziko.*
 books write AUX and write.FUT

Coordination of two auxiliaries is disallowed:

- (2258) **Liburuak idatzi ditut eta dituzu.*
 books write AUX.3A.PL/1E and AUX.3A.PL/2E
 'I have and you have written books'

As for the conditions required for ellipsis, it must be pointed out that having a transitive and an intransitive auxiliary doesn't block ellipsis:

- (2259) *Goenkale ikusi dut eta hamarretarako*
 Goenkale see AUX.TR and ten.by
ohera joan naiz.
 bed.to go AUX.INTR
 'I have seen Goenkale and I have gone to bed by ten.'

- (2260) *Goenkale ikusi eta hamarretarako ohera joan naiz.*
 Goenkale see and ten.by bed.to go AUX
 'I have seen Goenkale and gone to bed by ten.'

- (2261) *Joxek jai hartu zuen eta zinemara*
 Joxe.ERG holiday take AUX.TR and cinema.to
abiatu zen.
 go AUX.INTR
 'Joxe took a day off and went to the cinema.'

- (2262) *Joxek jai hartu zuen eta zinemara abiatu.*
 Joxe.ERG holiday take AUX and cinema.to go
 'Joxe took a day off and went to the cinema.'

Furthermore, if there is one single overt subject, it is not obligatory to understand it as the subject of both clauses. Contrast in this sense the following examples with and without auxiliary ellipsis:

- (2263) a. *Aitak semea eskolan utzi eta*
 father.ERG son.DET school.in leave and
klasera joan zen.
 class.to go AUX
 'The father left the son at school and (the son/the father) went to class.'
- b. *Aitak semea eskolan utzi zuen eta*
 father.ERG son.DET school.in leave AUX and
klasera joan zen.
 class.to go AUX
 'The father left the son at school and (the father/*the son) went to class.'
- (2264) (*Mikeli oso gutxi guztatzen zitzaion eskola. Hala ere, apirileko goiz hartan*)
 ('Mikel doesn't like school at all. However, that April morning')
aitak arkatz berria oparitu zion eta
 father.ERG pencil new.DET give AUX and
pozik joan zen klasera.
 glad go AUX class.to
 '...his father gave him a new pencil and (Mikel) went glad to class.'

We may find examples of coordinated sentences with an elided auxiliary in the first coordinate with two different overt subjects:

- (2265) *Ni zinematik etorri eta Joxek etxetik*
 I cinema.from come and Joxe.ERG house.from
aldegin zuen.
 go.out AUX
 'I came from the cinema and Joxe went out from the house.'
- (2266) *Josunek aurreko astean haurra izan eta nik*
 Josune previous week baby have and I
ezin izan dut gaur arte ikusi.
 can't be AUX today until see
 'Josune had the baby the last week and it has been impossible for me to see it until today.'
- Nevertheless, the possibility of ellipsis doesn't seem unconstrained. It appears that there are some differences between left and right ellipsis examples, although acceptability judgements are often fuzzy: left ellipsis presents problems when we want an absolutely symmetrical reading of the coordination, as in (2268), while right ellipsis, as in (2270), is slightly more permissive in this point:
- (2267) *Javi Los Angelesen egon da eta Itziarrek*
 Javi Los Angeles.in stay AUX and Itziar.ERG
Rochester-en eman ditu klaseak.
 Rochester-in give AUX classes
 'Javi has stayed in Los Angeles and Itziar has taught in Rochester.'
- (2268) *??Javi Los Angelesen egon eta Itziarrek Rochester-en eman ditu klaseak.*
- (2269) *Mikelek New York-en ikasi du eta Pellok*
 Mikel New York-in study AUX and Pello
Austin-en lan egin du sei urtez.
 Austin-in work do AUX six years
 'Mikel has studied in New York and Pello has worked in Austin for six years.'
- (2270) *?Mikelek New York-en ikasi du eta Pello-k Austin-en lan egin sei urtez.*

There is another aspect of the behavior of sentences with ellipsis of the auxiliary verb of the first clause that deserves our attention. In sentence coordi-

nation, it is disallowed to extract, affect or ask about any element of one conjunct without doing the same operation in the other conjunct (Ross 1967; Williams 1978). For example, in (2271) we have tried to ask about the subject of the second conjunct without doing the same with the subject of the first conjunct, and the result is ungrammatical; on the other hand, in (2272) we are asking about the subject of both conjuncts, and the sentence is perfectly grammatical.

- (2271) **Nor esan duzu Mikel menditik etorri*
 who say AUX Mikel mountain.from come
zela eta zuei deika hasi zela?
 AUX.COMP and you.DAT call.ADV start AUX.COMP
 'Who did you say that Mikel came from the mountain and began calling you?'

- (2272) *Nor esan duzu menditik etorri zela*
 who say AUX mountain.from come AUX.COMP
eta zuei deika hasi zela?
 and you.DAT call.ADV begin AUX
 'Who did you say came from the mountain and began calling you guys?'

This is the general behavior of coordinates. Nevertheless, in examples with left auxiliary ellipsis, it is possible to ask only about elements of the full clause:

- (2273) *Nor_i esan duzu [Mikel menditik etorri ____]*
 who say AUX Mikel mountain.from come
eta [t_i zuei deika hasi zela]?
 and you.DAT call.ADV begin AUX.COMP
 'Who did you say Mikel came from the mountain and began to call you?'

And it is ungrammatical if we try to ask about the subject of the deleted clause:

- (2274) **Nor_j esan duzu [t_j menditik etorri ____] eta [Mikel zuei deika hasi zela]?*
 'Who did you say came from the mountain and Mikel began calling you?'

This suggests that in this pattern the status of the full clause and the clause that has undergone auxiliary ellipsis is not quite the same, and raises questions about the nature of these structures.

4.11.5. Nonconstituent coordination

Coordination has often been used as a test to determine constituenthood. Nevertheless, it has long been noted that the results of this test sometimes seem contradictory. For instance, consider examples (2275) and (2276):

- (2275) [Joxeren liburu] eta [Mirenen aldizkari] berriak
 Joxe.GEN book and Miren.GEN magazine new.DET.PL
 'Joxe's (new) books and Miren's new magazines'

- (2276) Joxeren [liburu berri] eta [aldizkari zaharr]ak
 Joxe.GEN book new and magazine old.DET.PL
 'Joxe's new books and old magazines'

In the first example the coordination test would produce the result that the prenominal modifier and the noun form a constituent (which is not the case), while in the second the noun and the adjective would be grouped together. Some devices have been proposed to overcome these problems (deletion, empty categories...). Moreover, we find sometimes examples where the elements grouped by coordination can hardly be considered constituents. For example, in (2277), in one of its interpretations, we could advance an analysis where the noun, the adjective and the article are grouped in one constituent:

- (2277) Joxeren [liburu zaharrak] eta [aldizkari berriak]
 Joxe.GEN book old.DET.PL and magazine new.DET.PL
 'Joxe's old books and new magazines'

But if we follow this line of argumentation, in an example like (2278) the prenominal modifier would be outside of the constituent formed by the noun, the article and the case marker:

- (2278) *Herriko [elbarriei] eta [zaharrei] gabon*
 town.REL disabled.DAT and old.DAT Christmas
opariak eman dizkiete.
 gifts give AUX
 'They have given Christmas gifts to the disabled and elderly of the town.'

The same situation arises with prenominal quantifiers:

- (2279) *Zenbait [musikarik] eta [idazlek] gauez*
 some musician.ERG and writer.ERG night.by
egiten dute lan.
 do.IMPF AUX work
 'Some musicians and writers work by night.'

Or even with the first part of some compound words (2281), whose behavior is sometimes parallel to that of prenominal modifiers (2280):

- (2280) *Gizakien [besoz] eta [izterrez]*
 human.being.GEN arm.INSTR and thigh.INSTR
betea zegoen eltze hura.
 full.DET was pot that
 'That pot was full of arms and thighs of human beings.'

- (2281) *Giza [besoz] eta [izterrez] betea*
 human arm.INSTR and thigh.INSTR full.DET
zegoen eltze hura.
 was pot that
 'That pot was full of human arms and thighs.'

This line of argumentation would involve that the prenominal modifier in (2278), the quantifier in (2279) and even the first part of a compound word in (2281) are outside of the constituents formed by the noun, the article and the case ending. Examples like (2220), which Gastañaga regards as backwards gapping, must also be analyzed in the light of the same general situation:

- (2282) *[Miren zinemara] eta [Pello antzerkira] joan dira.*
 Miren cinema.to and Pello theatre.to go AUX
 'Miren has gone to the cinema and Pello to the theatre.'

- (2283) [Nik Miren] *eta* [Pellok Jon] *eraman*
 I.ERG Miren and Pello.ERG Jon bring
ditugu zinemara.
 AUX cinema.to

- (2284) [Astegunetan Maulen] *eta* [asteburuetan Bilbon]
 weekdays.in Maule.in and weekends.in Bilbo.in
aurkituko nauzu.
 find.FUT AUX
 'You will find me in Maule on weekdays and in Bilbo on week-ends.'

In these examples, two strings formed by elements that are themselves full independent constituents appear grouped together. It seems that speakers accept these structures, although there may be problems with verbal agreement, as in (2285). In general, this type of structure is sometimes associated with a decrease in naturalness (2286), as is also true in English.

- (2285) [Nik zuei] *eta* [zuek niri] *asko*
 I.ERG you.DAT and you.ERG I.DAT a.lot
lagundu ...(?AUX)
 help ...

- (2286) ?[Zuk niri ordulari bat] *eta* [Pellok
 you.ERG I.DAT watch one and Pello.ERG
 Mireni liburu bat] *eman zenizkiguten.*
 Miren.DAT book one give AUX.2E.PL/PL/1D.PL
 'You gave (them to us) me a watch and Pello (gave) Miren a book.'

There are, however, examples where the coordinated strings are formed by elements that are not themselves full independent constituents:

- (2287) Txandaturik *ere ager daitezke* [bata
 invert.PTCP also appear(RAD) AUX.POT one.DET
juntagai baten] eta [bestea bigarren
 conjunct one.GEN and other.DET second
juntagaiaren] aurrean.
 conjunct.GEN front.in
 'They may also occur inverted, one in front of one conjunct and the other [in front] of the second conjunct'

Bata in the first conjunct and *bestea* in the second would be subjects, full independent constituents; however, *juntagai baten* and *bigarren junta-gaiaren* are prenominal modifiers of *aurrean*; thus, their head noun is outside of the conjuncts.

This kind of example must be taken into account to understand better the mechanism of coordination and the results it gives when used as a test for constituenthood. In what follows, we will try to explore the limits of this type of construction in Basque.

First of all, it must be noted that they occur freely with independent postpositions like *bila* 'in search of' or *esker* 'thanks to':

- (2288) *Hurrengo egunean [bata zorionaren] eta*
 next day.in one.DET happiness.GEN and
[bestea jakintzaren] bila abiatu
 other.DET knowledge.GEN in.search.of depart
ziren.
 AUX.3A.PL

'The next day one departed looking for happiness and the other looking for knowledge.'

- (2289) [*Batzuek mozorroari*] *eta [besteek nire*
 some.ERG disguise.DAT and others.ERG I.GEN
laguntzari] esker lortu zuten ihes egitea.
 help.DAT thank manage AUX escape do.NOM.DET

'Some managed to escape thanks to the disguise and the others thanks to my help.'

But they are disallowed with attached case markers, parts of compound words, postnominal adjectives and determiners (all underlined in the examples):

- (2290) *[*Batzuetan Bilbo*] *eta [besteetan Donostia]-n*
 some.LOC Bilbo and others.LOC Donostia-in
egiten dut lo.
 do.IMPF AUX sleep

'I sometimes sleep in Bilbao and some other times in Donostia.'

- (2291) *[*Batzuetan langile*] *eta* [*besteetan*
 some.LOC worker and others.LOC
enpresario]-*ekin* *izaten ditugu arazoak*.
 contractor-with have AUX problems
 'We have problems sometimes with the workers and some other
 times with contractors.'
- (2292) *[*Udaberrian opor*] *baina* [*udan*
 spring.in holiday but summer.in
lan]-*kontuez* *hitz egiten dugu*.
 work]-matter.about talk.IMPF AUX
 'We talk about holiday matters in the spring but work matters in the
 summer.'
- (2293) *[*Neguan berogailu*] *eta* [*udan*
 winter.in heating and summer
bainujantzi]-*saltzaileek* *egiten dute dirua*.
 swimsuit-sellers.ERG make AUX money
 'In the winter heating sellers and in the summer swimsuit sellers
 make money.'
- (2294) *[*Batzuek auto*] *eta* [*besteek etxe*] *garestiak*
 some.ERG car and others.ERG house expensive.DET.PL
dituzte.
 have
 'Some have expensive cars and others expensive houses.'
- (2295) *[*Indian auto*] *eta* [*Txinan kamioi*] *horiek*
 India.in car and China.in truck those
saltzen dira gehien.
 sell.IMPF AUX most
 'In India those cars and in China [those] trucks sell best.'

Speakers find it more acceptable when one of the elements grouped by co-ordination is a prenominal modifier and the noun to which it refers is stranded:

- (2296) [*Bihar Joxeren*] *eta* [*etzi Pelloren*]
 tomorrow Joxe.GEN and day.aft.tm Pello.GEN
etxean egingo dut lo.
 house.in do.FUT AUX sleep
 'I will sleep tomorrow at Joxe's and the day after tomorrow at Pello's house.'

As for the possibility to strand elements that are placed before the noun in the noun phrase, it seems that again prenominal modifiers are the elements that exhibit the greatest freedom:

- (2297) *Bere semearen* [*negarrek urduri*] *eta*
 her son.GEN cry.ERG nervous and
 [*irrifarrek pozik*] *jarri zuten ama gaztea.*
 smiles.ERG glad put AUX mother young.DET
 'Her son's sobs made the young mother nervous and his smiles glad.'
- (2298) **Zenbait* [*liburuk aspertu*] *eta* [*aldizkarik*
 some book.ERG bore and magazine.ERG
entretenu] *egiten naute.*
 entertain do.IMPF AUX
 'Some books bore me and [some] magazines entertain me.'

Chapter 5

Texts

J.I. Hualde & J. Ortiz de Urbina

5.1. Text 1

This text is an excerpt from Pedro de Axular's introduction to his book *Gero* 'Later', first published in 1643. Axular is considered the foremost writer of the Classical Lapurdian period and his style is still taken as a model of Basque literary prose. The text has been adapted from Luis Vilasante's (1976) edition, which uses modernized orthography.

Orai ba-dirudi euskara-k ahalke de-la, arrotz de-la,
now *ba-seem*.3E Basque-ERG shy is-COMP foreign is-COMP

ez-te-la iend-arte-an ausart, entregu, bithore eta ez trebe.
not-is-COMP people-among-LOC daring able capable and not skillful

"Now the Basque language appears to be [lit. that it is] shy, to be foreign, not courageous in public, not able or skillful."

Zeren are bere herri-ko-en arte-an ere,
because even its country-REL-GEN among-LOC too

ez-pai-takite batzu-ek, nola eskiriba, eta ez nola
not-COMP-know.3E.PL some-PL.ERG how write(RAD) and not how

irakur.
read (RAD)

"Because even among those of its own country, some do not know how to write it, and neither how to read it."

Baldin egi-n ba-liz euskara-z hanbat liburu, nola
if make-PRF if-AUX.3A Basque-INSTR as.many book as

egi-n bai-ta latin-ez, franzes-ez edo bertze
 make-PRF COMP-AUX Latin-INSTR French-INSTR or other

erdara-z eta hitzkuntza-z, hek bezain aberats eta
 foreign.tongue-INSTR and language-INSTR they as rich and

konplitu izan-en zen euskara ere, eta baldin hala ez-pa-da,
 perfect be-FUT AUX Basque(DET) too and if thus not-if-is

euskaldun-ek ber-èk dute falta eta ez euskara-k.
 Basque-ERG they-ERG have.3E.PL fault and not Basque-ERG

“If as many books were made in Basque, as have been made in Latin, in French or in other languages, the Basque language would be as rich and perfect as them; and if it is not like that, the Basques themselves are guilty of it, and not the Basque language.”

Ez-tut liburu-tto haur letratu handi-entzat egi-ten. Eta ez
 not-AUX.1E book-DIM this scholar great-BEN make-IMPF and not

xoil, deus ez-takite-n-entzat ere.
 nil nothing not-know.3E.PL-COMP-BEN either

“I am not making this book for great scholars; and neither for those who don’t know anything at all.”

Ez eta, ez-titut bethi-ere, eskritura saindu-a eta doktor-en
 not and not-AUX.A.PL.1E always-too writing holy-DET and doctor-GEN

erran-ak ere, hitz-ez hitz euskara-ra bihur-tzen.
 saying-DET.PL either word-INSTR word Basque-ALL translate-IMPF

“And I do not always translate word-by-word the Sacred Scripture and the words of the Doctors to Basque.”

Zeren euskara eta bertze hizkuntza-k diferent bai-tira.
 because Basque(DET) and other language-PL different COMP-are

“Because Basque and the other languages are different.”

Ordea ez-ta ez han-dik segi-tzen gaixto-ago de-la
 however not-AUX not there-ABL follow-IMPF bad-more is-COMP

euskara.
 Basque(DET)

“However it does not follow from there that Basque is worse.”

Aitzi-tik ba-dirudi ezen bertze hitzkuntza eta lengoaia
 against-ABL ba-seems.3E that other tongue and language

komun guzti-ak bat-a bertze-arekin nahasi-ak dire-la.
 common all-DET.PL one-DET other-COM mixed-DET.PL are-COMP

“On the contrary, it seems that all other common tongues and languages are mixed with each other.”

Baiña euskara bere lehenbiziko has-te-an eta
 but Basque(DET) its first.REL begin-NOM-LOC and

garbi-tasun-ean dago-ela.
 clean-ness-LOC is-COMP

“But that the Basque language remains in its primeval origin and purity.”

Baiña euskara eta euskara-ren minza-tzeko eta
 but Basque(DET) and Basque-GEN speak-NOM.REL and

eskiriba-tzeko molde-ak eta diferentzia-k utzi-rik: zeren
 write-NOM.REL way-DET.PL and difference-PL leave-PTCP because

hek azal-a eta lore-a bezala bai-tira:
 they skin-DET and flower-DET as COMP-are

“But leaving aside the Basque language and the differences and ways of speaking and writing in Basque: Because they are like the skin and the flower.”

har ezazu liburu-tto hunen fruitu-a, barren-eko mami-a:
 take(RAD) AUX book-DIM this.GEN fruit-DET inside-REL substance-DET

“Take the fruit of this little book, its internal substance.”

haur dasta ezazu, haur eskuzta ezazu, irakur-tzen duzu-la,
 this taste(RAD) AUX this grab(RAD) AUX read-IMPF AUX-COMP

ez lehi-az, ez gaingiro-ki eta ez arbuia-tzeko
 not hurry-INSTR not superficially and not reject-NOM.REL

kontu-an ere.
 intention-LOC too

“Taste this, grab this, as you read, not in a hurry, not superficially, and not with the intention of rejecting it either.”

Baiña intenzione on bat-ekin, zeure-a, zeur-k egin-a
 but intention good one-COM your-DET you.INTS-ERG make-DET

bait-zendu bezala,
 COMP-had like

“But with a good intention, as if it were yours, made by you,”

eta baldin halatan eta orduan, bat ere gozo-rik edo
 and if thus and then.LOC one even taste-PRTT or

zaphore-rik edirei-ten ba-diozu, zeren hura guzti-a
 flavor-PRTT find-IMPF if-AUX because that all-DET

Iaingoiko-aganik heldu bai-tateke, eta ez ene-ganik
 God-DET.ANIM.ABL come COMP-AUX.POT and not my-ANIM.ABL

falta baizen, hari eskerr-ak errenda iatzotzu, eta ni-tzaz
 fault except he.DAT thank-DET.PL give(RAD) AUX and I-INSTR

ere othoi-z egi-te-az, arren othoi, orhoit zaitezi.
 too pray-INSTR do-NOM-INSTR please pray remember(RAD) AUX

“And if thus and then, you find in it some sweetness of flavor, because all of that may come from God, and from me only its flaws, give thanks to Him, and please, I pray, remember me when you pray.”

5.2. Text 2

This second text is by the great Basque linguist Luis Michelena (1914-1987), who, in Basque, used the name Koldo Mitxelena. The text is excerpted from “Euskararen bide luze bezain malkarrak” [“The routes of the Basque language, tortuous as they are long”], included in a publication of the Basque Academy or Euskaltzaindia, *Euskararen liburu zuria* [The white book of Basque], published in 1978 (Reprinted in Mitxelena’s *Euskal Idazlan guztiak VI* [Complete writings]).

Euskara, uste de-n-ez, irla berezi-a da, edo-ta
 Basque(DET) opinion is-COMP-INSTR island special-DET is or-and

zehatz-ago esan, genetika-z berezi-a;
 precise-more say genetics-INSTR special-DET

“The Basque language, as it is believed, is a special island, or more precisely said, genetically special;”

ahaiko genetiko-aren teoria, teoria-ri
 relatedness genetic-GEN theory(DET) theory-DAT

ipin-tzen zaizkio-n erreparo-ak gora-behera,
 put-IMP AUX.3A.PL/3D-COMP objection-DET.PL up.ALL-down.ALL

eta bere froga-bide-ak, edozein hizkuntzalari-k onar-tzen
 and its proof-way-DET.PL any linguist-ERG accept-IMP

bai-titu bere ihardun-ean.
 COMP-AUX.3A.PL/3E his activity-LOC

“since every linguist accepts in his practice the theory of genetic relatedness (leaving aside the objections that are raised against the theory), and its methods.”

Argi bai-tago hizkuntz-en arteko harreman-ak
 clear COMP-is language-GEN among-REL relation-DET.PL

betidani-ko-ak dire-la, eta sekula ez de-la
 always.from-REL-DET.PL are-COMP and never not AUX-COMP

egia-z-ko bakardade-rik iza-n, guzti-z-ko-a behintzat.
 truth-INSTR-REL isolation-PRTT be-PRF all-INSTR-REL-DET at.least

“Because it is clear that there has always been contact between languages [lit. that the contacts between languages are of always], and that there has never been true isolation, at least a complete one.”

Diogu-n ere, gaztelu hurbil-gaitz-ean baino are-ago
 say.1E.PL-COMP too castle approach-hard-LOC than even.more

pasabide-ko lurralde-an mintza-tu-a de-n-ez, beste
 pass.way-REL area-LOC speak-PRF-DET is-COMP- INSTR other

edozein-ek hainbat harreman iza-n du-ela gure-a-k
 any-ERG as.many contact be-PRF AUX.3E-COMP our-DET-ERG

bi mila urte-otan zehar bederen.
 two thousand year-PROX.LOC through at.least

“Let us also say that, since it is spoken in a territory that is more a thoroughway than an unapproachable castle, ours [i.e. our language] has had as much contact as any other, at least in the last two thousand years.”

Hor dago dioda-n-aren lekuko, egiazta-tzen
 there is say.1E-COMP-GEN witness verify-NOM.LOC

zail-ago-a-k ez ekar-tze-arren, latin eta erromantze-en
 hard-more-DET-PL not bring-NOM-cause Latin and Romance-GEN

eragin-a, alderdi guzti-etan nabari hiztegi eta
 influence-DET side all-LOC apparent lexicon and

ebakidura-tik joskera-raino.
 pronunciation-ABL syntax-DEST

“There it is as witness of what I am saying, the influence of Latin and the Romance languages, not to mention others that are more difficult to verify, apparent in all respects, from lexicon and phonetics to syntax.”

Eragin-ok, jakina, ez zuten beti non-dik
 influence-PROX.PL of.course not AUX.3E.PL always where-ABL

no-ra-ko berdin-a izan-go: babesle gotorr-ak ditu-en
 where-ALL-REL same-DET be-FUT defender strong-DET.PL has-COMP

eritzi zabal-ak dio-en-ez, euskara-k bere kutsu-a
 opinion wide-DET.ERG say.3E-COMP-INSTR Basque-ERG its mark-DET

utzi du gaztelania-ren eta gaskoin-aren fonetika
 leave-PRF AUX Spanish-GEN and Gascon-GEN phonetic

bilakaera-n, hizkuntza erromaniko-en familia-n dute-n
 development-LOC language Romance-GEN family-LOC have-COMP

berezitasun-ean.
 peculiarity-LOC

“These influences, of course, would not always have the same direction: According to a widespread opinion which has strong defenders, Basque has left its mark on the phonetic development of Castilian and Gascon, in the particularities they have within the Romance family.”

Bakartasun genetiko hau ez da hain harrigarri-a hizkuntza
 isolation genetic this not is so surprising-DET language

ezagun guzti-ak, aintzina-ko nahiz gaur-ko, gogo-an
 known all-DET.PL long.ago-REL as.well.as today-REL mind-LOC

har-tu-z gero; egungo Europa-n, ordea, ez du
 take-PRF-INSTR later today-REL Europe-LOC however not has

kide-rik Kaukaso eta Ural-etaraino, eta orobat
 counterpart-PRTT Caucasus and Ural-DEST and similarly

Afrika-ko Iparralde-an.
 Africa-REL north.side-LOC

“This genetic isolation is not so surprising, if we take into account all known languages, both ancient and present; in today’s Europe, however, it

does not have any similarity up to the Caucasus and the Urals, and similarly in Northern Africa.”

Ez ginateke hon-etaz berri-z ari-ko historia-n
not AUX.1A.PL.POT this-INSTR new-INSTR be.engaged-FUT history-LOC

zehir iza-n ditu-en ondorio-en-gatik ez
through be-PRF AUX.3A.PL/3E-COMP consequence-GEN-because not

ba-litz.
if-were

“We would not dwell on this again if it were not because of the consequences it has had throughout history.”

Sarri-tan ez dira behar hainbat gogo-an har-tzen
often-LOC not AUX.3A.PL need as.much mind-LOC take-IMPF

hizkuntza ahaiko-aren alderdi praktiko-ak: honela
language relatedness-GEN side practical-DET.PL this.way

ari dira, hon-en ezagun-ak ez dir-en beste
be.engaged AUX this-GEN known-DET.PL not are-COMP other

adibide-ak ez ekar-tze-a-gatik, egun-go ingeles-aren
example-DET.PL not bring-NOM-DET-because today-REL English-GEN

germanotasun-a zalantza-n jar-tzen dute-n-ak.
Germanicness-DET doubt-LOC put-IMPF AUX-COMP-DET.PL

“Oftentimes the practical aspects of linguistic relatedness are not taken as much into account as they should: Those who question the Germanicness of today’s English behave in this way, not to mention other examples which are not as well known.”

Beste asko-tan, aldi-z, alderdi hon-i balio gehiegi
other many-LOC side-INSTR aspect this-DAT value too.much

ema-te-ko zaletasun-a izan daiteke.
give-NOM-REL inclination-DET be AUX.3A.POT

“Many other times, on the other hand, there can be an inclination to give too much value to this aspect.”

Beti harri-tu iza-n nau “gu-re hizkuntza
always surprise-PRF be-PRF AUX.1A/3E we-GEN language

indoeuroparr-ak” solas-ean maiz aipa-tze-ko
Indo-European-DET.PL talk-LOC often refer-NOM-REL

hizkuntzalari-en joera-k,
linguist-GEN tendency-ERG

“The tendency of linguists to often refer to ‘our Indo-European languages’ has always surprised me,”

ez jatorri-ko gizarte-az dihardute-la-rik, axale-ko
not origin-REL society-INSTR deal.with.3E.PL-COMP-PTCP surface-REL

diferentzia handi-ak gora-behera, guzti-en arte-ko-a
difference big-DET.PL up.ALL-down.ALL all-GEN among-REL-DET

d-en oinarri-z-ko ezaugarri multzo bat-etaz baizik
is-COMP base-INSTR-REL feature bundle one-INSTR but

“not when they are concerned with the original society, but with a bundle of basic features which is common to all of them, in spite of great superficial differences”

(beste hizkuntz-en-ak ez bezala-ko-ak, kontra-ko-ak
other language-GEN-DET.PL not like-REL-DET.PL against-REL-DET.PL

ez ba-dira:
not if-are

“gure hizkuntza indoeuroparr-etan bederen gerta-tzen ez
we.GEN language Indo-European-LOC at.least happen-IMPF not

d-en bezala”, e.a.).
AUX.3A -COMP like and.so.on

“(unlike those of other languages, if not contrary to them: ‘As in our Indo-European languages, at least, it does not happen’, etc.).”

Nolanahi ere, eritzi-rik zuhurr-en-arentzat ere, euskara-ren
how.want too opinion-PRTT wise-most-BEN too Basque-GEN

historia-k egiazta-tzen du-en-ez, elementu hon-ek,
history-ERG verify-IMPf AUX.3E-COMP-INSTR element this-ERG

kidetasun-a ala bakartasun genetiko-a, gonparatista-ren bide
relatedness-DET or isolation genetic-DET comparativist-GEN way

estu-ak gainezka-tzen du-en interes-a du.
narrow-DET.PL surpass-IMPf AUX.3E-COMP interest-DET has

“In any case, even in the wisest opinion, as the history of Basque verifies, this element, genetic relatedness or isolation, has an interest which surpasses the narrow ways of comparativists.”

Berez, edozein gauza itzul edo molda daiteke
by.itself any thing translate(RAD) or adapt(RAD) AUX.3E.POT

hizkuntza bat-etik beste-ra; itzulpen-ak eta moldadura-k
language one-ABL other-ALL translation-DET.PL and adaptation-PL
ordea errez-ago-ak dira batzu-etan (mekanika-z ere,
however easy-more-DET.PL are some-LOC mechanics-INSTR too

nolabait esan, egin daitezke-elarik) eta
somehow say.PRF do AUX.3A.PL.POT-COMP.PRTT and

nekez-ago-ak beste-etan.
difficult-more-DET.PL other-LOC

“In principle anything can be translated or adapted from one language to another; the translations and adaptations, however, are easier sometimes (when, in a way of speaking, they can be done mechanically) and more difficult in other cases.”

5.3. Text 3

The third and fourth texts are from articles (an essay and an interview) by the Basque dialectologist Koldo Zuazo published in a Basque news and culture magazine, *Argia*. They are offered as examples of contemporary essayistic/journalistic writing.

“Batua versus euskalkia?” [Standard vs dialect?] (Koldo Zuazo, *Argia On line* 1729, Aug. 1, 1999)

Hogei-ta hamar urte luze egi-n berri ditu euskara
 twenty-and ten year long make-PRF new AUX.3A.PL/3E Basque

batu-ak, eta gogoeta bat plaza-ra-tzeko erabili nahi-ko
 unify-ERG and thought one square-ALL-NOM.REL use want-FUT

nuke urte-muga hau.
 AUX.POT year-border this

“Standard Basque has just completed 30 long years, and I would like to make use of this anniversary to put forward some thoughts.”

Has-teko, esan-go dut, gauza bi-tan behin-ik behin,
 begin-NOM.REL say-FUT AUX.1E thing two-LOC once-PRTT once

euskaldun-ik gehien-ok bat-era samar
 Basque.speaker-PRTT most-PROX.PL one-ALL fairly

gatoz-ela:
 come.1A.PL-COMP

“To begin with, I will say that most of us Basque speakers agree (lit. come to one) on at least two things:”

Euskara batu-a ezin-beste-ko tresna dugu-la.
 Basque unify-DET cannot-other-REL tool(DET) have.1E.PL-COMP

“That Standard Basque is an indispensable tool for us (lit. that we have Standard Basque [as] an indispensable tool).”

Euskara batu-a erdi-alde-ko euskalki-an eraiki izan-a
 Basque unify-DET centre-side-REL dialect-LOC construct be-DET

erabaki zuzen-a iza-n ze-la.
 decision right-DET be-PRF was-COMP

“That the constructing of Standard Basque on the [basis of the] central dialect was the correct decision.”

Ostera, euskara batu hori erabil-tzeko modu-ek bana-tzen
 however Basque unified that use-NOM.REL way-ERG divide-IMPF

gaituzte euskaldun-ok sarri, eta horretan ere
 AUX.1A.PL/3E.PL Basque-PROX.PL often and that.LOC too

iritzi-ak bat-era-tzeko garai-a ba-de-la irudi-tzen
 opinion-DET.PL one-ALL-NOM.REL time-DET ba-is-COMP seem-IMPF

zait.
 AUX.1D

“On the other hand, the ways of using that Standard Basque divide us Basques often, and it seems to me that it is time to unify our opinions on that matter too.”

Esan dezada-n aurre-ra baino lehen, 1960ko harmarkada
 say AUX.1E-COMP ahead-all than first 1960.REL decade

har-tan batez ere hutsune nagusi bi bete nahi izan
 that-LOC especially void main two fill want be

zir-ela euskara batu-aren bide-z.
 AUX.3A.PL-COMP Basque unify-GEN way-INSTR

“Let me say before [going] any further, that in the decade of the 1960’s two main voids were intended to be filled by means of Standard Basque.”

Leku urrun-etako euskaldun-ek bat-a beste-arekin euskara-z
 place far-REL Basque-ERG one-DET other-COM Basque-INSTR

uler-tu ahal iza-te-a.
 understand-PRF can be-NOM-DET

“To make it possible for Basques from distant places to understand each other in Basque.”

Gai-rik jaso-en-ak ere euskara-z erabil-i ahal
 topic-PRTT rise-SUP-DET.PL too Basque-INSTR use-PRF can

iza-te-a.
 be-NOM-DET

“To make it possible to deal even with the highest topics in Basque.”

Euskara batu-a bultza-tzeko beste arrazoi batzu-k ere
 Basque unified-DET push-NOM.REL other reason some-PL too

ba-ziren, jakina, baina haue-xe-k bi-ok ziren
 ba-were of.course but these-INTS-PL two-PROX.PL were

zuzen-zuzen-ean hizkuntza-ri bera-ri zegozkio-n-ak.
 right-right-LOC language-DAT it-DAT were.3A.PL/3D-COMP-DET.PL

“There were other reasons for promoting Standard Basque, of course, but these two were the ones that had to do directly with the language itself.”

5.4. Text 4

Batuak ez du kolokialtasunik [“Standard Basque has no colloquialness”].
(Interview with Koldo Zuazo, *Argia Online* 1744, January 9, 2000).

Q: *Deba ibarr-eko euskara-n idatz-i duzu* “Deba ibarre-ko
Deba valley-REL Basque-LOC write-PRF AUX.2E Deba valley-REL

euskeria”. *Zer-dela eta euskalki-an eta ez batu-an?*
Basque(DET) what-is.COMP and dialect-LOC and not unified-LOC

“You have written *The Basque of the Deba Valley* in the Basque of the Deba Valley. How come in the dialect and not in the standard language?”

A: *Hiru arrazoi daude. Bat-etik, ber-tako udal-ak*
three reason are one-ABL there-REL townhall-ERG

ber-tako jende-arentzat argi-tara-tu-a d-elako.
there-REL people-BEN light-ALL-PRF-DET is-because

“There are three reasons. First of all, because it has been published by the local City Government for the local population.”

Bigarren-ik, lan-ak jorra-tzen du-en gai-a bera
second-PRTT work-ERG deal-IMPF AUX-COMP topic-DET it

hizkuntza d-elako.
language(DET) is-because

“Second, because the topic that the book deals with is the language itself.”

Eta azken-ik, bailara-ko jende asko akonpleja-tu-rik dago-elako
and final-PRTT valley-REL people many ashamed-PRF-PRTT is-because

bere euskalki-arekin.
their dialect-COM

“And finally, because many people from the Valley are ashamed of their dialect.”

Uste dute euskalki-an ezin d-ela idatz-i,
think AUX.3E.PL dialect-LOC cannot AUX-COMP write-PRF

baserritarr-en kontu-a d-ela.
peasant-GEN thing-DET is-COMP

“They think that one cannot write in the dialect, that it is a thing of peasants.”

Ni-k erakuts-i nahi iza-n dut euskalki-ak
I-ERG show-PRF want be-PRF AUX.1E dialect-DET.PL

edozer-tara-ko balio du-ela.
anything-ALL-REL value has-COMP

“I have tried to show that the dialect can be used for anything.”

Q: Teoria eta praktika uztar-tu dituzu ariketa
theory(DET) and practice(DET) join-PRF AUX.A.PL/2E activity

hon-etan.
this-LOC

“You have joined theory and practice in this activity.”

A: Dialektologia alde-tik azter-tu dut bat-etik.
dialectology side-ABL examine-PRF AUX.1E one-ABL

“First of all, I have examined it from the perspective of Dialectology.”

Deba ibarr-a Gipuzkoa-n dago koka-tu-a, baina Bizkaia
Deba valley-DET Gipuzkoa-LOC is place-PRF-DET but Bizkaia

alde-ko euskalki-a egi-ten da ber-tan. Gainera,
side-REL dialect-DET do-IMPF AUX.3A there-LOC moreover

Araba-rekin muga egi-ten du.
 Araba-COM border make-IMPF AUX.3E

“The Deba Valley is located in Gipuzkoa, but there the Bizkaian dialect is spoken. Besides, it has a border with Araba.”

Alderdi soziolinguistiko-a ere lan-du dut eta euskalki-a
 aspect sociolinguistic-DET too work-PRF AUX.1E and dialect-DET

zergatik erabil-i behar d-en azal-du.
 why use-PRF must AUX-COMP explain-PRF

“I have also analyzed the sociolinguistic dimension and I have explained why one must use the dialect.”

Horr-en inguru-an proposamen bat egi-n dut,
 this-GEN around-LOC proposal one make-PRF AUX.1E

erabilera-rako lau esparru defini-tu-z: aisialdi-a,
 usage-ALL.REL four domain define-PRF-INSTR leisure-DET

irakaskuntza, hedabide-ak eta administrazio-a.
 education(DET) mass.media-DET.PL and administration-DET

“Regarding this, I have made a proposal defining four domains for usage: leisure, education, mass media and administration.”

Q: *Azken aldi-an euskara-ren normalizazio-rako plan*
 last time-LOC Basque-GEN normalization-ALL.REL plan

orokorr-ak jarr-i dira mahai gain-ean.
 general-DET.PL put-PRF AUX.3A.PL table top-LOC

“Lately some plans for the normalization of Basque have been put on the table.”

Hor da Jaurilaritza-ren Euskara Biziberri-tzeko Plan
 there is Basque.Government-GEN Basque(DET) revive-NOM.REL plan

Nagusi-a, baita Kontseilu-aren Plan Estrategiko-a ere.
 main-DET yes.and council-GEN plan strategic-DET too

“There is the Basque Government’s General Plan to Revive Basque, and the Council’s Strategic Plan as well.”

Q: *Behar bezala-ko garrantzi-a ema-n al zaie*
 need like-REL importance-DET give-PRF Q AUX.3A/3D.PL

euskalki-ei?
 dialect-DAT

“Is as much importance as necessary given to the dialects?”

A: *Euskalki-en plangintza plan orokor hori-en barru-an*
 dialect-GEN planning(DET) plan general that-GEN inside-LOC

txerta-tu behar-ko litzateke.
 insert-PRF must-FUT AUX.3A.POT

“The planning of the dialects would have to be inserted within those general plans.”

Euskal Herri-an gune erdaldun bat ba-dago,
 Basque Country-LOC area Romance-speaking one ba-is

euskara aspaldi gal-du du-en-a, euskalki-rik ez
 Basque(DET) long.time lose-PRF AUX.3E-COMP-DET dialect-PRTT not

du-en-a.
 has-COMP-DET

“In the Basque Country there is a Romance-speaking area, which lost the Basque language a long time ago, which does not have a Basque dialect.”

Hor ez dago euskalki-en inguru-ko plangintza-ren beharr-ik.
 there not is dialect-GEN around-REL planning-GEN need-PRTT

“There, there is no need for planning regarding the dialects”.

Bai, ordea, euskalki-a bizi-rik dago-en toki-etan, berezi-ki,
 yes instead dialect-DET live-PTCP is-COMP place-LOC especial-ly

euskalki hori batua-tik urrun dago-en toki-etan.
 dialect that unified-ABL far is-COMP place-LOC

“But there is [such a need], on the other hand, in the places where the dialect is alive, especially in places where that dialect is far removed from the standard language.”

Q: *Euskalki-ak erabil-i ez-ean 'hizkuntza suizida-tzera' jo-ko*
 dialect-DET.PL use-PRF not-LOC language suicide-NOM.ALL go-FUT

dugu-la esa-n-a duzu.
 AUX.1E.PL-COMP say-PRF-DET have.2E

“You have said that by not using the dialect we will go towards ‘language suicide’.”

A: *Gazte-ei hizkuntza-ren zati bat eskain-tzen zaie*
 young-DAT language-GEN part one offer-IMPV AUX.3D.PL

soil-ik: batu-a, eskola-ko lan-ak egi-teko, gai
 bare-PRTT unified-DET school-REL work-DET.PL do-NOM.REL topic

tekniko-ak lan-tzeko balio die-n
 technical-DET.PL work-NOM.REL value has.3D.PL/3E-COMP

hizkuntza.
 language(DET)

“Only one part of the language is offered to the young people: standard Basque, a language that will be useful to them to do schoolwork, to deal with technical subjects.”

Baina, han-dik kanpo, zati horr-ek ez du balio, ez du-elako
 but there-ABL outside part that-ERG not has value not has-because

kolokialtasun-ik.
 colloquiality-PRTT

“But, outside of that, that part [of the language] has no value, because it has no colloquialness.”

Eskola-tik kanpo gaztelania-ra jo-tzen dute ez
 school-ABL outside Spanish-ALL go-IMPF AUX.3E.PL not

diegu-lako beste eredu-rik irakats-i.
 AUX.3D.PL/1E.PL-COMP.REL other model-PRTT teach-PRF

“Outside of class, they shift to Spanish, because we have not taught them any other model.”

Horrela jarrai-tu-z gero, hizkuntza hil-tze-ra jo-ko
 that.way continue-PRF-INSTR later language(DET) kill-NOM-all go-FUT

dugu, ez bai-kara eroso senti-tu-ko euskara-rekin.
 AUX.1E.PL not COMP-AUX.1A.PL comfortable feel-PRF-FUT Basque-COM

“Continuing in this manner, we will go towards killing the language, since we will not feel comfortable with the Basque language.”

Bestalde, hizkuntza nor-k irakas-ten du? Familia-k.
 other.side language(DET) who-ERG teach-IMPF AUX family-ERG

“Besides, who teaches the language? The family.”

Bada, Euskal Herri-an kontrako-a gerta-tzen da.
 well Basque Country-LOC against.REL-DET happen-IMPF AUX

“Well, in the Basque Country, the opposite happens.”

Haurr-ek zuzenketa-k egi-ten dizkiete guraso-ei.
 child-ERG correction-PL make-IMPF AUX.3D.PL/3E.PL parents-DAT

“Children correct their parents.”

Eta guraso-ak lotsa-tu egi-ten dira.
 and parents-DET.PL ashamed-PRF do-IMPF AUX.3A.PL

“And the parents become ashamed.”

Frankismo-an ikasketa-k euskara-z egi-teko aukera-rik
 Francoism-LOC study-PL Basque-INSTR do-NOM.REL choice-PRTT

iza-n ez zute-la eta, haurr-en-a imita-tzen
 be-PRF not AUX.3E.PL-COMP and child-GEN-DET imitate-NOM.LOC

saia-tzen dira, euren-a, balio du-en-a, bazter-tu-z.
 try-IMPF AUX their-DET value has-COMP-DET corner-PRF-INSTR

“Since they didn’t have the opportunity to do their studies in Basque in the Franco years, they try to imitate that [language] of their children, pushing aside their own, the one which is valuable.”

5.5. Text 5

This last text is from the dedication of the first book printed in Basque, *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (published 1545), by the Low Navarrese poet Bernard Dechepare [Etxepare]. We transcribe it in the original spelling with minor adaptations.

Erregue-ren aduocatu videzco eta noble-ari,
 king-GEN advocate just and noble-DAT

“To the just and noble advocate of the king,”

virthute eta hon guci-ez compli-tu-yari,
 virtue and quality all-INSTR grace-PRF-DAT

“graced with all virtues and good qualities,”

bere iaun eta iabe Bernard Lehet-ri
 his lord and master Bernard Lehet-DAT

“to his lord and master Bernard Lehet,”

Bernard Echepare-co-ac ha-ren cerbitzari chipi-ac
 Bernard Echepare-REL-ERG he-GEN servant small-ERG

“Bernard of Echepare his humble servant”

gogo hon-ez goraynci, baque eta ossagarri.
 mind good-INSTR greeting peace and health

“with best wishes: greetings, peace and health.”

Ceren basco-ac bai-tira abil, animos eta gentil
 what.GEN Basque-DET.PL COMP-are skillful courageous and genteel

eta hetan iça-n bai-ta eta bai-ta sciencia guci-etan
 and they.LOC be-PRF COMP-AUX and COMP-is science all-LOC

letratu handi-rik
 scholar great-PRTT

“Since the Basques are skillful, courageous and genteel, and among them there have been and there are great scholars in all sciences”

mira-z nago, iaun-a, nola batere ez-ten assaya-tu
 surprise-INSTR am lord-DET how one.too not-AUX.COMP try-PRF

bere lengoage proprio-aren fauore-tan heuscara-z cerbait
 his language own-GEN favor-LOC Basque-INSTR some

obra egui-te-ra eta scribu-tan imei-te-ra;
 work(DET) do-NOM-ALL and writing-LOC offer-NOM-ALL

“I am surprised, my lord, how no one has tried, in favor if his own language, to do some work in Basque and to offer it in writing.”

ceren ladi-n publica mundu guci-etara, berce
 what.GEN AUX.3A-COMP publish(RAD) world all-ALL other

lengoagi-ac beçala hayn scriba-tzeco hon de-la.
 language-DET.PL like as write-NOM.REL good is-COMP

“so it would be made public to the whole world that it is as good as the other languages to write in it.”

Eta causa hon-egatic gueldi-tzen da abata-tu-ric, eceyn
 and cause this-because remain-IMPF AUX diminish-PRF-PTCP any

reputacione vague, eta berce nacione oro-c vste dute
 reputation without and other nation all-ERG opinion have

ecin deus ere scriba dayte-yela lengoage har-tan
 cannot anything at.all write(RAD) AUX-COMP language that-LOC

nola berce oro-c baitute scriba-tzen bery-an.
 like other all-ERG COMP-AUX.3E.PL write-IMPF their-LOC

“And for this reason it remains diminished, without any reputation, and all other nations think that nothing can be written in this language, like all others write in their own.”

Eta cer-en oray çu-c, noble et[a] naturazco-ac beçala,
 and what-GEN now you-ERG noble and natural-ERG like

bai-tuçu estima-tzen, gora-tzen eta ohora-tzen heuscara,
 COMP-AUX.2E esteem-IMPF praise-IMPF and honor-IMPF Basque(DET)

“And since now you appreciate, praise and honor the Basque language, as a nobleman and a native”

çu-ri, neure iaun eta iabi-a beçala, igor-tzen
 you-DAT I.INTS.GEN lord and master-DET like send-IMPF

darauritzut heuscarazco copla batzu, ene ignorancia-ren
 AUX.2D/1E Basque.INSTR.REL poem some my ignorance-GEN

arau-ra egui-n-ac.
 rule-ALL make-PRF-DET.PL

“to you, as my lord and master, I send some Basque poems, made according to my ignorance.”

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Abbreviations

<i>ASJU</i>	<i>Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca Julio de Urquijo</i>
<i>FLV</i>	<i>Fontes Linguae Vasconum</i>
<i>RIEV</i>	<i>Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos</i>

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